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THE WORKS

OF

THE REV. JOSEPH BINGHAM, M.A.

EDITED BY

HIS LINEAL DESCENDANT

THE REV. R. BINGHAM, JUN., M.A.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

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OF

THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF MISSA CATECHUMENORUM, THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION SERVICE, ON THE LORD'S-DAY.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Psalmody of the ancient Church.

SECT. I. That the service of the ancient Church on the Lord's-day usually began with psalmody, 1.—II. The psalms intermixed with lessons and prayers in some Churches, 3.—III. These psalms called by a peculiar name, *psalmi responsorii*, 5.—IV. Some psalms appropriated to particular services, 6.—V. Others sung in the ordinary course as they lay in order, without being appropriated to any time or day, 7.—VI. And some appointed occasionally, at the discretion of the bishop or precentor, 8.—VII. Prayers in some places between every psalm, instead of a lesson, 10.—VIII. The *Gloria Patri* added at the end of every psalm in the Western Church, but not in the Greek or Oriental Church, 10.—IX. The psalms sometimes sung by one person only, 11.—X. Sometimes by the whole assembly joining all together, 11.—XI. Sometimes alternately by the congregation divided into two parts, and answering verse for verse to one another, 12.—XII. Sometimes by a single precentor, repeating the first part of the verse, and the people all joining with him in the close. This was called ὑπηχεῖν and ὑπακούειν. What meant by diapsalms, acroteleutics, and acrostics in psalmody, 15.—XIII. An answer to a Popish objection against the people's bearing a part in psalmody, 18.—XIV. Psalmody always performed in the standing

posture, 19.—XV. Of the use of plain song, and its commendation among the Ancients, 20.—XVI. Artificial and melodious tuning of the voice allowed in singing, when managed with sobriety and discretion, 21.—XVII. No objection made against psalms or hymns of human composition, barely as such, 21.—XVIII. But two corruptions severely inveighed against. First, over great niceness and curiosity in singing, in imitation of the modes and music of the theatre, 23.—XIX. And, secondly, pleasing the ear without raising the affections of the soul, 23.

CHAPTER II.

A particular account of some of the most noted Hymns used in the service of the ancient Church.

SECT. I. Of the lesser doxology, or hymn, "Glory be to the Father, &c.," 25.—II. Of the great doxology, "Glory be to God on high, &c.," 31.—III. Of the Trisagion, or cherubical hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.," 33.—IV. Of the Hallelujah, and halleluiatic psalms, 35.—V. Of the Hosanna, and the evening hymn, and "*Nunc Dimittis*," or Song of Simeon, 40.—VI. Of the "*Benedicite*," or Song of the Three Children, 41.—VII. Of the "*Magnificat*," or Song of the Holy Virgin, 42.—VIII. When first the Creed began to be sung as an hymn in the Church, 42.—IX. Of the author and original of the hymn, "*Te Deum*," 43.—X. Of the hymns of St. Ambrose, 46.—XI. Of the hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus, Mamercus, and others, 47.

CHAPTER III.

Of the manner of reading the Scriptures in the public service of the Church.

SECT. I. Lessons of the Scriptures sometimes mixed with psalms and hymns, and sometimes read after them, 49.—II. Lessons read both out of the Old and New Testament, except in the Church of Rome, where only Epistle and Gospel were read, 50.—III. Proper lessons for certain times and festivals, 54.—IV. By whom the Scriptures were anciently read in the church, 62.—V. Whether the Epistle and Gospel were read twice, first to the catechumens, and then to the faithful at the altar, 63.—VI. The solemnity and ceremony of reading the lessons. Where first of the salutation, "*Pax vobis*," before reading, 64.—VII. This salutation sometimes used by the bishop immediately before the reader began to read, 65.—VIII. The deacon enjoined silence before the reader began, and required attention: as the reader also did before every lesson, saying, "Thus saith the Lord," 66.—IX. At the naming of the Prophet or Epistle the people in some places said, "*Deo Gratias*," and "Amen" at the end of it, 67.—X. At the reading of the Gospel all stood up, and said, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," 68.—XI. Lights carried before the Gospel in the Eastern Churches, 70.—XII. Three or four lessons read out of the Gospels sometimes on the same day, 71.—

XII . longer and shorter lessons, and their distinct use, according to Durantus, 72.—XIV. What might or might not be read by way of lessons in the church, 73.—XV. Those which we now call *apocryphal books* were anciently read in some Churches, but not in all, 77.—XVI. And in some Churches under the title of *canonical Scripture*, taking that word in a larger sense, 79.—XVII. A short account of the translations of Scripture used in the ancient Church, 83.

CHAPTER IV.

Of preaching, and the usages relating to it in the ancient Church.

SECT. I. All sermons anciently called *homilies, disputations, allocutions, tractatus, &c.*, 89.—II. Preaching the proper office of bishops and presbyters, in ordinary cases, and not of deacons, 92.—III. The singular practice of the Church of Rome, in having no sermons for several ages, noted out of Sozomen, and Cassiodore, and Valesius, 101.—IV. Whether laymen were ever allowed to preach in the ancient Church, 104.—V. Women never allowed to preach, 107.—VI. Two or three sermons sometimes in the same assembly, 110.—VII. Sermons every day in some times and places, 112.—VIII. Sermons twice a day in many places, 114.—IX. Not so frequent in country villages, 119.—X. Of their different ways of preaching. A character of St. Chrysostom and some other preachers, 120.—XI. Extempore discourses frequent among the Ancients, 126.—XII. What meant by preaching by the Spirit, 131.—XIII. What sort of prayers they used before, and in, and after sermons, 132.—XIV. The Salutation, "*Pax vobis, The Lord be with you,*" commonly used before sermons, 138.—XV. But the use of Ave Maries before sermons unknown to the Ancients, 141.—XVI. Sometimes their sermons were prefaced with a benediction, 142.—XVII. Sometimes preached without any text, and sometimes upon more texts than one, 143.—XVIII. Their sermons always upon important subjects. Compared with some of those in the Church of Rome, 144.—XIX. Delivered in a way most affecting and suitable to the capacities of their hearers, with perspicuity, pleasure, and force of argument. This is largely demonstrated out of St. Austin's rules about preaching, 148.—XX. That it was no part of the ancient oratory to move the passions by gesticulations and vain images of things, so common in the Church of Rome, 157.—XXI. Of the length of their sermons, 158.—XXII. Whether every man was obliged to preach his own compositions, or might preach homilies and sermons composed by others, 160.—XXIII. Their sermons commonly concluded with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, 162.—XXIV. Their sermons, for the most part, delivered by the preacher sitting, 162.—XXV. And heard by the auditors standing in most Churches, but not in all, 166.—XXVI. A peculiar custom in the African Church, that when the preacher cited any remarkable text, the people repeated it with him, to show that they were attentive, and read, and remembered the Scriptures, 168.—XXVII.

How the people were used to give public applauses and acclamations to the preacher in the church, 169.—XXVIII. And more Christianlike express their approbation by tears and groans, and compunction, and obedience. Which is the best commendation of a preacher and his sermon, 172.—XXIX. Sermons anciently penned by the hearers, 179. —XXX. Two reflections made by the Ancients upon some of their corrupt hearers. First, upon the negligent and profane, 181.—XXXI. And secondly, the intemperate zealots, who placed all religion in a sermon, 184.—XXXII. With what candour they treated those who thought their sermons too long, 186.

CHAPTER V.

Of the prayers for the catechumens, energumens, competentes, or candidates of baptism, and the penitents.

SECT. I. That prayers in the ancient Church were not before, but after the sermon, 188.—II. Who might, or might not, be present at these prayers. Infidels and mere hearers obliged to withdraw, 189.—III. Of the prayers for the catechumens. The genuine forms of them out of St. Chrysostom and the Constitutions, 190.—IV. What meant by their praying for the angel of peace in this form of prayer, 195.—V. Children in some Churches appointed to say this prayer with the rest of the people, 196.—VI. What notice we have of this prayer in other ancient writings, 197.—VII. Of the prayers for the energumens, or persons possessed by evil spirits. The forms of these prayers out of the Constitutions, 197.—VIII. An account of them out of St. Chrysostom and other writers, 199.—IX. Of the prayers for the competentes or candidates of baptism, 201.—X. Of the prayers for the penitents, 203.—XI. What notice we have of these prayers in St. Chrysostom and other writers, 205.—XII. In what part of the church these prayers were made, 206.—XIII. Whether there were any such distinct prayers for the catechumens and penitents in the Latin Church, 208.

BOOK XV.

OF THE MISSA FIDELIUM, OR COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAPTER I.

Of the prayers preceding the oblation.

SECT. I. Of the prayer called διὰ σιωπῆς, or *silent prayer*, 210.—II. Of the prayers called διὰ προσφωνήσεως, or *bidding prayers*, 217.—III. The form of this sort of bidding prayers in the Constitutions, compared with the fragments that occur in Chrysostom and other writers, 222.—IV. Of the invocation or collect following the common prayers of the people, 227.

CHAPTER II.

Of the oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the consecration of the eucharist.

SECT. I. Of the customary oblations which the people made at the altar, 232.—II. What persons were allowed to make them, and what not, 234.—III. What oblations might be received at the altar, and what not, 241.—IV. The names of such as made oblations of any considerable value rehearsed at the altar, 245.—V. The eucharistical elements usually taken out of the people's oblations: and consequently no use of wafers or unleavened bread, 247.—VI. The use of wafers instead of bread, condemned in their first original, 251.—VII. Wine mixed with water commonly used in the ancient Church, 254.—VIII. Of some heretics who made alterations or additions to the elements in the eucharist, 259.—IX. And of others who rejected the use of the sacrament altogether, 259.

CHAPTER III.

Of the oblation or consecration prayers, and the several parts of them.

SECT. I. The form of thanksgiving and consecration-prayers described out of the Constitutions, 260.—II. This account compared with what is said in other authors. First, as to the form of salutation, "Peace be with you, &c." 275.—III. Of the kiss of peace, 280.—IV. Washing the hands before consecration, 285.—V. The deacon's admonition to all non-communicants to withdraw; and to all communicants to come with charity and sincerity, 286.—VI. Of the ῥιπίδια, or *fans*, to drive away insects, 287.—VII. Of the use of the sign of the cross at the Lord's table, 289.—VIII. Of the usual preface, called "*Sursum Corda, Lift up your hearts,*" or preparation to the great thanksgiving, 289.—IX. Of the εὐχαριστία, or great *thanksgiving*, properly so called, 291.—X. Of the use of the hymn Trisagion, or seraphical hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! in this thanksgiving, 295.—XI. A particular thanksgiving for the mercies of God in the redemption of mankind by Christ, 297.—XII. The form of consecration always composed of a repetition of the words of institution, and prayer to God to sanctify the gifts by his Holy Spirit, 298.—XIII. After this followed prayer for the whole Catholic Church, 305.—XIV. More particularly for the bishops and clergy, 307.—XV. For kings and magistrates, 308.—XVI. For the dead in general, 309.—XVII. Upon what grounds the ancient Church prayed for the dead, saints, martyrs, confessors, as well as all others, 317.—XVIII. A short account of the diptychs, and their use in the ancient Church, 327.—XIX. Next to the dead, prayer made for the living members of that particular Church, and every order in it, 330.—XX. For those that were in sickness, slavery, banishment, proscription, and all that travelled by sea or land, 331.—XXI. For enemies and persecutors, heretics and un-

believers, 332.—XXII. For the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, 334.—XXIII. For healthful and fruitful seasons, 335.—XXIV. For all their absent brethren, 336.—XXV. Concluding with a doxology to the whole Trinity, 336.—XXVI. To which the people with one voice answered, "Amen," 337.—XXVII. Then followed the Creed in such Churches as had made it a part of their liturgy, 338.—XXVIII. And the Lord's Prayer, 339.—XXIX. Absolution of penitents immediately before the Lord's Prayer, with occasional benedictions, 340.—XXX. Benediction after the Lord's Prayer, 340.—XXXI. Of the deacon's bidding prayer, after the consecration, 342.—XXXII. Of the form "*Sancta Sanctis*," and the hymn "Glory be to God on high," "Hosanna," &c. 344.—XXXIII. Of the invitatory psalm sung before the communion, 346.—XXXIV. That the consecration anciently was always performed with an audible voice, 347.—XXXV. And with the ceremony of breaking the bread to represent our Saviour's passion, 348.

CHAPTER IV.

Of communicants or persons who were allowed to receive this sacrament, and the manner of receiving it.

SECT. I. All persons, except catechumens and penitents, obliged to receive the eucharist, 351.—II. When and how this discipline began first to relax, 352.—III. When first the use of *eulogiæ* came in, instead of the eucharist, for such as would not communicate, 355.—IV. The corruption of private and solitary mass unknown in former ages, 356.—V. Other corruptions countenanced in the Roman Church, such as the *missa sicca* and *nautica*, and those called *bifaciata* and *trifaciata*, &c. 363.—VI. The communion not given to heretics and schismatics, without confession and reconciliation, 369.—VII. Yet given to infants and children for several ages, 370.—VIII. And sent to the absent members of their own and other Churches, 379.—IX. And to those that were sick, or in prison, or under any confinement, or in penance, at the point of death, 382.—X. The eucharist sometimes consecrated in private houses for these purposes, 385.—XI. And commonly reserved in the church for the same uses, 387.—XII. And also for public use upon some days, when they made no new consecration. This called *missa præsanctificatorum*. Its use and original, 388.—XIII. The eucharist sometimes reserved in private by private men, for daily participation, 391.—XIV. Yet this never allowed in the public service, 393.—XV. A novel custom noted, of reserving the eucharist for forty days, and the inconveniences attending it, 395.—XVI. The eucharist sometimes given to the energumens in the interval of their distemper, 397.—XVII. All men debarred from it that were guilty of any great or notorious crime of what rank or degree soever, 398.—XVIII. The question of digamy or second marriage stated. Whether it debarred men at any time from the communion, 398.—XIX. The corrupt custom of some who gave the

eucharist to the dead, censured by the Ancients, 400.—XX. Parallel to which is the abuse of burying the eucharist with the dead, 401.—XXI. The order of communicating, 402.—XXII. Some rules observed for distinction of places in communicating, 403.

CHAPTER V.

A resolution of several questions relating further to the manner of communicating in the ancient Church.

SECT. I. That the people were always admitted to receive the communion in both kinds, 405.—II. That in receiving in both kinds they always received the elements distinctly, and not the one dipped in the other, 415.—III. That the Ancients received sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling, but never sitting, 420.—IV. No elevation of the host for divine adoration in the ancient Church for many ages till the rise of transubstantiation, 425.—V. No adoration of the host before the twelfth or thirteenth century, 441.—VI. The people allowed to receive the eucharist into their own hands, 450.—VII. The same custom observed in delivering it to women and children, 454.—VIII. The eucharist usually delivered to the people with a certain form of words, to which they answered, Amen, 456.—IX. How Novatian and others abused the communion to wicked purposes, 459.—X. Proper Psalms for the occasion usually sung while the people were communicating, 460.

CHAPTER VI.

Of their post-communion service.

SECT. I. The communion service closed with several sorts of thanksgiving. The deacon's bidding prayer or thanksgiving, 464.—II. The bishop's thanksgiving, or commendation of the people to God, 465.—III. The bishop's benediction, 465.—IV. The deacon's form of dismissing the people with the short prayer, "Go in peace," 466.—V. What account we have of these prayers in other writers besides the Constitutions, 467.—VI. These thanksgivings always made in the plural number by and for the whole body of communicants. And so they are still remaining in the Roman mass book, to the reproach of the great abuse of private and solitary mass, 470.

CHAPTER VII.

How the remains of the eucharist were disposed of; and of their common entertainment, called agape, or feast of charity.

SECT. I. Part of the eucharist anciently reserved for particular uses, 472.—II. The rest divided among the communicants, 472.—III. This division of the consecrated elements, a distinct thing from the division of the other oblations, 472.—IV. The remains of the eucharist sometimes given to innocent children, 473.—V. And sometimes burnt in the fire,

475.—VI. Some part of the other oblations disposed of in a feast of charity, which all the Ancients reckon an apostolical rite accompanying the communion, 476.—VII. Whether this feast was before or after the communion in the Apostle's days, 478.—VIII. How observed in the following ages; when the eucharist was commonly received fasting and before this feast, except upon some particular occasions, 480.—IX. These love feasts at first held in the church, but afterwards forbidden to be kept in the church, by orders of Councils, 487.—X. How the Christians were at first abused and calumniated by some of the Heathen, but admired and envied by others upon the account of these feasts of charity, 489.

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the preparation which the Ancients required as necessary in communicants to qualify them for a worthy reception.

SECT. I. A general answer to the question by referring to the professions of repentance, faith, and holy obedience, made by every Christian in baptism; in the observation of which professions every one was presumed to be qualified for the communion, 493.—II. What failings were deemed consistent with these professions, and a state of grace, and a continual preparation for the communion, 495.—III. What repentance required for such failings, 498.—IV. What crimes unqualified men absolutely for the communion, and what sort of repentance was required for them, 499.—V. Ministers not to admit scandalous and notorious sinners to the communion, without satisfactory evidences of their repentance, in such cases as subjected them to the public discipline: in other cases where the public discipline was not concerned, they were only to admonish them to abstain from communion, but not obliged absolutely to repel them from it, 500.—VI. Auricular confession of private sins not necessary to be made to the priest as an indispensable qualification for the communion, 504.—VII. That preparation consists not in coming to communion at certain holy seasons, Easter, Christmas, &c.; but in sanctity and purity at all times, 507.—VIII. What faith they required in communicants, 511.—IX. What purity of soul by repentance and obedience. How far fasting useful or necessary to this purpose, 515.—X. The necessity of justice and restitution in a worthy communicant, 516.—XI. The necessity of peace and unity, 518.—XII. The necessity of charity to the poor, 521.—XIII. The necessity of forgiving enemies, and pardoning offences, 524.—XIV. What behaviour required in the act of communicating: and what deportment afterwards, 529.

CHAPTER IX.

Of frequent communion, and the times of celebrating it in the ancient Church.

SECT. I. All persons, except penitents under censure, obliged anciently to receive the communion every Lord's-day, by the canons of the

Church, 536.—II. This shown to be the constant practice for the three first ages, 539.—III. The eucharist celebrated on other days beside the Lord's-day in many Churches, 540.—IV. And in some places every day, 542.—V. When first it came to be settled to three times a year, 551.—VI. And afterward to once a year by the Council of Lateran, 552.—VII. What attempt was made to restore frequent and full communions at the Reformation, 553.—VIII. Wherein this is still deficient: and what seems yet necessary to be done in order to reduce communion to the primitive standard, 556.

THE ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK XIV.

OF THAT PART OF DIVINE SERVICE WHICH THE ANCIENTS COMPRISED UNDER THE GENERAL NAME OF MISSA CATECHUMENORUM, THE SERVICE OF THE CATECHUMENS, OR ANTE-COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAP. I.

Of the psalmody of the ancient Church.

That the service of the ancient Church usually began with psalmody.

1. IT has been observed before [1], that the Ancients comprised their whole service under two general heads, to which they gave the distinguishing names of *missa catechumenorum*, and *missa fidelium, the service of the catechumens*, and, *the service of communicants*, or *believers;* that is, as we would now term them, the ante-communion-service, and the communion-service.

The service of the catechumens was that part of divine worship, at which the catechumens, and all others, who were not perfect and full communicants, were allowed to be present; and it consisted of psalmody, reading the Scriptures, preaching and prayers for such particular orders of men, as were not admitted to participate of the holy mysteries: and under these several heads we must now consider it.

The service usually began with reading or singing of psalms,

[1] B. 13. ch. 1. s. 1. v. 4. pp. 261, 262.

as appears from that of St. Jerom[1], describing the service of the Egyptian monks: 'They meet at nine o'clock, and then the psalms are sung, and the Scriptures are read, and after prayers they all sit down, and the father preaches a sermon to them.' And so Cassian[2] represents it, 'that first the psalms were sung, and then followed two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New. Only on the Lord's-day and the fifty days of Pentecost, and the Sabbath or Saturday they read one lesson out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the other out of the Gospels.' But probably there might be a difference in the order of reading in different Churches. And that may reconcile the different opinions of learned men concerning the order of their service. For some think they began with reading the Scriptures, and others with a prayer of confession. The Author of the Constitutions[3], it is certain, prescribes first the reading of the Old Testament, and then the Psalms, and after that the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and last of all the Gospels. So that the psalms were intermingled with the lessons according to the rules and prescriptions, which that author had observed in some Churches. St. Basil[4] speaks of 'a confession made to God upon their knees, after which they rose up, and betook themselves to sing

[1] Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. [al. c5.] See before, b. 13. ch. 11. s. 6. p. 580. n. 88.

[2] Instit. lib. 2. c. 6. (p. 18.).... Quibus (psalmis) lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti. In die vero Sabbati vel Dominico utrasque de Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo, vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt.

[3] L. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 261.) *Μέσος δὲ ὁ ἀναγνώστης, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἑστὼς, ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Μωσέως, καὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναυὴ, τὰ τῶν Κριτῶν καὶ τῶν Βασιλειῶν, τὰ τῶν Παραλειπομένων καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐπανόδου· πρὸς τούτοις τὰ τοῦ Ἰὼβ καὶ τοῦ Σολομῶνος, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑκκαίδεκα Προφητῶν. Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἕτερός τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω ὕμνους, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω. Μετὰ τοῦτο αἱ Πράξεις αἱ ἡμέτεραι ἀναγινωσκέσθωσαν, καὶ Ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου, ἃς ἐπέστειλε ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις καθ' ὑφήγησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Εὐαγγέλια, κ.τ.λ.*—L. 5. c. 19. [al. 18.] (ibid. p. 323.) *Ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συναθροιζόμενοι γρηγορεῖτε, προσευχόμενοι καὶ δεόμενοι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ διανυκτερεύσει ὑμῶν, ἀναγινώσκοντες τὸν Νόμον, τοὺς Προφήτας, τοὺς Ψαλμοὺς, μέχρις ἀλεκτρυόνων κρανγῆς, καὶ βαπτίσαντες ὑμῶν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ ἀναγνόντες τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον ἐν φόβῳ καὶ τρόμῳ, κ. τ. λ.*

[4] Ep. 63. [al. 207.] ad Neocæsar. t. 3. p. 96. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 450 b. n. 3.) *Ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ [ἐν] θλίψει, καὶ [ἐν] συνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ· τελευταῖον, [ἐξ] ἀναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν καθίστανται.*

psalms to God.' But that was in their vigils or morning prayers before day, and most probably only a private confession, which every man made silently by himself, before they began the public service. But if we take it for a public confession, as the learned Hamon L'Estrange[5] does, then it will argue, that the Eastern Churches began their morning antelucan service with a prayer of confession, and so went on to their psalmody, which was the great exercise and entertainment of their nocturnal vigils. And indeed it was their exercise at all times in the Church, as St. Austin[6] notes, to fill up all vacuities, when neither the reading of the Scriptures, nor preaching, nor prayers, interposed to hinder them from it. All other spaces were spent in singing of psalms, than which there could not be any exercise more useful and edifying, or more holy and pious, in his opinion. And upon this account, if the observation of L'Estrange[7] be rightly made out of Chrysostom, the people were used to entertain the time with singing of psalms, before the congregation was complete and fully assembled. I take no notice here of their psalmody at other times, at their meals, at their labours, and in their private devotions: because, though this is frequently mentioned by the Ancients with great and large encomiums, yet it differed in many respects from the common psalmody, and we can draw little light or argument from that to explain the public service.

The psalms intermixed with lessons and prayers in some Churches.

2. As to the public psalmody of the Church, though we take it for the first and leading part of the service, yet we are not so to understand it, as if it was all performed at once in one continued course of repeating many psalms together without intermission, but rather with some respite, and a mixture of other parts of divine service, to make the whole more agreeable and delightful. At least, it was apparently so in the practice of some Churches. For the Council of Laodicea[8]

[5] Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 3. p. 75. (Reprint, p. 108.) To begin morning prayer, &c.

[6] Ep. 119. [al. 55.] ad Januar. c. 18. (t. 2. p. 142 c.) Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistites clara voce deprecantur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

[7] As above, ch. 3. p. 77. (Reprint, p. 112.) For you must know, &c.

[8] C. 17. (t. 1. p. 1500 b.) Περὶ τοῦ, μὴ δεῖν ἐπισυνάπτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσι τοὺς ψαλμοὺς, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου καθ' ἕκαστον ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀναγνωσιν.

made a decree, 'that the psalms should not be sung one immediately after another, but that a lesson should come between every psalm.' And St. Austin plainly intimates, that this was the practice of his own Church. For in one of his Homilies [9] he takes notice, first of the reading of the Epistle, then of singing the 95th Psalm, "O come let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our maker," and after that of a lesson read out of the Gospel. And in another Homily [10] he speaks of them in the same order. 'In the lesson out of the Epistle,' says he, 'thanks are given to God for the faith of the Gentiles. In the Psalm we said, Turn us again, thou Lord God of hosts, show the light of thy countenance, and we shall be whole. In the Gospel we were called to the Lord's supper.' By comparing these two places of St. Austin together, we may observe, that it was not any particular Psalm that was appropriated to come between the Epistle and Gospel, but the Psalm that was in the ordinary course of reading; for the 95th is mentioned in one place, and the 80th Psalm in the other.

Mabillon [11] has observed the same practice in the French Churches, out of the Collation between the Catholics and Arians in the reign of Gundobadus, King of Burgundy, anno 499. For in the relation of that conference it is said, that on the vigil before the day of disputation, in celebrating the divine offices it happened that the first lesson, that was out of the Pentateuch, had those words, *I will harden Pharaoh's heart, &c.* [Exod. 7, 3. or 14, 4.] After which the Psalms were sung, and then another lesson was read out of Isaiah, in which were these words, *Go and tell this people, Hearing ye shall hear, and*

[9] Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost. p. 112. [al. Serm. 176.] (t. 5. p. 839 d, e.) Hoc de Apostolica lectione percepimus. Deinde cantavimus Psalmum, exhortantes nos invicem una voce, uno corde dicentes, *Venite adoremus, &c.* Posthæc Evangelica lectio decem leprosos mundatos nobis ostendit.

[10] Hom. 33. de Verb. Dom. p. 49. [al. Serm. 112.] (t. 5. p. 564 b.) In lectione Apostolica gratiæ aguntur Deo de fide gentium.... In Psalmo diximus, Deus virtutum convcrte nos, &c.... In Evangelio ad cœnam vocati sumus, &c.

[11] De Cursu Gallicano, s. 1. n. 25. (p. 399.) Evenit autem ut ea nocte, cum lector secundum morem inciperet lectionem a Moyse, incidit in ea verba Domini, *Sed ego indurabo cor ejus, &c.* Deinde, cum post Psalmos decantatos recitaret ex Prophetis, occurrerunt verba Domini ad Esaiam dicentis, *Vade et dices populo huic, Audite audientes, &c.* Cumque, adhuc Psalmi fuissent decantati, et legeret ex Evangelio, incidit in verba, quibus Salvator exprobrat Judæis incredulitatem, *Væ tibi Chorazin, &c.* Denique cum lectio fieret ex Apostolo, &c.

shall not understand, &c. [6, 9.] Afterwards the Psalms were sung again, another lesson was read out of the Gospel, wherein were those words of our Saviour upbraiding the Jews with their infidelity, *Woe unto thee Chorazin, &c.* [Matth. 11, 21.] And last of all the Epistle was read, containing those words, *Despisest thou the riches of his goodness, &c.* [Rom. 2, 4.] Where it is easy to observe, that as there were four lessons read out of the Old and New Testament, so there were psalms sung between each lesson, except the last which is not mentioned.

3. These psalms were styled by a peculiar name, *responsoria*, and *psalmi responsorii, the responsories;* which was not a name affixed to any particular psalms, but was given to all such as happened to fall in here in the common course of reading. The fourth Council of Toledo is to be understood of such psalms when it speaks of *responsories*[11], blaming some for neglecting to use the *Gloria Patri* after them. And Gregory Turonensis often mentions them[12] more expressly under the name of *psalmi responsorii*, making it a part of the deacon's office to repeat them. The ancient ritualists are not agreed about the reason of the name, why they were called *responsoria:* some[13] saying they were so called, because, one singing, the whole choir did answer them: whilst others[14] say they

Which psalms w called by peculiar name, *p mi respo sorii.*

[11] C. 15. [al. 16.] (t. 5. p. 1710 e.) Sunt quidam, qui in fine responsoriorum *Gloria* non dicunt, &c.

[12] De Vitis Patrum, c. 8. [al. 4.] (p. 1187 a. 9.)... Diaconus responsorium psalmum canere cœpit.—Conf. Hist. Francor. l. 8. c. 3. (p. 378 b. 8.).... Jubet rex ut diaconum nostrum, qui ante diem ad missas psalmum responsorium dixerat, canere juberem.

[13] Isidor. Hispal. de Offic. Eccles. l. 1. c. 8. (p. 392 h.) Responsoria ab Italis longo ante tempore sunt reperta: et vocata hoc nomine, quod, uno canente, chorus consonando respondeat. Antea autem id solus quisque agebat: nunc unus interdum, interdum duo vel tres communiter [canunt], choro in plurimis respondente.

[14] Rupert. Tuitiens. de Divin. Offic. l. 1. c. 15. (t. 2. p. 721.) Responsoria, quæ post lectiones canimus, nobis innuunt, sanctis monitis Dei factis nos respondere debere, ne simus similes pueris sedentibus in foro, audientibus ac dicentibus, *Cantavimus vobis, et non saltastis; lamentavimus vobis, et non plorastis.* Dicuntur enim a respondendo. Tristitia [leg. tristia] namque tristibus et læta lætis debemus succinere lectionibus: siquidem neque moris est, neque decoris, ut cum lector tristia dixerit, verbi gratia, quæ sunt pœnitentiæ, sive lamentum aliquod Dominicæ passionis, chorus in responsorio saltet de gaudio regni et gloria resurrectionis. Sed dum lector, velut Ioannes non manducans neque bibens, prædicat pœnitentiam, nos itidem in responsorio ploramus: dum ille, velut Filius Hominis, manducans et bibens, cantat nobis de gaudio regni, succinentes eidem,

had their name, because they answered to the lessons, being sung immediately after them. Which seems to be the more likely reason.

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4. But we are not to imagine that these were the only psalms which the Ancients used in their psalmody. For some psalms were of constant use in the Church, as being appropriated to particular services. We have seen before[15] that the 63rd Psalm, "O God, my God, early will I seek thee," was peculiarly styled *the Morning Psalm*, because it was always sung at morning service, as the 95th Psalm is now in our Liturgy. And the 141st Psalm, "Let my prayer be set forth in thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," was always sung[16] at evening service. They had also some proper psalms adapted to the nature of their communion-service and their funeral offices, as we shall see hereafter. And in the French Church, from the time that Musæus, presbyter of Marseilles, composed his *Lectionarium*, or *Order of reading the Psalms and Lessons*, at the instance of Venerius his bishop, the responsory psalms were all adapted to their proper times and lessons, as Gennadius[17] informs us. And this, some learned men[18] think was at first peculiar to the Gallican office, and a singular usage of the French Church. Which may be true as to the appropriating the several psalms to their proper lessons in the general course of the year: but it cannot be true if it be meant only of particular and solemn occasions. For the Church had not only proper lessons, but proper psalms read upon greater festivals, suitable to the occasion; and that long before the time of Musæus' composing his Calendar for the Gallican Church. For St. Austin[19] plainly informs us, that the 22nd Psalm, "My God, my God, why

apte saltamus. Quodque uno præcinente, tam in his, quam in cæteris ejusmodi [al. hujusmodi], chorus concorditer sequitur, illud astruit, quod Apostolus obsecrat, ut id ipsum dicamus omnes, et non sint in nobis schismata.

[15] B. 13. ch. 10. s. 1. v. 4. p. 554.

[16] B. 13. ch. 11. s. 2. v. 4. p. 574.

[17] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 79. (ap. Oper. Hieron. t. 2. p. 981.) Responsoria etiam Psalmorum capitula tempori et lectionibus congruentia excerpsit.

[18] Stillingfleet, Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 218. (v. 3. p. 134.) This will oblige us to enquire, &c.

[19] In Ps. 21. ap. Præf. Serm. 2. p. 43. (t. 4. p. 94 f, g.) Miror, fratres, si hodie Psalmus iste legitur et in parte Donati. Rogo vos, fratres mei, confiteor vobis, novit Christi misericordia, quia sic miror, quasi lapidei ibi sint, et non audiant..... Legamus illum, quantum angustia temporis patitur, &c.

hast thou forsaken me, &c.," was always read upon the day of our Saviour's passion in the African Church, and he seems to intimate that the Donatists did the same, though they were so stony-hearted as not to make a just application of it. And there is little question to be made, but that as they had proper psalms for this occasion, so they had for all the other solemn festivals.

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5. The other psalms were sung in the ordinary course of reading from end to end, in the same order as they lay in the book, without being appropriated to any times, or lessons, or days, except those particular psalms which were appointed as proper for each canonical hour. Cassian[20] observes, that in Egypt, at the first beginning of the monastic life, there were almost as many types, rules, or orders about this matter, as there were monasteries, some singing eighteen psalms immediately one after another, others twenty, and some more. But at last by common consent, the number for morning and evening service was reduced to twelve[21], which were read in one continued course without any lessons coming between them: for they had only two lessons, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New, and those read only when all the psalms were ended. He tells us also[22], that in some places they sung six psalms every canonical hour, and some proportioned the number of psalms to the number of the hour at which they met at their devotions: so that at the third hour

[20] Instit. l. 2. c. 2. (p. 13.) Multos namque comperimus per alias regiones pro captu mentis suæ, habentes quidem, ut ait Apostolus, zelum Dei, sed non secundum scientiam, super hac re diversos typos ac regulas sibimet constituisse. Quidam enim vicenos seu tricenos psalmos, et hos ipsos antiphonarum protelatos melodiis, et adjunctione quarundam modulationum debere dici singulis noctibus censuerunt: alii hunc modum etiam excedere tentaverunt: nonnulli decem et octo; atque in hunc modum diversis in locis diversum canonem agnovimus institutum, totque propemodum typos ac regulas vidimus usurpatas, quot etiam monasteria cellasque conspeximus.

[21] Ibid. c. 4. (p. 15.).... Per universam ... Ægyptum et Thebaidem duodenarius psalmorum numerus, tam in vespertinis quam in nocturnis solemnitatibus, custoditur, ita duntaxat ut post hunc [numerum] duæ lectiones, Veteris scilicet ac Novi Testamenti singulæ, subsequantur.

[22] Ibid. c. 2. (p. 13.) Sunt quibus in ipsis quoque diurnis orationum officiis, id est, tertia, sexta, nonaque, id visum est, ut secundum horarum modum, in quibus hæc Domino reddantur obsequia, psalmorum etiam et orationum putarent numerum coæquandum: nonnullis placuit senarium numerum singulis diei conventibus deputari.

they had only three psalms, but six at the sixth, and nine at the ninth hour; till upon more mature deliberation they came at last to this resolution, to have only three psalms[23] at every diurnal hour of prayer, reserving the greater number of twelve for the more solemn assemblies at morning and evening prayer. But the custom of conforming the number of psalms to the number of hours continued in use in some parts of France, or else was taken up in the time of the second Council of Tours, anno 567, as appears from a singular canon of that Council, which I have recited at large before[24] in the last Book.

nd some ppointed casion- ly at the scretion the bi- op or pre- ntor.

6. Besides these, it was usual for the bishop or precentor to appoint any psalm to be sung occasionally in any part of the service at discretion: as now our anthems in cathedrals are left to the choice of the precentor, and the psalms in metre to the discretion of the minister, to choose and appoint what psalms he pleases, and what times he thinks most proper in divine service. Thus Athanasius[25] tells us he appointed his deacon to sing an occasional psalm, when his church was beset with the Arian soldiers. And St. Austin sometimes speaks of a particular psalm[26], which he ordered the reader to repeat, intending himself to preach upon it: and it once happened that the reader mistaking one of these psalms, read another in its stead; which put St. Austin upon an extempore discourse[27] upon the psalm that was read by mistake to the people. And when we consider that they sometimes spent whole days and nights almost in psalmody; as when St. Ambrose's church was beset with the Arian soldiers[28], the people within continued

[23] Ibid. l. 3. c. 3. See before, b. 13. ch. 9. s. 8. v. 4. p. 543. n. 90.

[24] C. 19. See ibid. s. 9. v. 4. p. 549. n. 9.

[25] Apol. 2. p. 717. [al. Apol. de Fug. n. 24.] (t. 1. part. 1. p. 265 a.) .... *Καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, προέτρεπον τὸν μὲν διάκονον ἀναγινώσκειν ψαλμόν· τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν, Ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.*

[26] Præfat. in Ps. 31. (t. 4. p. 171 c.) Hunc autem psalmum ad eam gratiam pertinere, qua Christiani sumus, testatus est apostolus Paulus: unde ipsam lectionem vobis legi voluimus.

[27] In Ps. 138. p. 650. (ibid. p. 1534 a.) Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus, quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.

[28] Ep. 33. [al. 20.] ad Marcellin. Soror. [nn. 24, 25.] (t. 2. p. 858 e.) Exactus est totus ille dies in mœrore nostro.... Ego domum redire non potui, quia circumfusi erant milites, qui basilicam custodiebant. Cum fratribus psalmos in ecclesiæ basilica minore diximus. Sequenti die lectus est de more Liber Jonæ,

the whole night and day in singing of psalms; it will easily be imagined that at such times they did not sing appropriated psalms, but entertained themselves with such as the bishop then occasionally appointed, or left them at large to their own choice, to sing at liberty and discretion. Sometimes the reader himself pitched upon a psalm, as the necessity of affairs would allow him, or his own discretion direct him. Thus St. Austin tells us in one of his Homilies [29], that he had preached upon a psalm, not which he appointed the reader to sing, but what God put into his heart to read, which determined his sermon to the subject of repentance, being the fifty-first or penitential Psalm, which the reader sung of his own accord, or rather, as St. Austin words it, 'by God's direction.'

Sulpicius Severus tells a remarkable story to the same purpose in the Life of St. Martin [30]. He says, when St. Martin was to be elected bishop, 'one, whose name was Defensor, among the bishops, was a great stickler against him. Now it happened, that in the tumult the reader, whose course it was to sing the psalm that day, could not come at his place in due time, and therefore another read the first psalm that he lighted upon when he opened the book, which happened to be the eighth Psalm, wherein were those words, "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise, because of thine enemies, *that thou mightest destroy the enemy and defensor*," as the Gallican version then read it,—*Ut destruas inimicum et defensorem.*' And this, though it seemingly

quo completo, hunc sermonem adorsus sum: Liber lectus est, fratres, &c. ED.]

[29] Serm. 27. ex. 50. t. 10. p. 175. [al. Serm. 352. De Utilit. Pœnitent. 2.] (t. 5. p. 1363 d.) Proinde aliquid de pœnitentia dicere divinitus jubemur. Neque enim nos istum psalmum cantandum lectori imperavimus: sed quod ille censuit vobis esse utile ad audiendum, hoc cordi etiam puerili imperavit.

[30] Vit. Martin. c. 7. (p. 472.) Inter episcopos tamen, qui affuerant, præcipue Defensor quidam nomine dicitur restitisse: unde animadversum est, graviter illum lectione prophetica tunc notatum. Nam cum fortuito lector, cui legendi eo die officium erat, interclusus a populo defuisset, turbatis ministris, dum exspectatur, qui non aderat, unus e circumstantibus, sumpto psalterio, quem primum versum invenit, arripuit. Psalmus autem erat, Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos, ut destruas inimicum et *defensorem!* quo lecto clamor populi tollitur, pars diversa confunditur. Atque ita habitum est, divino nutu psalmum hunc lectum fuisse, ut testimonium operis Defensor audiret, quia, ex ore infantium atque lactentium in Martino Domini laude perfecta, ostensus pariter et destructus est inimicus.

were but a chance thing, was looked upon as providential by the people, to overthrow the machinations of Defensor.

Prayers in some places between every psalm, instead of a lesson.

7. In some places, instead of lessons between every psalm, they allowed a short space for private prayer to be made in silence, and a short collect by the minister, which Cassian[31] says was the ordinary custom of the Egyptian fathers. For they reckoned[32], that frequent short prayers were more useful than long continued ones, both to solicit God more earnestly by frequent addresses, and to avoid the temptations of Satan, drawing them into lassitude and weariness, which was prevented by their succinct brevity. And therefore they divided the longer psalms into two or three parts[33], interposing prayers between every distinction.

The *Gloria Patri* added at the end of every psalm in the Western, but not in the Eastern Churches.

8. In all the Western Churches, except the Roman, it was customary also at the end of every psalm for the congregation to stand, and say, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost! but in the Eastern Churches it was otherwise: for as I have noted before, out of Cassian[34], in all the East they never used this glorification, but only at the end of the last psalm, which they called their *antiphona*, or *Hallelujah*. This was one of those psalms which had *Hallelujah* prefixed to it, and which they repeated by way of *antiphona*, or *responsal*, and then added, Glory be to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost! But in the Western Churches, he says, it was used at the end of every psalm. And so we are to understand those canons of the Council of Toledo[35], which order,

[31] Instit. l. 2. c. 5. (p. 16.)..... Undecim psalmos orationum interjectione distinctos, &c.

[32] Ibid. c. 10. (p. 23.) Utilius censent breves quidem orationes, sed creberrimas fieri. Illud quidem ut frequentius Dominum deprecantes jugiter eidem cohærere possimus. Hoc vero, ut insidiantis Diaboli jacula, quæ infligere nobis tunc præcipue, cum oramus, insistit, succincta brevitate vitemus.

[33] Vid. Cassian. ibid. c. 11. (p. 23.) Et idcirco ne psalmos quidem ipsos, quos in congregatione decantant, continuata student pronuntiatione concludere: sed eos pro numero versuum duabus vel tribus intercessionibus cum orationum interjectione divisos, distinctim particulatimque consummant, &c.

[34] See b. 13. ch. 10. s. 14. v. 4. p. 571. n. 68.–Conf. Walafrid. Strab. de Reb. Eccles. c. 25. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 15. p. 195 c. 7.) Dicendum vero de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unicæ Trinitatis officiis omnibus interseritur, eum a Sanctis Patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum.... Hunc itaque hymnum nonnulli omnibus pene psalmis, et interdum incisionibus psalmorum, coaptant: responsoriis vero paucioribus, &c.

[35] Tolet. 4. c. 14. [al. 15.] (t. 5. p. 1710 e.] In fine psalmorum, non

Glory and honour be to the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost! to be said at the end of the psalms and responsories: but the Decretal of Vigilius[36], which orders the same at the end of the psalms, must be taken according to the custom of the Roman Church to be used only at the conclusion of all. Other differences relating to the use of this doxology and its original shall be considered in the next chapter in their proper place.

The psalms sometimes sung by one person only.

9. As to the persons concerned in this service of singing the psalms publicly in the church, we may consider them in four different respects, according to the different ways of psalmody. 1. Sometimes the psalms were sung by one person alone, the rest hearing only with attention. 2. Sometimes they were sung by the whole assembly joining all together. 3. Sometimes alternately by the congregation divided into distinct choirs, the one part repeating one verse, and the other another. 4. Sometimes one person repeated the first part of the verse, and the rest joined all together in the close of it. The first of these ways Cassian[37] notes as the common custom of the Egyptian monasteries; for he says, 'that except him, who rose up to sing, all the rest sat by on low seats in silence, giving attention to him that sang.' And though sometimes four sang the twelve psalms in one assembly, yet they did it not all together, but in course one after another[38], each singing three psalms, and the rest keeping silence till the last psalm, which they all sang by way of *antiphona*, or *alternate song*, adding the *Gloria Patri* in the close.

Sometimes by the whole assembly joining all together.

10. Sometimes again the whole assembly joined together; men, women, and children, united with one mouth and one mind in singing psalms and praises to God. This was the most ancient and general practice, till the way of alternate psalmody was brought into the Church. Thus Christ and his

sicut a quibusdam huc usque, *Gloria Patri*, sed, *Gloria et honor Patri*, dicatur, &c.—C. 15. [al. 16.] See s. 2. n. 11, preceding.

[36] Ep. 1. ad Eutherium, c. 2. (CC. ibid. p. 312 c.) ... In fine psalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dicatur, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto!*

[37] Instit. l. 2. c. 12. (p. 24.) Ut .... absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti, sedilibus humillimis insidentes, ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant.

[38] Ibid. c. 5. (p. 16.) .... Unus in medium psalmos Domino cantaturus exsurgit.—It. c. 8. See before, b. 13. ch. 10. s. 14. v. 4. p. 571. n. 68.

Apostles sung the hymn at the last supper, and thus Paul and Silas at midnight sung praises unto God. Bellarmin[38] indeed, and some other writers of the Romish Church say, this custom was not in use till the time of St. Ambrose; but they plainly mistake the introduction of the alternate way of singing psalms for this more ancient way, which derives its original from the foundation of the Church. Thus St. Hilary[39], who lived before St. Ambrose, takes notice, that the people all prayed, and all sang hymns together. And St. Chrysostom[40], comparing the apostolical times with his own, says, 'Anciently they all met together, and all sang in common: and so do we at this day.' And again[41], 'Women and men, old men and children, differ in sex and age, but they differ not in the harmony of singing hymns: for the Spirit tempers all their voices together, making one melody of them all.' After the same manner St. Austin sometimes[42] speaks of singing the psalms between the lessons with united voices, though before his time the way of alternate psalmody was become very common in all parts of the Church.

Sometimes alternately, by the congregation

11. This way of singing the psalms alternately was, when the congregation, dividing themselves into two parts, repeated the psalms by courses, verse for verse one after another, and

[38] De Bonis Operibus, l. 1. c. 16. t. 4. p. 1077. (t. 4. p. 1193 a.)—S. Augustinus, Confess. l. 9. c. 7., scribit ab Ambrosio primum institutum fuisse, ut, juxta morem Orientalium partium, [quatuor] psalmi atque hymni in Mediolanensi ecclesia canerentur, atque hunc usum inde ad alias Occidentis ecclesias dimanasse: eumdem usum idem Augustinus probat tum loco notato, tum etiam, l. 10. c. 33. Sed quod ait, *ab Ambrosio id primum institutum*, non ita videtur accipiendum, quasi cantus ecclesiasticus in Occidente ante Ambrosii tempora plane ignotus fuerit. Contrarium enim testantur, quæ paullo ante citavimus ex Hilario et Tertulliano. Sed fortasse loquitur Augustinus non de cantu absolute, sed de cantu totius populi. Antea siquidem psalmum cantabat unus, tantum audientibus cæteris. Unde est illud Hieronymi in Epist. ad Rusticum, *Dicas psalmum in ordine tuo.* Fortasse etiam soli clerici, ut nunc fieri videmus, canebant. Ambrosius autem ad leniendum mœrorem populi in persecutione Justinæ instituit, ut totus populus caneret.

[39] In Ps. 65. p. 232. (t. 1. p. 196 c. n. 4.) Audiat orantis populi consistens quis extra ecclesiam vocem, spectet celebres hymnorum sonitus.

[40] Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. t. 3. p. 232. (t. 10. p. 340 b.) .... Συνήεσαν τὸ παλαιὸν ἅπαντες, καὶ ὑπέψαλον [al. ἐπέψαλον] κοινῇ.

[41] In Ps. 145. t. 3. p. 824. [Hom. in illud, Lauda, &c.] (t. 5. p. 527 e.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες, καὶ πρεσβύται, καὶ νέοι διῄρηνται μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, οὐ διῄρηνται δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ὑμνῳδίας λόγον.

[42] Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost. p. 112. [al. Serm. 176.] (t. 5. p. 839 e.) Deinde cantavimus psalmum exhortantes nos invicem una voce, una corde, dicentes, *Venite adoremus, &c.*

not, as formerly, all together. As the other, for its common conjunction of voices, was properly called *symphony;* so this, for its division into two parts, and alternate answers, was commonly called *antiphony*, and sometimes *responsoria, the singing by responsals.* This is plain from that noted iambic of Gregory Nazianzen[43], Σύμφωνον, ἀντίφωνον ἀγγέλων στάσιν, where the *symphony* denotes their singing alternately verse for verse by turns. Socrates[44] calls it, ἀντίφωνον ὑμνωδίαν, *the antiphonal hymnody:* and St. Ambrose[45], *responsoria, singing by way of responsals.* For, comparing the Church to the sea, he says, 'From the responsories of the psalms, and singing of men, women, virgins, and children, there results an harmonious noise like the waves of the sea.' He expressly mentions women, in other places[46], as allowed to sing in public, though otherwise the Apostle had commanded them to keep silence in the Church. St. Austin also frequently mentions[47] this way of singing by parts or alternately by responses: and he carries the original of it in the Western Church no higher than the time of St. Ambrose, when he was under the persecution of the Arian Empress Justina, mother of the younger Valentinian; at which time both he[48], and Paulinus[49], who writes the Life of St. Ambrose, tell us, the way of antiphonal singing was first brought into the Church of Milan in imitation of the custom of the Eastern Churches, and that from this example it presently spread all over the Western Churches. What was the first original of it in the Eastern Church is not so certainly

divided into two parts.

[43] Carm. Iamb. de Virtute. (t. 2. p. 218 d.)

[44] L. 6. c. 8. (v. 2. p. 322. 30.) Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια.

[45] Hexamer. l. 3. c. 5. (t. 1. p. 42 b. n. 23.) ... Responsoriis psalmorum, cantu virorum, mulierum, virginum, parvulorum, consonans undarum fragor resultat.

[46] Præf. in Ps. 1. n. 2. (t. 1. p. 741 a.) Mulieres Apostolus in ecclesia tacere jubet. Psalmum etiam bene clamant, &c.

[47] In Ps. 26. in Præf. (t. 4. p. 118 e.) Voces istæ psalmi, quas audivimus, et ex parte cantavimus, &c. —It. in Ps. 46. (p. 408 c.) Itaque in hoc psalmo, quem cantatum audivimus, cui cantando respondimus, ea sumus dicturi quæ nostis.

[48] Confess. l. 9. c. 7. (t. 1. p. 162 f.) Tunc hymni et psalmi ut canerentur secundum morem Orientalium partium, ne populus mœroris tædio contabesceret, institutum est: et ex illo in hodiernum retentum, multis jam ac pene omnibus gregibus tuis et per cæteras orbis partes imitantibus.

[49] Vit. Ambros. p. 4. (t. 2. præfix. append. p. 4 e.) Hoc in tempore primo antiphonæ hymni ac vigiliæ in ecclesia Mediolanensi celebrari cœperunt, &c.

agreed upon by writers, either ancient or modern. Theodoret [50] says, that Flavian and Diodorus first brought in the way of singing David's Psalms alternately into the Church of Antioch, in the reign of Constantius. But Socrates [51] carries the original of this way of singing hymns to the Holy Trinity as high as Ignatius. Valesius [52] thinks Socrates was mistaken: but Cardinal Bona [53] and Pagi [54] think both accounts may be true, taking the one to speak of David's Psalms only, and the other of hymns composed for the service of the Church. Some say the custom was first begun by Ignatius, but destroyed by Paulus Samosatensis, and revived again by Flavian. But Pagi's conjecture seems most reasonable, that Flavian only introduced this way of singing the psalms in the Greek tongue at Antioch, whereas it had been used in the Syrian language long before, as he shows out of Theodorus of Mopsuestia, and Valesius himself confirms this out of the same author [55], whose testimony is

[50] L. 2. c. 24. (v. 3. p. 107. 5.) Οὗτοι πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς, κ. τ. λ.

[51] L. 6. c. 8. (v. 2. p. 322. 32.) Ἰγνάτιος . . . ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ �ράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν· ὅθεν καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὕτη ἡ παράδοσις διεδόθη.

[52] [Ad Socrat. loc. citat. (ibid. n. 1.) Nescio unde hæc hauserit Socrates. Constat enim primos omnium Flavianum ac Diodorum, regnante Constantio, psallentium choros Antiochiæ bifariam divisisse, et Psalmos Davidicos alternis canendos eis tradidisse: eamque rem primum Antiochiæ institutam, postea ad reliquas totius orbis ecclesias dimanasse. *Grischov.*]

[53] De Psalmod. c. 16. s. 10. n. 1. (p. 457.) Scio, quidem Theodoretum, Suidam, quos nonnulli recentiores sequuti sunt, ad Flavianum et Diodorum, Antiochenos monachos, qui tempore Constantii Imperatoris floruerunt, hanc institutionem referre. Veruntamen vel errasse istos dicendum est; vel non de quocunque alterno cantu, sed de solis Davidicis Psalmis intelligi debent. *Hi enim primi*, ait Theodoretus, *psallentium choro in duas partes diviso, Hymnos Davidicos alternis canendos instituerunt.*

[54] Crit. in Baron. an. 400. n. 10. [al. 14.] (t. 2. p. 34.) Ea tamen species jam ante Flavianum atque Diodorum a Syris videtur usurpata. Scribit enim Theodorus [Mopsuest.], Flavianum ac Diodorum primos omnium eam psalmodiæ speciem, quas *antiphonas* vocant, ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulisse, et omnium prope solos hujus rei auctores cunctis orbis partibus apparuisse. Quod igitur Syri diu ante Flavianum præstiterant, Psalmos Davidicos lingua Syriaca antiphonatim canentes, id Flavianus ac Diodorus a Græcis Antiochensibus, psalmos Græce canentibus, fieri instituerunt.

[55] Thesaur. Orthodox. Fid. l. 5. c. 30. (p. 482.) Cæterum per id tempus Antiochiæ florebant, et virtute scientiaque celebres habebantur, Flavianus et Diodorus, quorum ille Antiocheno episcopatui, hic Tarsensi posteas præfectus est. Atque, ut Theodorus Mopsuestiæus scribit, illam psalmodiæ speciem, quas *antiphonas* dicimus, illi ex Syrorum lingua in Græcam transtulerunt,

preserved by Nicetas. However this matter be as to the first original of this way of antiphonal psalmody, it is certain, that from the time that Flavian either instituted or revived it at Antioch, it prevailed in a short time to become the general practice of the whole Church. St. Chrysostom [56] encouraged it in the vigils at Constantinople, in opposition to the Arians. St. Basil [57] speaks of it in his time, as the received custom of all the East. And we have seen before, how from the time of St. Ambrose it prevailed over all the West. And it was a method of singing so taking and delightful, that they sometimes used it, where two or three were met together for private devotion. As Socrates [58] particularly remarks it of the Emperor Theodosius Junior and his sisters, that they were used to sing alternate hymns together every morning in the royal palace.

12. Besides all these there was yet a fourth way of singing, of pretty common use in the fourth age of the Church: which was, when a single person, whom that age called a *phonascus*, ὑποβολεὺς, or *præcentor* [59], began the verse, and the people joined with him in the close. This the Greeks called ὑπηχεῖν, and ὑπακούειν, and the Latins *succinere*. And it was often used for variety in the same service with alternate psalmody. Thus St. Basil [60], describing the different manners of their morning psalmody, tells us, 'they one while divided themselves into two parts, and sung alternately, answering to one another; and then again they let one begin the psalm, and the rest joined with him in the close of the verse.' This was certainly in use at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius, as I have

Sometimes by a single *præcentor* repeating the first part of the verse, and the people all joining with him in the close. Where also of dia-psalms, and acroteleutics and acrostics in psalmody.

ut omnium prope soli admirandi hujus operis omnibus Christiani hominibus auctores apparuerunt.

[56] Vid. Socrat. l. 6. c. 8. (v. 2. p. 322. 6.) .... Ἰωάννης εὐλαβηθεὶς, μή τις τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ᾠδῶν ἀφελκυσθῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀντιτίθησιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὅπως ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεριναῖς ὑμνολογίαις σχολάζοντες, ἀμαυρώσωσι μὲν τὴν ἐκείνων περὶ τούτου σπουδὴν, βεβαίους δὲ τοὺς οἰκείους πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πίστιν ἐργάσωνται. [See also before, b. 13. ch. 9. s. 3. v. 4. p. 527. n. 23., and ibid. s. 4. p. 533. n. 49. ED.]

[57] Ep. 63. [al. 207.] ad Neocæsar. See before, b. 13. ch. 10. s. 13. v. 4. p. 569. n. 59.

[58] L. 7. c. 22. (v. 2. p. 369. 5.) Οὐκ ἀλλοιότερα δὲ ἀσκητηρίου κατέστησε τὰ βασίλεια· αὐτὸς τοιγαροῦν, ταῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφαῖς ὀρθρίζων, ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους εἰς τὸ Θεῖον ἔλεγε.

[59] See b. 3. ch. 7. s. 3. v. 1. p. 334.—Conf. Sidon. Apollon. l. 4. Ep. 11. (p. 260.) ... Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus.

[60] Ep. 63. [al. 207.] ad Neocæsar. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 450 c. n. 3.) ... Καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες, κ.τ.λ. See before, b. 13. ch. 10. s. 13. v. 4. p. 569. n. 59., from the middle of it onwards.

observed in the last Book[61]. For both he himself[62], and all the historians[63], who relate the story after him, in speaking of his escape out of the church, when it was beset with the Arian soldiers, tell us, he avoided the assault by setting the people to psalmody, which psalmody was of this kind: for he commanded the deacon to read the psalm, and the people ὑπακούειν, *to repeat after him* this clause, "For his mercy endureth for ever." The common translations of Athanasius make this ὑπακούειν to signify no more than the people's attending to what the deacon read: but Epiphanius Scholasticus, the ancient author of the Historia Tripartita[64], having occasion to relate this very passage of Athanasius, rightly renders ὑπακούειν by *respondere*. The deacon read, and the people answered in these words, "For his mercy endureth for ever." Valesius[65] thinks it should be read ὑπηχεῖν instead of ὑπακούειν, in all those places of Athanasius and the historians after him: but there is no need of that critical correction; for both the words among the Greeks are of the same import, and signify *to make answer*, or *responses*, as Cotelerius[66], a judicious critic, has observed. And so the word ὑπακούειν is used both by Theocritus[67] and Homer[68]. So that there is no reason to dispute

[61] B. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 406.

[62] Apol. 2. p. 717. See before, n. 31, preceding.

[63] Theodor. l. 2. c. 13.—Socrat. l. 2. c. 11.—Sozom. l. 3. c. 6.—See these cited, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 405. n. 43.

[64] L. 5. c. 2 (ap. Oper. Cassiodor. t. 1. p. 239.) Residens in sede præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, populis respondentibus, [al. et populi responderent,] *Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.*

[65] In Theodoret. l. 2. c. 13. (v. 3. p. 87. n. 3.) Τοὺς δὲ λαοὺς ὑπακούειν. Scribendum puto ὑπηχεῖν, id est, ut populus succineret clausulam psalmi. Ita certe legisse videtur Epiphanius Scholasticus, qui hunc locum ita vertit: *Præcepi, ut diaconus psalmum legeret, et populi responderent, Quoniam in sæculum misericordia ejus.* Id Græci proprie dicebant ὑπηχεῖν: sic Basilius in Epistola 73. ad Clericos Neocæsarienses.

[66] In Constit. Apost. l. 2. c. 57. (v. 1. p. 262. n. 34.) Male, qui Athanasium et Historiam Ecclesiasticam Theodoriti interpretati sunt, verbum ὑπακούειν putaverunt esse *auscultare, audire*; cum hic, et alibi, sæpe significet *respondere*.

[67] Idyl. 14. [al. 13.] de Hyla. (Oxon. 1770. t. 1. p. 58.) Τρὶς δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν· *ter puer respondit.*

[68] Odyss. 4. 283. (Glasg. 1814.) ... Ἀκούσαμεν ὡς ἐβόησας. Νῶϊ μὲν ἀμφοτέρω μενεήναμεν ὁρμηθέντε, Ἦ ἐξελθέμεναι, ἢ ἔνδοθεν αἶψ' ὑπακοῦσαι. —*Aut exire, aut protinus respondere.* —Conf. Stephani Thesaur. [voce, Ὑπηχεώ. (t. 1. p. 1486 a.)... Item *succino*. Philo, de Vita M. Ἐμοῦ τε λεκτέα ὑπηχοῦντος ἄνευ τῆς σῆς διανοίας. *Grischov.*] [Stephanus, voce Ἀκούω, (ibid. p. 293 c.) takes no notice of ὑπακούειν in the sense of ὑπηχεῖν, *succinere*, for which there is no very good authority. In the Supplices of Euripides (710) we have χθὼν ὑπήχησε, and Aristotle (Problem.) uses the term with reference to *musical instruments*. Ὑπακούειν more

the use of it in this sense in ecclesiastical writers. St. Chrysostom[69] uses the word ὑπηχεῖν, when he speaks of this practice: 'The singer sings alone, and all the rest answer him in the close, as it were with one mouth and with one voice.' And elsewhere[70] he says, 'The priests began the psalm, and the people followed after in their responses.'

Sometimes this way of psalmody was called singing acrostics. For though an acrostic commonly signifies the beginning of a verse, yet sometimes it is taken for the end or close of it. As by the Author of the Constitutions[71], when he orders one to sing the hymns of David, and the people to sing after him *the acrostics* or *ends of the verses*. This was otherwise called *hypopsalma* and *diapsalma*, and ἀκροτελεύτιον and ἐφύμνιον, which are all words of the same signification. Only we must observe, that they do not always denote precisely *the end of a verse*, but sometimes *that which was added at the end of a psalm*, or *something that was repeated frequently in the middle of it*, as the close of the several parts of it. Thus St. Austin composed a psalm for the common people to learn against the Donatists, and in imitation of the 119th Psalm he divided it into so many parts according to the order of the letters in the alphabet, (whence such psalms were called *abecedarii*,) each part having its proper letter at the head of it, and the *hypopsalma*, as he calls it[72], or *answer*, to be repeated at the end of every part of it, in these words, *Omnes, qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate;* as the *Gloria Patri* is now repeated not only at the end of every Psalm, but at the end of every part of the 119th Psalm. And in this respect the *Gloria Patri*

properly describes the *antiphonal* response. In Plato, (Crit. 43 a. Phæd. 59 e.) and in Aristophanes, (Vesp. 273,) it especially describes a porter or servant *answering a knock at the door*. See also Acts, (12, 13.) Κρούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος, προσῆλθε παιδίσκη ὑπακοῦσαι, κ.τ.λ.—*Came to listen*, or to *ask Who's there?* so answering from within. Compare the passage from the Odyssey as cited above. Ed.]

[69] Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 655. (t. 10. p. 342 d.) Καὶ ὁ ψάλλων ψάλλει μόνος, κἂν πάντες ἀπηχῶσιν [leg. ὑπηχῶσιν] ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ἡ φωνὴ φέρεται.—Conf. Hom. 11. in Matth. p. 108. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 7. v. 4. p. 464. n. 95.

[70] In Ps. 137. p. 518. (t. 5. p. 405 d.) ... Μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ... καταρχομένων, ἐκεινῶν προηγουμένων, ἕψομαι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσω, καὶ ἅσω σοι, &c.

[71] L. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 261.) Ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέτω.

[72] Ps. cont. Part. Donat. t. 7. p. 1. (t. 9. p. 1 and 2 a.) Omnes, qui gaudetis de pace, modo verum judicate.—Conf. Retract. l. 1. c. 20. (t. 1. p. 32 a.) Iste psalmus [nempe ut supra] sic incipit. *Omnes, qui gaudetis*, &c., quod ejus hypopsalma est.

itself is by some ancient writers called the *hypopsalma*, or *epode*, and *acroteleutic* to the psalms, because it was always used at the end of the psalms. Thus Sozomen[72], giving an account of the Arians' management of their psalmody at Constantinople in their morning processions, says, 'They divided themselves into parts, and sung after the manner of *antiphona*, or *alternate song*, adding in the close their *acroteleutics*, framed and modelled after their own way of glorification.' Where, as Valesius[73] rightly observes, it is plain *acroteleutic* is but another name for the *Gloria Patri*, which they added at the end of the psalms, but perversely modelled to favour their own heresy: not saying, Glory be to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost! but Glory be to the Father, by the Son, and in the Holy Ghost! Again Sozomen[74], speaking of the psalmody, with which the Christians brought the body of the Martyr Babylas from Daphne to Antioch, in the time of Julian, says, they who were best skilled began the psalms, and the multitude answered them with one harmonious consent, making these words the *epode* of their psalmody,—'Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and boast themselves in images or idol-gods.' Meaning that this sentence was frequently repeated in the several pauses of their psalmody; which the Ancients, we see, sometimes called *an epode* or *diapsalm*, like that of the 107th Psalm, "O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness, and declare the wonders that he doth for the children of men!" Which in the distinct parts of that one Psalm is four times repeated.

An answer to an objection made against the people's

13. From all this it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that the people generally had a share in the psalmody of the ancient Church; and that this was not an exercise strictly confined to the canonical singers, or any particular order in the

[72] L. 8. c. 8. (v. 2. p. 336. 14.) Κατὰ τὸν τῶν ἀντιφώνων τρόπον ἔψαλλον, ἀκροτελεύτια συντιθέντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν δόξαν πεποιημένα.

[73] In loc. (ibid. n. 1.) Suffridus Petrus, qui tres postremos Sozomeni libros Latine interpretatus est, ἀκροτελεύτια vertit *corollaria*. Ego *clausulas* vertere malui. Intelligit autem Sozomenus doxologias Arianorum, quas ad calcem hymnorum canere solebant hoc modo, *Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto*, uti docet Philostorgius in l. 3. Historiæ.

[74] L. 5. c. 19. (ibid. p. 210. 34.) Ἐξῆρχον δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἱ τούτους ἀκριβοῦντες, καὶ ξυνεπήχει τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ· καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῇδεν, Ἠσχύνθησαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς, οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις.

Church; but that men, women, and children were all allowed to bear a part in it, under the direction and conduct of precentors, or those who presided in this and all other offices of the Church. Therefore the reflection which I have formerly[75] made upon Cabassutius, I cannot choose but here again repeat, who charges this way of singing as a mere novelty and Protestant whim, because it differs from the present practice of his own Church; though it be exactly agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church in all its several methods, and in all ages since the Apostles. Neither is there any one thing that can be objected against it, save a single canon of the Council of Laodicea[76], which forbids all others to sing in the church, except only the canonical singers, who went up into the *ambo* or *reading desk*, and sung out of a book. This I have explained to be only a temporary provision of a provincial Council, designed to restore or revive the ancient psalmody, when it might be in some measure corrupted or neglected, and not intended to abridge or destroy the primitive liberty of the people. Or if any thing more was intended by it, it was an order that never took place in the practice of the Church: it being evident, beyond all contradiction, from what has now been said, that the people always enjoyed their ancient privilege of joining in this divine harmony, and were encouraged in it by the greatest luminaries of the Church.

bearing a part in the psalmody.

14. To proceed then: we are to consider further, that psalmody was always esteemed a considerable part of devotion, and upon that account was usually, if not always, performed by those that were engaged in it, in the standing posture. Cassian indeed seems to make an exception in the way of the monasteries of Egypt: but his exception helps to clear the contrary rule, and shows also that their devotion was in the main performed in the standing posture. For he says[77], though by reason of their continual fastings and labour night and day, they were unable to stand all the time while twelve psalms were reading, yet they that read in course always stood up to

Psalmody always performed in the standing posture.

[75] B. 3. ch. 7. s. 2. v. 1. p. 333.

[76] C. 15. (t. 1. p. 1500 a.) Μὴ δεῖν πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄμβωνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διφθέρας ψαλλόντων, ἑτέρους τινὰς ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ.

[77] Instit. l. 2. c. 12. See before, s. 9. n. 37, preceding.

read: and at the last psalm[79] they all stood up and repeated it alternately, adding the *Gloria Patri* at the end. In other places it was always the custom, as is plain not only from this exception, but from the testimony of St. Austin[80], who speaks of the psalmody as an act of devotion, which all the people performed standing in the church.

Of the use of plain song, and its commendation among the Ancients.

15. As to the voice or pronunciation used in singing, it was of two sorts, the plain song, and the more artificial and elaborate tuning of the voice to greater variety of sounds and measures. The plain song was only with a little gentle inflection, and agreeable turn of the voice, with a proper accent, not much different from reading, and much resembling the musical way of reading the Psalms now in our cathedral churches. This was the way of singing at Alexandria in the time of Athanasius. For St. Austin says[81], he ordered the reader to sing the psalm with so little inflection or variation of the tone, that it looked more like reading than singing. And this St. Austin[82] seems to intimate to have been the common way of the African Churches, as most agreeable to the slow genius of the African people. Whence some of the warmer Donatists made it a matter of objection, 'that the Catholics sung the divine hymns of the Prophets soberly in the church, whilst they sung their own psalms of human composition in a ranting way, and even trumpeted out, like men that were drunk, their own exhortations.' St. Austin does not speak this, as if he wholly disapproved the other more artificial and melodious way of singing, but only as it was intemperately abused by many, and particularly by the Donatists. For otherwise he commends[83] this way of singing, 'as very useful

[79] Ibid. l. 2. c. 8. See before, b. 13. c. 10. s. 14. v. 4. p. 571. n. 68.

[80] In Ps. 36. Serm. 3. p. 122. (t. 4. p. 283 g.) Certe ne verum est quod cantavi, certe verum est quod in ecclesia stans tam devota voce personui, &c.

[81] Confess. l. 10. c. 33. (t. 1. p. 187 f.).... Qui tam modico flexu vocis faciebat sonare lectorem psalmi, ut pronuntianti vicinior esset quam canenti.

[82] Ep. 119. [al. 55.] ad Januar. c. 18. (t. 2. p. 142 b.).... Pleraque in Africa ecclesiæ membra pigriora sunt: ita ut Donatistæ nos reprehendant, quod sobrie psallimus in ecclesia divina cantica Prophetarum, cum ipsi ebrietates suas ad canticum psalmorum humano ingenio compositorum, quasi [ad] tubas exhortationis, inflamment.

[83] Confess. l. 10. c. 33. (t. 1. p. 187 f.) Veruntamen cum reminiscor lacrymas meas, quas fudi ad cantus ecclesiæ tuæ in primordiis recu-

to raise the affections, when performed with a clear voice and a convenient sweetness of melody,' and says, 'it was that that melted him into tears,' when he first heard it in the beginning of his conversion, in the church of St. Ambrose.

Artificial and melodious tuning of the voice allowed in singing, when managed with sobriety and discretion.

16. This plainly implies, that the artificial and melodious way of singing, with variety of notes for greater sweetness, was used and allowed, as well as plain song, in the Italic Churches: and they mistake St. Austin, who think he speaks in commendation of the one, to the derogation of the other: for he professes to admire both ways for their usefulness, and particularly the more melodious way, for this, '*Ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat,—That weaker minds may be raised to affections of piety, by the delight and entertainment of their ears.*' And whilst it kept within due bounds, there is nothing plainer than that it had the general approbation of pious men throughout the Church.

No objection made against psalms and hymns of human composition, barely as such.

17. Neither was it any objection against the psalmody of the Church, that she sometimes made use of psalms and hymns of human composition, besides those of the sacred and inspired writers. For though St. Austin, as we have just heard before, reflects upon the Donatists for their psalms of human composition, yet it was not merely because they were human, but because they preferred them to the divine hymns of Scripture, and their indecent way of chanting them to the grave and sober method of the Church. St. Austin himself made a psalm of many parts, in imitation of the 119th Psalm, as has been observed above in the twelfth section of this chapter. And this he did for the use of his people, to preserve them from the errors of Donatus. And it would be absurd to think, that he, who made a psalm himself for the people to sing, should quarrel with other psalms merely because they were of human composition. It has been demonstrated in the fifth chapter of the last Book, that there were always such psalms, and hymns, and doxologies composed by pious men, and used in the Church

peratæ fidei meæ, et nunc ipso commoveor [al. quod moveor] non cantu, sed rebus quæ cantantur, cum liquida voce et convenientissima modulatione cantantur, magnam instituti hujus utilitatem agnosco. Ita fluctuo inter periculum voluptatis et experimentum salubritatis: magisque adducor, non quidem irretractabilem sententiam proferens, cantandi consuetudinem approbare inecclesia; ut per oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis assurgat.

from the first foundation of it; nor did any, but Paulus Samosatensis, except against the use of them: which he did not neither because they were of human composition, but because they contained a doctrine contrary to his own private opinions.

St. Hilary and St. Ambrose made many such hymns, which when some muttered against in the Spanish Churches, because they were of human composition, the fourth Council of Toledo[85] made a decree to confirm the use of them, together with the doxology, Glory be to the Father, &c.! and Glory be to God on high!, threatening excommunication to any that should reject them. The only thing of weight to be urged against all this, is a canon of the Council of Laodicea[86], which forbids all *ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς*, *private psalms*, and all uncanonical books to be read in the church. For it might seem, that by *private psalms* they mean all hymns of human composition. But it was intended rather to exclude apocryphal psalms, such as went under the name of Solomon, as Balsamon and Zonaras[87] understand it; or else such as were not approved by public authority in the Church. If it be extended further, it contradicts the current practice of the whole Church besides, and cannot, in reason, be construed as any more than a private order for the Churches of that province, made upon some particular reasons unknown to us at this day. Notwithstanding therefore any argument to be drawn from this canon, it is evident the Ancients made no scruple of using psalms or hymns of human composition, provided they were pious and orthodox for the substance, and composed by men of eminence, and received by just authority, and not brought clandestinely into the Church.

[85] C. 12. [al. 13.] (t. 5. p. 1709 e.) Quia a nonnullis [al. nonnulli] hymni humano studio compositi esse noscuntur in laudem Dei, et Apostolorum ac Martyrum triumphos, sicut hi quos beatissimi Doctores Hilarius atque Ambrosius ediderunt, quos tamen quidam specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt. Respuant ergo et illum hymnum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, &c.* .... Sicut ergo orationes, ita et hymnos in laudem Dei compositos, nullus nostrum ulterius improbet, sed pari modo in Gallicia [al. Gallia] Hispaniaque celebrent. Excommunicatione plectendi, qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi.

[86] C. 59. (t. 1. p. 1507 a.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς Καινῆς καὶ Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης.

[87] [Ap. Bevereg. Pandect. (t. 1. pp. 480, 481.) Εὑρίσκονταί τινες ψαλμοὶ παρὰ τοὺς ρν' Ψαλμοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ λεγόμενοι τοῦ Σολομῶντος, κ. τ. λ.—Ἐκτὸς τῶν ρν' Ψαλμῶν τοῦ Δαβίδ, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]

18. But there were some disorders and irregularities always apt to creep into this practice, and corrupt the psalmody and devotions of the Church: and against these the Fathers frequently declaim with many sharp and severe invectives. Chiefly they complain of the lightness and vain curiosity which some used in singing, who took their measures from the mien and practice of the theatres, introducing from thence the corruptions and effeminacy of secular music into the grave and solemn devotions of the Church. We have heard St. Chrysostom before[87] complaining of men's using theatrical noise and gestures both in their prayers and hymns: and here I shall add the reflection which St. Jerom[88] makes upon those words of the Apostle, (Eph. 5, 19.) *Singing, and making melody in your heart to the Lord.* 'Let young men hear this, let those hear it who have the office of singing in the church, that they sing not with their voice, but with their heart, to the Lord: not like tragedians, physically preparing their throat and mouth, that they may sing after the fashion of the theatre in the church. He that has but an ill voice, if he has good works, is a sweet singer before God.'

But two corruptio severely inveighed against. First, Ov great nic ness, and curiosity singing, i imitation the mode and musi of the theatre.

19. The other vice complained of was the regarding more the music of the words, and sweetness of the composure, than the sense and meaning of them; pleasing the ear, without raising the affections of the soul, which was the true reason for which psalmody and music was intended. St. Jerom takes notice of this corruption in the same place[89], giving this caution against it: 'Let the servant of Christ so order his singing, that the words that are read may please more than the voice of the singer: that the spirit that was in Saul may be cast out of them who are possessed with it, and not find admittance in those who have turned the house of God into a stage and

And, secondly, pleasing the ear without raising th affections of the sou

[87] B. 13. ch. 8. s. 11. v. 4. p. 514. n. 90.

[88] [In Eph. 5, 19. (t. 7. p. 652 a.) Audiant hæc adolescentuli; audiant hi quibus psallendi in ecclesia officium est, Deo non voce, sed corde cantandum: nec in tragœdorum modum guttur et fauces dulci medicamine collimendas, ut in ecclesia theatrales moduli audiantur et cantica; sed in timore, in opere, in scientia Scripturarum. Quamvis sit aliquis, ut solent illi appellare, κακόφωνος, si bona opera habuerit, dulcis apud Deum cantor est. *Grischov.*]

[89] Ibid. (b.) Sic cantet servus Christi, ut non vox canentis, sed verba placeant quæ leguntur: ut spiritus malus, qui erat in Saule, ejiciatur ab his, qui similiter ab eo possidentur, et non introducatur in eos, qui de domo Dei scenam fecere populorum.

theatre of the people.' St. Austin[90] confesses 'he was for some time thus moved to a faulty complacency in the sweetness of the song, more than the matter that was sung, and that he rather wished not to have heard the voice of the singer.' St. Isidore of Pelusium[91] brings the charge of these abuses more especially against women, and goes so far as to say, 'that though the Apostle had allowed them to sing in the church, yet the perverse and licentious use they made of this liberty was a sufficient reason why they should be totally debarred from it.' And some are of opinion that it was abuses of this kind in excess, and not in defect, that made the Council of Laodicea[92] forbid all but the canonical singers to sing in the church; as thinking that they might be better regulated and restrained from such abuses by the immediate dependence they had upon the rulers of the Church.

But the experience of later ages rather proves that this was not the true way to reform such abuses; since there are greater complaints made by considering men of the excesses committed in church-music after it was wholly given up to the management of canonical singers, than there were before. Witness the complaints made by Polydore Vergil[93], Maldonat[94], Durantus[95],

[90] Confess. l. 10. c. 33. (t. 1. p. 188 a.) Tamen cum mihi accidit, ut me amplius cantus, quam res quæ canitur moveat, pœnaliter me peccare confiteor, et tunc mallem non audire cantantem.

[91] L. 1. Ep. 90. (p. 28 e.) Τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίαις φλυαρίας καταπαῦσαι βουλόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παιδευταὶ καταστάσεως, ψάλλειν ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς γυναῖκας συνετῶς συνεχώρησαν· ἀλλ' [ὡς] πάντα εἰς τοὐναντίον ἐτράπη τὰ θεοφόρα διδάγματα, καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ἔκλυσιν καὶ ἁμαρτίας ὑπόθεσιν τοῖς πλείοσι γέγονε. Καὶ κατάνυξιν μὲν ἐκ τῶν θείων ὕμνων οὐχ ὑπομένουσι· τῇ δὲ τοῦ μέλους ἡδύτητι εἰς ἐρεθισμὸν παθημάτων χρώμενοι, οὐδὲν αὐτὴν ἔχειν πλέον τῶν ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἀσμάτων λογίζονται. Χρὴ τοίνυν, εἰ μέλλοιμεν τὸ τῷ Θεῷ ἀρέσκον ζητεῖν, καὶ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον ποιεῖν, παύειν ταύτας καὶ τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ᾠδῆς, καὶ τῆς ἐν πόλει μονῆς, ὡς χριστοκαπήλους, καὶ τὸ θεῖον χάρισμα μισθὸν ἀπωλείας ἐργαζομένας.

[92] See before, s. 17. n. 86, preceding.

[93] De Rer. Invent. l. 6. c. 2. p. 359. (p. 474.) Sed hodie nihilo plus e republica nostra esse apparet, quando cantores nostri ita in templis constrepunt, ut nihil præter vocem audiatur, et qui intersunt ejusmodi vocum concentui, quo eorum aures maxime calent, contenti, de vi verborum minime curant. Unde eo ventum est, ut apud vulgus omnis fere divini cultus ratio in istis cantoribus sita esse videatur; quos bona pars populi, ut audiat, in sacras ædes velut in theatrum concurrit, eos pretio conducit, eos fovet, eos denique solos domui Dei ornamento esse existimat: tanto molliores et delicatiores in cantu flexiones et fictæ voculæ vulgus magis delectant, quam certæ et planæ: ac si gratior est sonus, qui tremulo e gutture funditur, quam qui cum gravitate editur.

[94] De Ordine, c. 4. de Cantoribus.

and others in the Romish Church, and Bishop Wettenhal[96] in the Protestant Communion, which it is none of my business in this place any further to pursue.

CHAP. II.

A particular account of some of the most noted hymns in use in the service of the ancient Church.

Of the lesser doxology, *Glory be to the Father, &c.*

1. But there is one thing may be of use for the better understanding the psalmody of the ancient Church, which is, to give a distinct account of the most noted hymns that made a part of her service. Among these, one of the most ancient and common was that which was called *the lesser doxology*,—Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost! Concerning which, we are to note, in the first place, that it was something shorter than it is now: for the most ancient form of it was only a single sentence without a response, running in these words, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!' Part of the latter clause, *As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be,* was inserted some time after the first composition. This appears from the most ancient form used both in the Greek and Latin Church without those words in it.

The fourth Council of Toledo[1], anno 633, reads it thus:

(t. 2. p. 238.) Præterea nimis delectati homines musica cœperunt minore gravitate canere et majore studio, quam decebat, in ecclesia. Qua de re conqueruntur omnes antiqui auctores, qui de hac re aliquid scribunt, &c.

[95] De Ritibus, l. 3. c. 21. n. 11. (p. 333.) Verum hodie, dolenter refero, in ecclesiis musici, qui cantorum vice funguntur, hominum omnium dissolutissimi sunt: adeo ut adagium populo dederit, musice vivere, hoc est, dissolute et effœminate. Hos e choro dejici optabat Lindanus, l. 4. Panopliæ, c. 78. Optabat item in ecclesiis cathedralibus eligi cantores psalmorum intelligentes, et Deum vita simul et voce moderata potius, quam incondito garritu, laudantes, &c.

[96] Gift of Singing, ch. 1. (p. 247.) That music therefore, which, instead of exciting devotion, and composing the soul to a sedate and fixed temper, only moves light and giddy thoughts, induces an airy humour, and sporting, frisking, dancing passions, is altogether to be banished the Christian worship. To set anthems or services in the way of madrigals, &c.—See also ch. 2. (p. 277.) ....And yet some now-a-days are scarce content with the *chromatick* scale.....but search after all the niceties, &c.

[1] C. 12. [al. 13.] (t. 5. p. 1710 a.) In fine omnium psalmorum dicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen!*

'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!' Where we may observe, that not only the words *As it was in the beginning, &c.* are omitted, but the word *honour* is added to *glory*, according to another decree[2] made in that Council, 'that it should not be said, as heretofore some did, *Glory be to the Father*, but *Glory and honour be to the Father:* forasmuch as the Prophet David says, "Bring glory and honour to the Lord." (Psal. 28, [now, 29.] 2.) And John the Evangelist, in the Revelations, heard the voice of the heavenly host, saying, "Honour and glory be to our God, who sitteth on the throne," (Rev. 5, 13.)' From whence they conclude 'that it ought to be said on earth as it is sung in heaven.' The Mosarabic Liturgy, which was used in Spain a little after this time, has it in the very same form[3]: 'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!' Which shows that that was the received way of using this hymn in the Spanish Churches. The Greek Church also for several ages used it after the same manner, only they did not insert the word *honour*, which seems to be peculiar to the Spanish Church. Athanasius, or whoever was the author of the treatise *De Virginitate*[4] among his works, repeats it thus, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!' And Strabo[5] says of the Greeks in general, that they omitted those words in the latter clause, *As it was in the beginning*. So that it is not easy to tell what time they first began to be used in it. Some say, the Council of Nice ordered them to be inserted against Arius: others, that the Church by common consent admitted them, in compliance with the doctrine of that Council, to confront the

[2] C. 14. See before, ch. 1. s. 8. p. 10. n. 35.

[3] In Nativ. Christi, ap. Mabillon, de Liturg. Gallic. (p. 453.) Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto in sæcula sæculorum. Amen!

[4] P. 1051. (t. 2. p. 90 d. n. 14.).. .... Δόξα Πατρὶ, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

[5] De Reb. Eccles. c. 25. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 15. p. 195 c. 7.) Dicendum de hymno, qui ob honorem sanctæ et unicæ Trinitatis officiis omnibus interseritur, eum a sanctis patribus aliter atque aliter ordinatum. Nam Hispani, sicut superius commemoravimus, ita eum dici omnimodis voluerunt. Græci autem, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.* Latini vero eodem ordine et eisdem verbis hunc hymnum decantant, addentes tantum in medio, *Sicut erat in principio.*

Arian tenet, which asserted that the Son was not in the beginning, and that there was a time when he was not. But if so, it is strange we should not hear of this additional part of the hymn in any Greek or Latin writer for above two whole centuries after. The first express mention that is made of it is in the second Council of Vaison[6], anno 529, which says, it was then so used at Rome, and in Italy, and Afric, and all the East, and therefore is now so ordered to be used in the French Churches. Whence it is plain it was not in the French Churches before. And there is reason to conjecture that the East is here put for the West by a mistake of some transcriber, since it appears from Strabo that in his time the custom of the Greek Church was still otherwise: and how long it had been the custom of the Western Churches before the time of this Council is uncertain. The Spanish Churches, as we have seen, did not admit it till afterwards.

There goes an Epistle, indeed, under the name of St. Jerom to Pope Damasus, which, if it were genuine, would make this addition more ancient than now it can be allowed to be: for there[7] he advises Damasus to order, 'that in the Roman Church at the end of every psalm there should be added, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen!*' But this Epistle is rejected as spurious by learned men of all sides, Bellarmin, Baronius, Bona, and others of the Romanists, as well as Protestants in general, because it contradicts the known practice of the Roman Church in another particular: for at Rome they did not use the *Gloria Patri* at the end of every psalm long after this, in the time of Walafridus Strabo[8], neither do they now by the rubrics of the

[6] [Al. 3.] c. 5. (t. 4. p. 1680 e.) Quia non solum in Sede Apostolica, sed etiam per totum Orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qua [al. qui] Dei Filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore fuisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post *Gloria, Sicut erat in principio* dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris hoc ita esse dicendum decrevimus [al. decernimus.]

[7] Ep. 53. [de Psalm. Emendat.] (t. 2. p. 277 e.)—Item inter Decreta Damasi, ap. Crabb. (t. 1. p. 383.) Istud carmen laudis omni psalmo conjungi præcipias, &c. [Ap. Labb. (t. 2. p. 868 c.) Precatur ergo cliens tuus, ut vox ista psallentium in Sede tua Romana, die noctuque canatur, et in fine psalmi cujuslibet, sive matutinis vel vespertinis horis, conjungi præcipiat apostolatus tui ordo *Gloria Patri, &c.! Grischov.*]

[8] De Reb. Eccles. c. 25. ap. Bibl. Max. (t. 15. p. 195 d. 13.) Romani

Roman Breviary[8] at this day: whereas, if Damasus had made those orders as this Epistle directs, the *Gloria Patri* would have been used at Rome at the end of every psalm; which it was not, either there or in any of the Eastern Churches, but only in France, and some few other Churches, as we have heard before in [the eighth section of] the last chapter.

There was another small difference in the use of this ancient hymn, which yet made no dispute among Catholics, till the rise of the Arian heresy, and then it occasioned no small disturbance. The Catholics themselves of old were wont to say, some, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!' others, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost!' and others, 'Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son, and by the Holy Ghost!' Now these different ways of expressing were all allowed, so long as no heterodox opinion was suspected to be couched under them, as Valesius[9] has observed in his Notes upon Socrates and Theodoret, and St. Basil shows more at large in his book *De Spiritu Sancto*[10]. But when Arius had broached his heresy in the world, his followers would use no other form of glorification but the last, and made it a distinguishing character of their party to say, 'Glory be to the Father, in or by the Son and Holy Ghost!'

eum [hymnum] in psalmis rarius, in responsoriis iterant.

[8] [Vid. Ed. Rom. 1571., *inter Rubricas Generales Breviaria*. In fine Psalmorum semper dicitur *Gloria Patri*, præterquam in Psalmo, *Deus, Deus meus, ad te de luce vigilo;* et in Psalmo, *Laudate Dominum de cœlis;* in quibus dicitur tantum in fine ultimi Psalmi ante Canticum *Benedicite*, et ante Capitulum. Præterea non dicitur in triduo majoris hebdomadæ ante Pascha, nec in Officio Defunctorum, cujus loco pro defunctis dicitur, *Requiem æternam, &c.*—This rubric is retained totidem verbis to the present day also. See the Mechlin edition, 1836, Rubric. Gen. c. 22. s. 7. p. 57. Also the reprint at Mechlin, 1846. Ed.]

[9] In Socrat. l. 1. c. 21. (v. 2. p. 105. n. 4.) Intelligit Socrates δοξολογίας, quæ leguntur in fine sermonum Eusebii, quas perpetuo ita concipit Eusebius, *Gloria non nato Patri per Filium suum unigenitum, &c.* Atque id perspicere licet in Opusculis Eusebii, quæ Jacobus Sirmondus in lucem edidit. Exempli gratia, in fine Libri primi contra Sabellium hæc leguntur verba: *Gloria uni non nato Deo, per unum unigenitum Deum, Filium Dei, in uno Spiritu Sancto, et nunc, et semper, et per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.* Et sic in cæteris.... Porro notum est, Arianos præpositionem illam, *per quem*, attribuisse Filio, eo consilio, ut illum Patri subjicerent.—In Theodoret. l. 2. c. 24. (v. 3. p. 106. n. 1.) .... In fine orationum et sermonum ad populum antiqui patres fere dicebant, Δι' οὗ, *Per quem Omnipotenti honor et gloria, &c.*, ut videre est, tum apud Basilium in dicto loco, tum in Opusculis Eusebii Pamphili a Jacobo Sirmondo olim editis.

[10] Pp. 7, 25, 29. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 18, p. 67, et p. 83.)

intending hereby to denote, that the Son and Holy Ghost were inferior to the Father in substance, and, as creatures, of a different nature from him, as Sozomen[11] and other ancient writers inform us. And from this time it became scandalous, and brought any one under the suspicion of heterodoxy to use it, because the Arians had now, as it were, made it the Shibboleth of their party. Philostorgius[12] indeed says, that the usual form of the Catholics was a novelty, and that Flavian at Antioch was the first that brought in this form of saying, 'Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!' whereas all before him said either, 'Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghost!' or 'Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost!' But this is no more than what one might expect from the partiality of an Arian historian, and it is abundantly confuted by the ancient testimonies which St. Basil produces in his own vindication against some, who charged him with the like innovation; in answer to which, he says[13], he did no more than what was done before by Irenæus, Clemens Romanus, the two Dionysii of Rome and Alexandria, Eusebius of Cæsarea, Origen, Africanus, Athenogenes, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian, and Meletius, and what was done in the prayers of the Church, and with the consent of all the Eastern and Western Churches. Which would make a man amazed to hear Cardinal Bona[14] charging St. Basil as blame-worthy, for dis-

[11] L. 3. c. 20. (v. 2. p. 126. 16.) Ἐδόξαζον ... Πατέρα ἐν Υἱῷ, ... δευτερεύειν τὸν Υἱὸν ἀποφαίνοντες.

[12] L. 3. c. 13. (v. 3. p. 495. 36.) Ὅτι φησὶ τὸν Ἀντιοχείας Φλαβιανὸν, πλῆθος μοναχῶν συναγείραντα, πρῶτον ἀναβοῆσαι, Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· τῶν γὰρ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τοὺς μὲν, Δόξα Πατρὶ δι' Υἱοῦ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, λέγειν· καὶ ταύτην μᾶλλον τὴν ἐκφώνησιν ἐπιπολάζειν· τοὺς δὲ, Δόξα Πατρὶ ἐν Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

[13] De Spirit. Sanct. c. 29. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 84 e. n. 72.) Εἰρηναῖος ἐκεῖνος, κ. τ. λ.

[14] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 3. n. 2. (p. 277.) Primus, qui eum [hymnum glorificationis] mutavit, Aëtius fuisse dicitur, ecclesiæ Antiochenæ diaconus, Arianismi instaurator, sic cani instituens, *Gloria Patri per Filium in Spiritu Sancto.* Quæ verba, licet per se nullam hæresin contineant, subdole tamen ab Arianis usurpabantur, ut illorum æquivocatione suam impietatem celarent. Illis in sensu orthodoxo usus est S. Leo, (Serm. 1. de Nativitate,) dicens, *Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri per Filium ejus in Spiritu Sancto.* At vero Basilius, cum iisdem verbis sermonem ad populum conclusisset, Catholicis displicuit, et pro illorum defensione librum apologeticum edidit, quem de Spiritu Sancto ad Amphilochium inscripsit, sed non omnibus satisfecit. Adeo verum est, oportere Catholicum doctorem irreprehensibilem esse, et a vocibus abstinere, quæ communiter suspectæ habentur, et pias aures offendunt, quamvis veræ sint et orthodoxæ in eo sensu, quo scribentes

pleasing the Catholics in using the form of the heterodox party; when it is plain it was the heterodox party that quarrelled with him for using the Catholic form of the Church. And yet though he blames St. Basil without grounds, telling us, 'that a Catholic doctor ought to be without rebuke, and abstain from terms that have a suspected sense, and offend pious ears;' yet he has nothing to say to Pope Leo, who, if either, was more certainly liable to his censure, for using the Arian form of doxology, though in a Catholic sense, in one of his Christmas sermons[15], which he thus words, 'Let us give thanks, beloved, to the Father, by his Son, in the Holy Ghost!' St. Basil never used this suspected form, though he says it might be used with an orthodox meaning, but always, 'Glory be to the Father, with the Son and Holy Ghost!' For which he was charged by some heterodox men as an innovator; but there was no room for Bona's censure.

Having thus stated the ancient form and modification of this hymn in its first original, and subsequent progress that it made in the Church, we are next to see to what use it was applied, and in what parts of divine service. And here we may observe, that it was an hymn of most general use, and a doxology offered to God in the close of every solemn office. The Western

vel prædicantes eas concipiunt et docent. Ideo Apostolus Timotheo præcipit, ut *depositum custodiret, et profanas vocum novitates devitaret.* [See Theodoret, l. 2. c. 24, recording the testimony of Athanasius against Leontius the Arian. (v. 3. p. 106. 2.) .... Καὶ διχῆ διηρημένους τοὺς ἱερωμένους καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν ὅμιλον θεωρῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὸν, καὶ, σύνδεσμον ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Υἱοῦ δοξολογίας τιθέντας, τοὺς δὲ τὴν μὲν, δι' οὗ, πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, τὴν δὲ, ἐν, ἐπὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος προσαρμόζοντας, σιγῇ τὴν δοξολογίαν προέφερεν. — Conf. Varior. Not. in verba, Τὸν, καὶ, σύνδεσμον. (n. a. ad calc. p. ejusd.) Duplicem doxologiæ formam se usurpasse prodit S. Basilius in Libro de Spiritu Sancto, c. 1. sub fin. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 4 d.) Προσευχομένῳ μοι πρώην μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέρως τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀποπληροῦντι τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρὶ, (νῦν μὲν, μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ Ἁγίῳ, νῦν δὲ, διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,) ἐπ-

ἐσκηψάν τινες τῶν παρόντων ξενιζούσαις ἡμᾶς φωναῖς κεχρῆσθαι λέγοντες, καὶ ἅμα πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπεναντίως ἐχούσαις. Utramque autem formam libro isto diffuse defendit Basilius. Defendit et Socrates (l. 2. c. 21.) Eusebium Pamphili, eo quod glorificationibus suis dicere solitus est, διὰ Χριστοῦ, *per Christum;* idque exemplo antiquiorum Scriptorum et ipsius Pauli Apostoli. Quia tamen Ariani doxologia illa, *per Christum,* eo consilio usi sunt ut Deitati ejus detraherent, adeo ut Orthodoxi etiam episcopi, Eusebius et Basilius, hoc nomine apud cœtus suos Arianismi suspicione laborarent, ideo paulatim in desuetudinem hac formula abiit; illa autem altera, tanquam sinceræ fidei tessera, in Homiliis et Liturgiis retenta est, &c. Ed.]

[15] Serm. 1. [al. 21. c. 2.] de Nativ. (t. 1. p. 66.) Agamus, dilectissimi, gratias Deo Patri per Filium ejus in Spiritu Sancto.

Church repeated it at the end of every psalm, and the Eastern Church at the end of the last psalm, as we have seen in the [eighth section of the] last chapter. Many of their prayers were also concluded with it, as we shall find in various instances in the following parts of this and the next Book; particularly the solemn thanksgiving or consecration-prayer at the eucharist, to which Irenæus[16] and Tertullian[17] refer, when they mention the close of it ending in these words,—*αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, world without end. Amen!* The whole doxology commonly running thus: 'To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, be all glory, worship, thanksgiving, honour, and adoration, now and for ever, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen!' as it is in the Constitutions[18]. Or, if the prayer ended, 'By the intercession of Christ,' then it was[19], 'To whom with thee,' or 'With whom unto thee and the Holy Spirit, be all honour, glory, &c., world without end. Amen!' This was also the ordinary conclusion of their sermons: 'That we may obtain eternal life through Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all glory and power, world without end!' as may be seen in the Homilies of Chrysostom, Austin, Leo, and all others, of which more in the fourth chapter of this Book.

Of the Great Doxology, *Glory be to God on High.*

2. Another hymn of great note in the ancient Church was that which they commonly called *the angelical hymn*, or *great doxology*, beginning with those words which the angels sung at our Saviour's birth, 'Glory be to God on high, &c.' This was chiefly used in the communion-service as it is now in our Church; and there we shall speak of it again in its proper place, [in the thirty-second section of the next Book.] It was also used at morning prayer daily at men's private devotions, as I have shown before[20] out of Athanasius

[16] L. 1. c. 1.—See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 5. v. 4. p. 384. n. 71.

[17] De Spectac. c. 25. (p. 83 b.) Quale est enim de ecclesia Dei, in Diaboli ecclesiam tendere? de cœlo (quod aiunt) in cœnum? illas manus, quas ad Deum [al. Dominum] extuleris, postmodum laudando histrionem fatigare? ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo [et] Christo?

[18] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 404.) *Ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπεῖς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

[19] Ibid. c. 13. (p. 404.) ... *Μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

[20] See b. 13. ch. 10. s. 9. v. 4. p. 562. nn. 33, 34.

and the Constitutions, where the reader may find it repeated at length under the title of *προσευχὴ ἑωθινὴ, the morning prayer.* In the Mosarabic Liturgy it is appointed to be sung in public before the lessons on Christmas-day. St. Chrysostom [21] often mentions it, and in one place [22] particularly observes, of those who retired from the world to lead an ascetic life, 'that they met together daily to sing their morning hymns with one mouth to God, among which they sung this angelical hymn with the angels in heaven.' But I have observed before [23], that this was not the common practice of all Churches, to sing it every day at morning prayer, but only in the communion-service; or at least only upon Sundays, and Easter-day, and such greater festivals of the Church.

Who first composed this hymn, adding the remaining part to the words sung by the angels, is uncertain. Some [24] suppose it to be as ancient as the time of Lucian, who lived in the beginning of the second century, and is thought to mean it in one of his Dialogues, where he speaks of *the hymn with many names, πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν,* as used by the Christians: others take it for the *Gloria Patri*, which is a dispute as difficult to be determined, as it is to find out the first author and original of this hymn. And all I shall say further of it is only what was said heretofore by the fourth Council of Toledo [25] against some who rejected the hymns of St. Hilary and St. Ambrose and others, because they were of human composition: 'that by the same reason they might have rejected both the lesser doxology, 'Glory and honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!' which was composed by men; and also this greater doxology, part of which was sung by the angels at our Saviour's birth, 'Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace *to men of good will!*' (so they read it, as many

[21] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1337. (t. 11. p. 347 b.) *Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.* —Hom. 9. in Col. p. 1380. (ibid. p. 393 d.) *Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, τί λέγει τὰ χερουβὶμ ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοί· τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι κάτω. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ.*

[22] Hom. 68. al. 69. in Matth. p. 600. (t. 7. p. 674 c.) .... *Τί τῶν ἀγγέλων οὗτος διέστηκεν ὁ χορὸς τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ᾀδόντων καὶ λεγόντων, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.*

[23] B. 13. ch. 10. s. 9. v. 4. p. 561.

[24] Smith's Account of the Greek Church, (p. 226.) This I conjecture to be the *ᾠδὴ πολυώνυμος* mentioned by Lucian in his Philopatris, &c.

[25] See before, ch. 1. s. 17. p. 22. n. 85.

other Greek and Latin writers did;) but the rest that follows was composed and added to it by the doctors of the Church.'

3. A third hymn of great note in the Church was the *Cherubical Hymn*, or the *Trisagion*, as it was called, because of the *thrice* repeating, *Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts!* in imitation of the Seraphims in the vision of Isaiah. The original form of this hymn was in these words, 'Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts! heaven and earth are full of thy glory, who art blessed for ever! Amen.' Thus it is in the Constitutions [25], and frequently in St. Chrysostom [26], who says always that it was in the same words that the Seraphims sung it in Isaiah. Afterward the Church added some words to it, and sung it in this form, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρος, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς,—*Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us!* This form is ascribed by some to Proclus, bishop of Constantinople, and Theodosius Junior, anno 446. And in this form not long after we find it used by the fathers of the Council of Chalcedon [27] in their condemnation of Dioscorus. Which is also noted by Damascen [28], who says, 'the Church used this form to declare her

Of the Trisagion, or Cherubical Hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! &c.

[25] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 402.) Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ· πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[26] Hom. 1. de Verb. Esai. t. 3. p. 834. See before, b. 13. ch. 9. s. 4. v. 4. p. 530. the latter part of n. 35. —Conf. Hom. 6. in Seraphim, p. 290. (t. 6. p. 1416.) Πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς οὕτος ἤδετο μόνον ὁ ὕμνος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς γῆς κατηξίωσεν ὁ Δεσπότης, καὶ τὴν μελῳδίαν ταύτην κατήνεγκε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μέγας οὗτος ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης ἑστήκῃ τραπέζης, τὴν λογικὴν ἀναφέρων λατρείαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον προσφέρων θυσίαν, οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν εὐφημίαν ταύτην καλεῖ, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τὰ Χερουβὶμ εἰπὼν, καὶ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἀναμνήσας, οὕτω παρακελεύεται πᾶσιν ἀναπέμψαι τὴν φρικωδεστάτην φωνὴν, τῇ τῶν συγχορευόντων μνήμῃ τὴν διάνοιαν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀνασπῶν, καὶ μονονουχὶ βοῶν πρὸς ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, καὶ λέγων, Μετὰ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ᾄδεις, μετὰ τῶν Σεραφὶμ στῆθι, μετ' ἐκείνων τὰς πτέρυγας πέτασον, μετ' ἐκείνων περιέπτασο τὸν θρόνον τὸν βασιλικόν.—Cyril. Alexandr. Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 5. [al. 6.] See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 411. n. 65. near the beginning.—Conf. C. Vasens. 2. [al. 3.] c. 3. (t. 4. p. 1680 d.) Et in omnibus Missis, &c.

[27] Act. 1. (t. 4. p. 309. [corrige 323] c.) Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

[28] De Fid. Orthodox. l. 3. c. 10. (t. 1. p. 218 d.) Ἡμεῖς τὸ, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκλαμβάνομεν, οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνῳ τὸ τῆς θεότητος ἀφορίζοντες ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν Θεὸν εἰδότες, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον· καὶ τὸ, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, ἐπὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τίθεμεν, οὐκ ἀπαμφιεννύντες τῆς ἰσχύος τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον· καὶ τὸ, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος τάττομεν, οὐκ ἔξω τῆς ἀθανασίας τιθέντες τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἑκάστης τῶν ὑποστάσεων πάσας τὰς θεωνυμίας

faith in the Holy Trinity, applying the title of *Holy God* to the Father, and *Holy Mighty* to the Son, and *Holy Immortal* to the Holy Ghost: not as excluding any of the three Persons from each of these titles, but in imitation of the Apostle, who says, "To us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we by him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him." And thus this hymn continued to be applied to the whole Trinity, till Anastasius the Emperor, as some[29] say, or as others[30] relate, Peter Gnapheus, bishop of Antioch, caused the words, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, *that was crucified for us*, to be added to it. Which was intended to bring in the heresy of the Theopaschites, who asserted that the Divine Nature itself suffered upon the cross, and was in effect to say that the whole Trinity suffered, because this hymn was commonly applied to the whole Trinity. To avoid this inconvenience, one Calandio, bishop of Antioch, in the time of Zeno the Emperor, made another addition to it, of the words, *Christ our King*, reading it thus, 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Christ our King, that wast crucified for us, have mercy on us!' as Theodorus Lector[31] and other historians[32] inform us. These last additions occasioned great confusion and tumults in the Eastern Church, whilst the Constantinopolitans and Western Churches stiffly rejected them; and some of the European provinces, the better to confront them and maintain the old way of applying it to the whole Trinity, instead of the words, *crucified for us*, expressly said,

ἁπλῶς καὶ ἀπολύτως ἐκλαμβάνοντες, καὶ τὸν θεῖον Ἀπόστολον ἐκμιμούμενοι, φάσκοντα· Ἡμῖν δὲ εἷς Θεὸς, ὁ Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· καὶ εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἓν Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ.

[29] Evagrius, l. 3. c. 44. (v. 3. p. 380. 10.) Ἀνὰ δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον, προσθήκην τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ βουληθέντος ποιήσασθαι, τὸ, Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, μεγίστη στάσις γέγονεν, ὡς τὰ μάλιστα τῆς Χριστιανῆς θρησκείας ἀθετουμένης.

[30] Damascen. de Fid. Orthodox. l. 3. c. 10. (t. 1. p. 218 c.) Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Τρισαγίῳ προσθήκην ὑπὸ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Πέτρου τοῦ Γναφέως γεγενημένην, βλάσφημον ὁριζόμεθα.

[31] L. 2. (v. 3. p. 582. 1.) Καλανδίωνα λέγει προσθῆναι τῷ Τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, διὰ τοὺς προτεθεικότας Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς.

[32] Cedrenus, an. 16. Zenonis, p. 353. (ap. Byzant. Hist. Scriptor. t. 8. p. 279 c. 3.) Ζήνων δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀνεθεὶς τῶν τυράννων, ἐξέβαλε τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀντιοχείας Καλανδίωνα, καὶ ἐξώρισεν εἰς Ὄασιν, Πέτρον δὲ τὸν Κναφέα κατέστησεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πολλὰ κακὰ ἐποίησεν. . . . . Πρότερον δὲ προσέθηκε τῷ Τρισαγίῳ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ, ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς· ὕστερον δὲ ἐλθὼν περιεῖλε τὸ, Χριστὲ βασιλεῦ.

'Holy Trinity, have mercy on us!' as we find it in Ephrem Antiochenus, recorded by Photius [33].

This is the short history and account of the rise and progress of this celebrated hymn in the service of the Church, and of the heretical corruptions and interpolations that were intended to be made upon it. As to its use, it was chiefly sung in the middle of the communion-service, as we shall see more expressly hereafter in the [ninth section of the third chapter of the] next Book: but it was sometimes used upon other occasions, as we have heard in the Council of Chalcedon [just] before: and some Greek Ritualists [34] tell us, that it was always sung before the reading of the Epistle, which was anciently a part of the service of the catechumens. But then they distinguish between the *Trisagion* and the *Epinicion*, or *Triumphal Hymn*, calling the simple form, Holy! Holy! Holy! Lord God of Hosts!, the *Epinicion*, which was sung in the communion-service, and the other, the *Trisagion*, which was sung in the service of the catechumens: but the more ancient writers do not observe this distinction; and therefore I have here put both forms under the common name of the *Trisagion*. He, that would see this history more at large may consult Christianus Lupus [35] upon the Council of Trullo, and Mr. Allix, who has written a peculiar treatise [36] upon the subject.

4. Next to the *Trisagion*, there is frequent mention made among the ancient writers of singing the *Hallelujah!* By which Of the Hallelujah! and

[33] Biblioth. cod. 228. (p. 773. 34.) Προστάττει δὲ τῆς γυμνασίας τῶν ἐφημένων ῥημάτων, δικαίαν τινὰ τοῦ Τρισαγίου ὕμνου· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ζηνόβιος, τῆς κοινῆς ἐκκλησίας ἑαυτὸν ἀπερρήξας, πρόφασιν εἶδίδου τὴν περὶ τὴν Τρισάγιον δοξολογίαν καινοτομίαν. Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐφραΐμιος τὴν τοιαύτην ὑμνολογίαν τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἀνατολὴν οἰκοῦντας εἰς τὸν Κύριον ὑμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀναφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐπισυνάπτοντας τὸ, Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς· τοὺς δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιόν τε καὶ τὴν ἑσπερίαν νεμομένους, εἰς τὴν ὑπερτάτην καὶ πανίερον πηγὴν τῆς ἀγαθότητος, τὴν ὁμοούσιον Τριάδα, τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀνάπτειν· διὸ μηδ' ἀνέχεσθαι τούτους ἐπισυνάπτειν τὸ, Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα μὴ πάθος τῇ Τριάδι περιάψωσιν. Ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πρώτην Εὐρώπην ἐπαρχίαις ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, τὸ Ἁγία Τριὰς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ἐπάγειν· ἐξ ὧν ἐπιδηλότερον τὸν σκοπὸν τῶν εὐσεβούντων καθίστασθαι, ὡς εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Τριάδα τὸ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἀνάγοντες, ἀκριβεῖ καὶ ἀκολούθῳ λόγῳ τὸ, Ὁ σταυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, παραγράφονται.

[34] Germanus, Theoria Eccles. (Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 145 a.) Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναγινώσκεται βιβλίον ἀποστολικόν.

[35] Scholia in Can. 81. Trullan. (t. 3. pp. 145, seqq.) Sacrum Trisagium, &c.

[36] Dissertatio de Trisagii Origine. Rothomag. 1674. 8vo.

Halleluatic Psalms.

they sometimes mean the repetition of this single word, which signifies *Praise the Lord!* which they did in imitation of the heavenly host, singing and saying, again and again, *Hallelujah!* (Rev. 19, 1, 4, 6.) Sometimes they mean one of those Psalms which were called *Halleluatic Psalms*[37], because they had the word *Hallelujah!* prefixed before them in the title, such as the 145th, and those that follow to the end. The singing of these was sometimes called 'singing the *Hallelujah!*' as has been observed out of Cassian[38] more than once in the foregoing parts of this and the former Book. But the more common acceptation of *Hallelujah!* is for the singing of the word itself by a frequent solemn repetition of it upon certain days, and in special parts of divine service; it being a sort of invitatory, or mutual call to each other to praise the Lord. Therefore, as St. Austin[39] observes, they always used it in the Hebrew language, because that was the known signification of it; and so it was in our first Liturgy, though now we say, 'Praise ye the Lord!' with a response of the people, 'The Lord's name be praised!'

Anciently there was no dispute about the lawfulness of the hymn itself, but some variation and some dispute there was about the times of using it. St. Austin says[40], in some Churches

[37] Vid. August. in Ps. 105. p. 505. (t. 4. p. 1191 b.) Et hoc asserunt, quod omnes Halleluiatici Psalmi habeant in fine *Halleluia*, non omnes in capite.—In Ps. 118. p. 542. (t. 4. p. 1277 e.) Proœmium in Psalmum Octonarium vel Alphabeticum, vel Halleluiaticum.—[I do not find this title in the Ed. Bened., which Grischovius has given as from the Ed. Basil. of 1569. p. 1322. Ed.]

[38] L. 2. c. 5. (p. 16.)... Duodecimum [Psalmum] sub *Alleluia* responsione consummans.—Ibid.c.11. (p. 24.)... Ut in responsione *Alleluia* nullus dicatur Psalmus, nisi is, qui in titulo suo *Alleluia* inscriptione prænotatur.

[39] Ep. 178. (al. Altercat. c. Pascent. s. Ep. 20. append. t. 2. p. 43 b.) ..... Nam sciendum est *Amen* et *Halleluia*, quod nec Latino, nec Barbaro, licet in suam linguam transferre, Hebræo cunctas gentes vocabulo decantare.—Conf. Hom. 16. ex 50. t. 10. p. 165. [Erroneously cited for Augustin. in Ps. 148. ap. Præf. (t. 4. p. 1673 d.) Nunc ergo, fratres carissimi, exhortamur vos, ut laudetis Deum: et hoc est, quod nos omnes dicimus, quando dicimus *Halleluia! Laudate Dominum! &c.* Ed.]

[40] Ep. 119. [al. 55.] ad Januar. c. 17. (t. 2. p. 141 d.) Ut autem *Halleluia* per illos solos dies quinquaginta in ecclesia cantetur, non usquequaque observatur. Nam et in aliis diebus varie cantatur alibi atque alibi.—Ep. 86. [al. 36. cap. 8.] (t. 2. p. 75 d.) Alioquin quod nullus, non dico Christianus, sed nec insanus dicere auderet, dies illi quinquaginta post Pascha usque ad Pentecosten, quibus non jejunatur, erunt secundum istum a sacrificio laudis alieni, quibus tantummodo diebus in multis ecclesiis, in omni-

it was never sung but upon Easter-day, and the fifty days of Pentecost: but in other Churches it was used at other times also. Vigilantius contended fiercely against St. Jerom[41], that it ought never to be sung but only upon Easter-day. And in this he seems to have followed the practice of the Church of Rome, where Sozomen[42] assures us 'it was never sung but once a-year, and that was upon Easter-day: in so much that it was the common form of an oath among the Romans, as they hoped to live to sing *Hallelujah!* on that day.' Cardinal Bona[43] and Baronius[44] are very angry at Sozomen for this: but Valesius[45] honestly defends him, forasmuch as Cassiodore, who was a Roman, reports the same in his *Historia Tripartita.*

But we must note, that anciently in those Churches, where it was most frequented, there were some exceptions in point of time and season. For in the time of Lent it was never used, as appears

bus autem maxime cantatur *Halleluia;* quam vocem laudis esse, nullus Christianus, quamlibet imperitus, ignorat.—Enarrat. in Ps. 106. (t. 4. p. 1204 b.) Cujus [Psalmi] titulus non nunc tractandus est. Est enim *Halleluia* et bis *Halleluia.* Quod nobis cantare certo tempore solemniter moris est, secundum ecclesiæ antiquam traditionem. Neque enim et hoc sine sacramento certis diebus cantamus. *Halleluia* certis quidem diebus cantamus, sed omni die cogitamus.—Serm. 101. de Temp. [al. Serm. 254.] (t. 5. p. 1048 f.) Tempus autem lætitiæ et quietis et regni, quod significant dies isti, significamus per *Halleluia.* Quid est *Halleluia? Laudate Deum.* Sed nondum habemus laudes: in ecclesia frequentantur laudes Dei post resurrectionem; quia nobis erit perpetua laus post resurrectionem nostram.

[41] Cont. Vigilant. c. 1. (t. 2. p. 387 b.) Exortus est subito Vigilantius, qui dicat.... nunquam nisi in Pascha *Alleluia* cantandum.

[42] L. 7. c. 19. (v. 2. p. 307. 14.) *Πάλιν αὖ ἑκάστου ἔτους ἅπαξ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα ψάλλουσι, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς πασχαλίου ἑορτῆς· ὡς πολλοῖς Ῥωμαίων ὅρκον εἶναι, τοῦτον τὸν ὕμνον ἀξιωθῆναι ἀκοῦσαί τε καὶ ψάλαι.*

[43] De Psalmod. c. 16. s. 7. n. 4. (p. 540.) Quidam sequuti Sozomenum existimarunt, ecclesiam Romanam in die duntaxat Dominicæ resurrectionis cecinisse *Alleluia:* cujus erroris antesignanus fuisse videtur Vigilantius, quem idcirco D. Hieronymus acriter reprehendit.

[44] An. 384. n. 29. (t. 4. p. 509 c.) Quod... ad Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem pertinet; hallucinatur plane Sozomenus, dum ait, In ea non nisi semel in anno cani solitum *Alleluia:* nam Vigilantium hæresiarcham ejus institutionis auctorem fuisse, conatumque eam Hierosolymis introducere, testatur Hieronymus, in eo, quem adversus eundem Vigilantium scripsit, commentario.

[45] In Sozom. l. 7. c. 19. (p. 307. n. 1.) Reprehendit hoc Baronius ad annum Christi 384. n. 28. Verum argumenta, quibus id probare nititur, parum firma mihi videntur. Proinde auctoritatem Sozomeni hic sequi malim, maxime cum Cassiodorus ejus verba retulerit in Historia Tripartita. Qui profecto nunquam id fecisset, nisi hunc morem vetustum fuisse scisset ecclesiæ Romanæ, ut in ea semel tantum *Alleluia* caneretur, die scilicet Paschæ.

from St. Austin[46], who says 'that was a time of sorrow, and therefore from the beginning of Lent till Easter-day they always omitted it: the ancient tradition of the Church being only to use it at certain seasons.' The fourth Council of Toledo[47] forbids the use of it not only in Lent, but upon other days of fasting, as particularly upon the first of January, which was then kept a fast in the Spanish Church, because the Heathen observed it with great superstition of many idolatrous rites and practices. In the same Council[48] the *Hallelujah!* is mentioned under the name of *laudes*, and appointed to be sung after the reading of the Gospel; which, as Bona[49] and Mabillon[50] observe, was according to the Mosarabic rite; for in other Churches it was sung between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was also sung at funerals, as St. Jerom acquaints us in his Epitaph of Fabiola[51], where he speaks of 'the whole multitude singing psalms together, and making the golden roof of the church shake with echoing forth the *Hallelujah!*' The author under the name of Dionysius[52] speaks of it also as used in the

[46] Enarrat. in Ps. 110. (t. 4. p. 1243 e.) Venerunt dies ut [jam] cantemus *Halleluia*, &c. — In Ps. 106. (see note 40, preceding.)—In Ps. 148. (t. 4. p. 1672 f, g.) Propter hæc duo tempora, unum quod nunc est in tentationibus hujus vitæ, alterum quod tunc erit in securitate et exsultatione perpetua, instituta est nobis etiam celebratio duorum temporum, ante Pascha et post Pascha.... Propterea (p. 1673 a.) illud tempus in jejuniis et orationibus exercemus; hoc vero tempus, relaxatis jejuniis, in laudibus agimus. Hoc est enim *Halleluia*, quod cantamus: quod Latine interpretatur, ut nostis, *Laudate Dominum*.

[47] C. 10. [al. 11.] (t. 5. p. 1709 a.) In omnibus Quadragesimæ diebus, ...quia tempus non est gaudii, sed mœroris, *Alleluia* non decantetur... Hoc enim ecclesiæ universalis consensio roboravit..... In temporibus vero reliquis, id est, Kalendis Januarii, quæ propter errorem gentilitatis aguntur, omnino *Alleluia* non decantabitur [al. decantetur].

[48] C. 11. [al. 12.] (ibid. d.) Laudes ideo Evangelium sequuntur propter gloriam Christi, quæ per idem Evangelium prædicatur.

[49] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 6. n. 4. (p. 280.) Ad ritum, enim Mozarabicum, quo tunc Hispania utebatur, et longo post tempore ibidem viguit, pertinet citatus canon.

[50] De Liturg. Gallic. l. 1. c. 4. n. 12. (p. 33.) Garsias Loiaisa *laudum* nomine [nempe in Conc. Tolet.] intelligit Hymnum Trium Puerorum. At certum est, *Alleluia* significari hoc loco. Isidorus, de Divinis Officiis cap. 13., *Laudes*, inquit, *hoc est Alleluia canere*.

[51] Ep. 30. [al. 77.] c. 4. (t. 1. p. 462 c.) Sonabant Psalmi, aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat *Alleluia*.

[52] De Hierarch. Eccles. c. 4. part. 3. n. 12. (t. 1. p. 222 b.) Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῆς τῶν θεολήπτων προφητῶν ἐπιπνοίας μελῴδημα, φασὶν οἱ τὰ Ἑβραίων εἰδότες, τὸ αἶνος Θεοῦ δηλοῦν, ἢ τὸ Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, κ. τ. λ.—[Vid. Paraphrasim Pachymeræ, l. 2. p. 454. fin. (ibid. p. 231 b.) Τοῦτο δὲ λέγει, ὅτι τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα ἐν τῇ τοῦ μύρου ἱερουργίᾳ. *Grischov.*]

confection of the chrism, or holy oil, to be used in the unction of confirmation. St. Austin[53] says it was sung every Lord's-day at the altar, for the same reason that they prayed standing, as a memorial of Christ's resurrection, and as a figure of our future rest and joyfulness, to signify that our business in the life to come will be nothing else but to praise God, according to that of the Psalmist, [84, 4.] "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, [O Lord,] they will be alway praising thee." The meaning of *Hallelujah!* being nothing else but *Praise the Lord!* as both he and others[54] represent it. In the second Council of Tours[55] it is appointed to be sung immediately after the Psalms, both at the sixth hour, that is, noonday; and the twelfth hour, that is, evening prayer. But whether they mean the shorter *Hallelujah!* or one of those psalms called the *Halleluatic Psalms*, of which St. Austin and Cassian speak, is not very easy to determine. Isidore says[56] it was sung every day in Spain, except upon fast-days; though it was otherwise in the African Churches. St. Jerom[57] says, it was used in private devotion; for even the ploughman at his work sung his *Hallelujahs!* and this was the signal[58] or call among the monks to their ecclesiastical assemblies; for one went about and sung *Hallelujah!* and that was the notice to repair to their solemn meeting. Nay, Sidonius Apollinaris[59] seems to intimate, that the seamen used it as their *signal* or *celeusma*[60],

[53] Ep. 119. [al. 55.] ad Januar. c. 15. (t. 2. p. 139 e.) .... Omnibus diebus Dominicis ad altare stantes oramus, quod signum est resurrectionis, et *Halleluia* canitur, quod significat actionem nostram futuram non esse nisi laudare Deum, sicut scriptum est, *Beati, qui &c.*

[54] Vid. Justin. Mart. Quæst. ad Orthodox. q. 50. (p. 421 c.) Ἑρμηνεία ἐστὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀλληλούϊα τὸ Ὑμνήσατε μετὰ μέλους τὸ ὄν.

[55] C. 19. (t. 5. p. 857 c.) Quia patrum statuta præceperunt, ut ad sextam, sex Psalmi dicantur cum *Alleluia;* et ad duodecimam duodecim, itemque cum *Alleluia!*

[56] De Offic. l. 1. c. 13. (p. 394 b.) In Africanis autem regionibus non omni tempore, sed tantum Dominicis diebus et quinquaginta post Domini resurrectionem, *Alleluia* cantatur. Verum apud nos, secundum antiquam Hispaniarum traditionem, præter dies Jejuniorum et Quadragesimæ omni tempore canitur *Alleluia.*

[57] Ep. 18. [al. 467.] ad Marcellam. (t. 1. p. 206 d.) Quocunque te verteris, arator stivam retinens *Alleluia* decantat.

[58] Ep. 27. [al. 108.] Epitaph. Paul. c. 16. (ibid. p. 706 b.) Post *Alleluia* cantatum, quo signo vocabantur ad collectam, nulli residere licitum erat.

[59] L. 2. Ep. 10. (p. 152.)
Curvorum hinc chorus helciariorum,
Responsantibus *Alleluia* ripis,
Ad Christum levat amnicum celeusma.
Sic sic psallite, nauta vel viator.

[60] [From the Greek κέλευσμα or κέλευμα; generally *a verbal exhorta-*

at their common labour, making the banks echo, while they sung *Hallelujah!* to Christ.

I only observe further, that in the church *Hallelujah!* was sung by all the people, as appears not only from what is said before by St. Jerom, 'that the church echoed with the sound of it,' but also from that of Paulinus in his Epistle to Severus[60], '*Alleluia novis balat ovile choris,—The whole sheepfold of Christ sings Hallelujah! in her new choirs.*' And St. Austin[61], alluding to this, says, 'it was the Christians' sweet *celeusma*, or *call*, whereby they invited one another to sing praises unto Christ.'

Of the *Hosanna!* and the evening hymn, and *Nunc dimittis*, or the Song of Simeon.

5. I do not here insist upon the *Hosanna!* or the evening hymn, because it does not appear that either of these were used in the service of the catechumens. The *Hosanna!* was but a part of the great doxology, Glory be to God on high! and only used in the communion-service, where we shall speak of it hereafter[62]. And the evening hymn has been mentioned before in the former Book[63], where we have given an account of the daily evening service, and showed it to be rather a private hymn than any part of the public worship of the Church. In it was contained the *Nunc dimittis*, or Song of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word, &c." But whether any of this was used in public, or only by Christians in their private devotions in their families at their setting up of lights, is what I ingenuously confess I am not yet able from any ancient records to determine. For

tion; frequently *the word of command in war;* or more precisely *a viva voce signal of friends to friends.* See Herod. 4, 141, where we read how a certain Egyptian, a man of stentorian voice, was employed by Darius, returning from his expedition into Scythia, to stand on the north bank of the Danube, and make known to Histiæus and the Ionians, who had charge of the rafts on the other side, the arrival of the king and his retreating forces ... Ἰστιαῖος δὲ, ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι, κ.τ.λ. More especially does it signify *the shout of the κελευστὴς giving time to the rowers that they might pull together.* See the Persæ of Æschylus, 403.

Εὐθὺς δὲ κώπης ῥοθιάδος ξυνεμβολῇ
Ἔπαισαν ἅλμην βρύχιον ἐκ κελεύσματος.

See also the Iphigenia in Tauris of Euripides, 1405., and Thucydides, 7, 70. Hence, however, the propriety of terming the *Hallelujah the Christians' sweet celeusma,* (see n. 61, following,) whereby they exhorted one another, as it were, to *keep time* and be *in tune* together. Ed.]

[60] Ep. 12. (p. 145.)

[61] De Cantico Novo, c. 2. t. 9. (t. 6. p. 591 f.) ..... Celeusma [al. celeuma,] nostrum dulce cantemus *Halleluia*, &c.

[62] B. 15. ch. 3. s. 9.

[63] B. 13. ch. 11. s. 5. v. 4. p. 578.

though there is frequent mention of the λυχναψία among the Greeks, and of the *lucernarium* among the Latins, as of a public office, for *vespers* or *evening-prayers;* yet I will not assert that this hymn was a part of that office, without clearer proof, but leave it to further disquisition and inquiry. The only thing we find more of the *Nunc dimittis* is in the Life of Maria Ægyptiaca[62], who died about the year 525, of whom it is said, 'that a little before her death she received the eucharist, repeated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and sung the *Nunc dimittis*, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace according to thy word!"' But this was only an act of private devotion, and whether it was then received into the public offices of the Church remains uncertain.

Of the *Benedicite*, or the Song the Three Children.

6. But we are more certain of the use of the hymn called *Benedicite*, or Song of the Three Children in the burning fiery furnace. For not only Athanasius[63] directs virgins to use it in their private devotions, but the fourth Council of Toledo[64] says it was used in the Church over all the world, and therefore orders it to be sung by the clergy of Spain and Gallicia every Lord's-day, and on the festivals of the martyrs, under pain of excommunication. L'Estrange[65] thinks this is the first time there is any mention made of this hymn as of public use in the Church: but Chrysostom lived two hundred years before this Council, and he[66] makes the same observation as the Council does, 'that it was sung in all places through-

[62] Ap. Durantum, De Ritibus, l. 1. c. 16. n. 11. (p. 41.) In Mariæ Ægyptiacæ Vita, quam Paulus, ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ diaconus, conscripsit, legitur, Mariam Ægyptiacam, sanctissimam fœminam, graviter ægrotantem, Zosimum abbatem rogasse, eucharistiam sanctis vasculis inclusam sibi deferre, quam cum, Symbolo et Dominica Oratione recitatis, sumpsisset, dixit, *Nunc dimittis, &c.*

[63] De Virgin. p. 1057. (t. 2. p. 93 c. n. 20.) .... Διάφανμα δέ· Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

[64] C. 13. [al. 14.] (t. 5. p. 1710 c.) Hymnum quoque Trium Puerorum, in quo universa cœli terræque creatura Deum [al. Dominum] collaudat, et quem ecclesia Catholica per totum orbem diffusa celebrat, quidam sacerdotes in missa Dominicorum dierum et in solemnitatibus martyrum canere negligunt. Proinde [hoc] sanctum Concilium instituit, ut per omnes Hispaniæ ecclesias vel Galliciæ [al. Galliæ,] in omnium missarum solemnitate idem in publico [al. pulpito] decantetur, &c.

[65] Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 3. p. 79. (Reprint, p. 116.) I find mention of it, &c.

[66] Quod nemo læditur nisi a seipso. t. 4. p. 593. (t. 3. p. 462 e.)... Ὠιδὴν, τὴν ... πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ᾀδομένην, καὶ ᾀσθησομένην δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς.

out the world, and would continue to be sung in future generations.' The *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon[67], appoints this hymn to be sung after the reading of the Prophets, much after the same manner as it is now ordered to be sung between the first and second lesson in the Liturgy of our Church.

Of the *Magnificat*, or Song of the Holy Virgin.

7. The use of the *Magnificat*, or Song of the Holy Virgin, "My soul doth magnify the Lord, &c.!" is not quite so ancient: for the first time we meet with it as prescribed for public use is in the Rules of Cæsarius Arelatensis and Aurelian[68], who order it to be sung in the French Churches at morning service. And that was about the year 506.

When first the Creed began to be sung as an hymn in the Church.

8. Some learned persons reckon the singing of the Creed into the psalmody of the Church, and speak of it as an ancient custom: but herein they mistake by suffering themselves to be imposed upon by modern authors. Bishop Wettenhal[69] says, 'It is no improbable conjecture, that the hymn, which the primitive Christians are said by Pliny to have sung to Christ as God, was their Creed; and that it is certain the Nicene Creed has been sung in the Church in a manner from the very compiling of it.' For this he cites Platina in the Life of Pope Mark, who affirms[70] that it was ordained by that Pope, 'that on all solemn days, immediately after the Gospel, the Creed should be sung with a loud voice by the clergy and people, in that form wherein it was explained by the Nicene Council.' When yet it is certain, on the other hand, that the Creed was never so much as barely repeated in the Roman Church in time of divine service till the year 1014, when

[67] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 2. (p. 108. in not.) Hoc canticum in aliquibus differt ab eo, quod Romanus Ordo præscribit in Sabbatis quatuor temporum. Aliter in Lectionario nostro habetur in Sabbato sancto. Ex his intelligimus, lectionem ex Apostolo non continuo post Prophetiam lectam fuisse in Ordine Gallicano: &c.

[68] Ap. Mabill. de Cursu Gallican. s. 2. (p. 407.) Ad hæc Cæsarius et Aurelianus in matutinis laudibus canticum *Magnificat*, et hymnum *Gloria in excelsis*, pro diebus Paschalibus præcipiunt, itemque pro singulis Dominicis et majoribus festivitatibus.

[69] Gift of Singing, ch. 3. (pp. 329, 330.) Some are of a mind that the *carmen Christo tanquam Deo*, that hymn, which &c. [Vid. Plin. l. 10. Ep. 97. (p. 278.) Affirmabant autem, &c. See before, b. 13. ch. 2. s. 2. v. 4. p. 290. n. 1. Ed.]

[70] [Vid. Ed. Antiq. Venet. 1504. (fol. 20.) Voluit præterea diebus solemnibus, statim post Evangelium, Symbolum a clero et populo magna voce decantari; et eo modo, quo fuerat in Nicæno Concilio declaratum. Ed.]

Benedict the Eighth brought it into use, to comply with the practice of the French and Spanish Churches, as has been shown at large in a former Book[70]; where we have noted that it was never read publicly in the Greek Church but once a year, till Peter Fullo, [or Gnapheus, his surname in Greek, as he is termed in the third section preceding,] brought it into the Church of Antioch, anno 471, and Timotheus into the Church of Constantinople, anno 511, from whose example it was taken by the third Council of Toledo, anno 589, and brought into custom in the Spanish Churches. After which, it was four whole centuries before it gained admittance in the Church of Rome.

So little reason is there to depend upon the authority of modern authors, in cases where they plainly contradict the testimony of more ancient and credible writers. And this is a good argument, as Bishop Stillingfleet[71] well urges it, to show the differences betwixt the old Gallican and Roman offices, and that the Church of England did not follow precisely the model of the Roman offices, but those that were more anciently received in the general practice of the Gallican and British Churches.

Of the author and original of the hymn, *Te Deum.*

9. There remains one hymn more, the *Te Deum*, which is now in use among us, the author and original of which are variously disputed. The common opinion ascribes it to St. Ambrose and St. Austin jointly; others[72] to St. Ambrose singly, because he is known to have composed hymns for the use of the Church. Two things are chiefly said in favour of these opinions, which have no real weight or force in them. First, that the Chronicle of Dacius, one of St. Ambrose's successors, says he composed it. Secondly, that it is approved as his hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo, anno 633. But to the first it is replied by learned men, that the pretended Chronicle of Dacius is a mere counterfeit, and altogether spurious. Mabillon[73]

[70] B. 10. ch. 4. s. 17. v. 3. p. 545.

[71] Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 237. (v. 3. p. 146.) From which discourse it will appear, that when the British, or Gallican, or Roman differed, our Church had not followed the Roman, but the other.

[72] Comber of Liturgies, part. 1. ch. 2. (p. 180.) This I thought fit to say concerning this pious and excellent hymn, which probably was made by St. Ambrose, &c.

[73] Analecta Veterum, t. 1. p. 3. [juxt. Ed. Vet. Paris. 1675. 4 voll. 8vo.—Vid. Ed. Nov. Paris. 1723. (t. 1. p. 487.) *Judicium de Chronico Datii, Archiepiscopi Mediolanensis.* See also Dacherii Spicilegium, (t. 4. p. 96.) where the *Te Deum* is spoken of in the *Supplementum ad Librum* 4. *Amalarii de Officiis Divinis.* Ed.]

proves it to be at least five hundred years younger than its reputed author, [who died about the year 555[73];] whence the story that is so formally told in it is concluded to be a mere fiction and invention of later ages. The story is this, as Spondanus[74], a favourer of it, reports it out of Dacius: 'That when St. Austin was baptized by St. Ambrose, whilst they were at the font, they sung this psalm by inspiration, as the Spirit gave them utterance, and so published it in the sight and audience of all the people.' But the authority of the story, resting merely upon the foundation of this fabulous writer, there is no credit to be given to it. Neither is there any greater weight to be laid upon what is alleged from the Council of Toledo: for the Council only says[75] 'that some hymns were composed for the use of the Church by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose,' without any particular mention of this hymn; so that it might as well be ascribed to St. Hilary as St. Ambrose, for any thing that is said in that Council. The truth of the matter is, that it was composed by a French writer about an hundred years after St. Ambrose's death for the use of the Gallican Church. Pagi[76] says Gavantus found it in some MSS. ascribed to St. Abundius; and others have the name of Sisebutus prefixed to it. Bishop Usher[77] found it in two MSS. ascribed to Nicetius, bishop of Triers, who lived about the year 535; and he is now by

[73] [Vid. Cav. Hist. Liter. (Basil. 1741. t. 1. p. 511.) Obiit anno circiter 555. Tribuitur ei *Rerum Mediolanensium Chronicon* hactenus ineditum, in Bibliotheca Mediolanensi servatum.—Vid. ibid. (n. d.) Sub Landulphi nomine e MSS. Codd. Eccles. Mediol. edidit Ludov. Anton. Muratorus, t. 4. Scriptor. Rerum Italic., Mediolan. 1724. 4to. Ed.]

[74] An. 388. n. 9. (t. 1. p. 521. ad summ. col. dextr.)...In quibus fontibus prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illis, *Te Deum laudamus*, cantantes, cunctis qui aderant audientibus et videntibus, ediderunt. Ex Chronico Dacii, l. 1. c. 10.

[75] C. 12. [al. 13.] See before, ch. 1. s. 17. p. 22. n. 85.

[76] Critic. in Baron. an. 388. n. 11. (t. 1. p. 572.) Gavantus in Rubric. Breviarii, sect. 5. c. 19., asserit, in antiquissimo Breviario MS. Collegii Aniciani de Urbe isti cantico præferri hunc titulum, *Hymnus S. Abundii*. In antiquo Breviario Chori monasterii Cassinensis, descripto paullo post annum 1086, hoc canticum inscribitur, *Hymnus Sisebuti Monachi*.

[77] De Symbolis, p. 3. [Ep. præf. ad Voss.] (Works, vol. 7. p. 300.) In eadem hymnorum collectione, Nicetam [leg. Nicetium] Deum laudavisse legimus, dicentem, *Laudate, pueri, Dominum; laudate nomen Domini. Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur*, et quæ sequuntur in hymno illo decantatissimo, qui B. Ambrosio vulgo tribuitur:.... In Latino-Gallico quoque Psalterio, circa tempora Henrici I. exarato, inscribitur iste Hymnus Sancti Niceti [leg. Nicetii], (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentanee) sive Trevirensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius, sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius, &c.

learned men generally reputed the author of it. The learned Benedictins, who lately published St. Ambrose's works[76], judge St. Ambrose not to be the author of it: and Dr. Cave[77], though he was once of a different judgment, yet upon maturer consideration subscribes[78] to their opinion. Wherefore the most rational conclusion is that of Bishop Stillingfleet[79], that it was composed by Nicetius, and that we must look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church; since not long after the time of Nicetius it is mentioned in the rule of St. Benedict, (chap. 11.), and the rule of Cæsarius Arelatensis, (chap. 21.), and the rule of Aurelian, where they prescribe the use of it: but Menardus[80] is confident there is no mention of this hymn in any writers of credit before them.

[76] [Vid. *In Hymn. S. Ambros. Admonit.* (Ed. Paris. 1690. t. 1. p. 1219, ad calc. Admonit.) De cantico eucharistico, *Te Deum laudamus*, pigeret hic anxie dicere: nemo quippe est hac nostra ætate non plane rudis, qui fabulam esse inficiatur, quod eundem hymnum post baptizatum ab Ambrosio magnum Augustinum ab utroque alternis versibus decantatum olim jactabant. ED.]

[77] Hist. Liter. (v. i. p. 215.) Hymnus, *Te Deum*, cœlitus, ut fertur, delapsus, et inter baptizandum Augustinum ab Ambrosio et Augustino alternis versiculis recitatus. Videtur vero ab Ambrosio eo tempore compositus, quo Ariani, omnia susque deque miscentes, ecclesiam militari manu obsederunt, ut fatiscentes Catholicorum animos refocillaret.

[78] Ibid. (v. 2. p. 79.) Hymni 12, quos Ambrosio adjudicari posse censent clarissimi editores [Benedictini], veterum autoritati hac in parte nixi. Ab hoc censu relegant hymnum *Te Deum laudamus*, qui Ambrosii esse nullo idoneo testimonio probari potest, et fabulam pro origine habere videtur.

[79] Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 222. (v. 3. p. 137.) In an old Collection of Hymns, and an old Latin and French Psalter, mentioned by Archbishop Usher, this hymn [*Te Deum*] is attributed to St. Nicetius. And there were two of that name in the Gallican Church; the former of which might probably be the author of it. The one was bishop of Triers, ... and the other of great fame too, and bishop of Lyons. ..... I see no reason against the former Nicetius, since Menardus confidently affirms, *there is no mention of this hymn in any writers before;* and therefore we may look on this hymn as owing its original to the Gallican Church.

[80] Not. in Gregor. Sacramentar. p. 351. (ap. Oper. Greg. M. t. 3. part. 1. p. 585 e. 5.) Hoc institutum vulgo refertur ad SS. Ambrosium et Augustinum, qui in ejusdem S. Augustini baptismo hunc hymnum ex tempore ediderint et decantaverint: proferturque hujus opinionis auctor et assertor S. Dacius, episcopus Mediolanensis, in Chronico, qui floruit tempore Justiniani imperatoris, cujusque meminit S. Gregorius, Lib. 3. Dial. c. 4. Sed quidquid sit de veritate hujus historiæ, certum est, hoc Chronicon non esse hujus Dacii, quia probari non potest, ullum Chronicon ab eo scriptum fuisse, nedum citatum: tum quia non redolet stylum temporum illorum; tum quia falsum est, quod ibi continetur, quod S. Augustinus, *audiens Sanctum Ambrosium de incarnatione ad populum tractantem et prædicantem, tremens ac pallens, omnibus qui aderant videntibus, obriguerit: ac etiam finita monitione, quam ad populum B. Ambrosius ministrabat,*

s hymns St. Ambrose.

10. But though St. Ambrose cannot be allowed to be the author of this hymn, yet there is no doubt to be made but that he composed hymns for the use of the Church, some of which are yet exstant. For St. Austin[81] mentions one of his evening hymns in several places, *Deus Creator omnium, &c.*, which I forbear to relate here at length, because I have done it in the former Book[82]. Again, St. Austin in his Retractations[83] speaks of another hymn composed by St. Ambrose upon the repentance of Peter after the crowing of the cock, part of which he there relates, and says it was used to be sung by many in his time. Du Pin[84] thinks most of those hymns, which are now the daily office of the Roman service, are taken from St. Ambrose, but that the rest are in a different style, and owing to other authors. Particularly that the hymn *Vexilla Regis prodeunt* is none of his, which is now used in the Romish Church in the fourth week of Lent, so notorious for their kneeling down to the cross, and worshipping it in these words[85],—'Hail, Cross, our only hope in this time of passion,

primus ad eum Augustinus pervenerit, &c. Adversatur enim S. Augustini et Possidii scriptis, nec potuit in mentem viri alicujus eruditi ac sapientis viri, qualis fuit hic Dacius, venire. Quare ante S. Benedictum et Teridium, S. Cæsarii Arelatensis episcopi discipulum, qui de hoc hymno in suis Regulis locuti sunt, nullus Veterum illius mentionem fecit.

[81] Confess. l. 9. c. 12. (t. 1. p. 169 a.) Deinde dormivi et evigilavi, et non parva ex parte mitigatum inveni dolorem meum: atque ut eram in lecto meo solus, recordatus sum veridicos versus Ambrosii tui. Tu es enim

Deus, Creator omnium,
Polique rector, &c.

—De Music. l. 6. c. 2. (t. 1. p. 513 d.) Quamobrem tu, cum quo mihi nunc ratio est, familiaris meus, ut a corporeis ad incorporea transeamus, responde, si videtur, cum istum versum pronuntiamus, *Deus, Creator omnium, &c.*—Ibid. c. 17. (p. 538 a.) Quare ille versus, a nobis propositus, *Deus Creator omnium*, non solum auribus sono numeroso, sed multo magis est animæ sententiæ sanitate et veritate gratissimus.

[82] B. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 426. n. 24.

[83] L. 1. c. 21. (t. 1. p. 32 b.).... Cantatur ore multorum in versibus Beatissimi Ambrosii, ubi de gallo gallinaceo ait,

Hoc, ipsa Petra ecclesiæ
Canente, culpam diluit.

[84] Du Pin. Bibliotheque, Cent. 4. p. 231. (t. 2. p. 290.) Celles, qui sont pour l'office de tous les jours, me paroissent plus certaines que les autres. On peut y joindre les Hymnes sur les six jours de la Creation. Pour les autres, elles me paroissent d'un autre stile et d'un autre auteur. Il est certain que le *Vexilla Regis* n'est point de lui.

[85] Breviar. Rom. Hebdomad. 4. Quadragesimæ, Die Sabbati. (p. 295.)

O Crux, ave, spes unica,
Hoc passionis tempore,
Auge piis justitiam,
Reisque dona veniam.

[The Edit. Colon. Agripp. 1664. reads the two last lines thus,

Piis adauge gratiam,
Reisque dele crimina. Ed.]

increase the righteousness of the pious, and grant pardon of sins to the guilty.' We are sure this could not be the composition of St. Ambrose, nor any writer of that age; being so much the reverse of the practice of the ancient Church, in whose hymns or other devotions there is not the least footstep of worshipping the cross, or any material image of God, as has been demonstrated in a former part of this Work [86], where the history of images has been handled *ex professo*, in considering the way of adorning the ancient churches.

The hymns of St. Hilary, Claudianus, Mamercus, and other

11. There were many other hymns, and some whole books of hymns composed by other writers of the Church, of which we have little remaining besides the bare names, and therefore it will be sufficient just to mention them. St. Jerom [87] says, St. Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, composed a book of hymns: and these, we are sure, were many years after his death of famous note and use in the Spanish Churches, being ratified and confirmed in the fourth Council of Toledo [88]. But none of these are come to our hands, except a morning hymn prefixed before his works [89], which he sent with an epistle to his daughter Abra. It is a prayer to Christ for preservation from the perils of day and night, savouring of ancient piety, and concluding with the common glorification of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Sidonius Apollinaris [90] says also, that Claudianus Mamercus collected the psalms and hymns and lessons proper for the festivals in the Church of Vienna in France, and made some hymns of his own, one of which he highly commends [91] for its elegancy, loftiness, and sweetness, as exceeding any of

[86] B. 8. ch. 8. s. 6. v. 3. p. 155.

[87] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 100. (t. 2. p. 919.) Est ejus ad Constantium libellus . . . et liber hymnorum.

[88] C. 12. See before, ch. 1. s. 17. p. 22. n. 85.

[89] Ep. ad Fil. Abram. (t. 2. p. 528 d. n. 7.) Interim tibi hymnum matutinum et serotinum misi, ut memor mei semper sis.

The hymn begin thus: Lucis Largitor Optime, &c., and ends in these words of the doxology:

Gloria tibi Domine,
Gloria Unigenito,
Cum Spiritu Paraclito.
Nunc et per omne sæculum!

[90] L. 4. Ep. 11. (p. 260.)

Psalmorum hic modulator et phonascus,
Ante altaria, fratre gratulante,
Instructas docuit sonare classes.
Hic solemnibus annuis paravit,
Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

[91] L. 4. Ep. 3. (p. 236.) Jam vero de hymno tuo si percunctere quid sentiam, commaticus est, copiosus, dulcis, elatus, et quoslibet lyricos dithyrambos amœnitate poetica et historica veritate supereminet.

the ancient lyrics, in the greatness of its composure and historical truth. Savaro says in his Notes upon the place [92], 'that it is the same which is now in the Roman Breviary,' and because it answers the character which Sidonius gives it, and has none of the superstition of a modern composure in it, such as the *Vexilla Regis*, fathered upon St. Ambrose, I think it not improper to transcribe it in the margin here [93] for the use of the learned reader. And I say further, that if every thing in the Roman Breviary had been in this strain, it had much more resembled the piety and simplicity of the ancient hymns, and been free from those marks of superstition and idolatry, which now it labours under, by mixing the follies of the modern superstitious admirers of the worship of the Virgin Mary and the cross, which were so great a deviation from the ancient worship, and stood so much in need of reformation.

[92] [Ad l. c. (p. 241.) Qui canitur in ecclesia, Dominica, in Passione Domini, ad Laudes, &c. Ed.]

[93] Breviar. Rom. Dominica v. Quadragesimæ, sive in Passione Domini ad Matutinum. (p. 295.)

Pange lingua gloriosi
Prælium certaminis,
Et super crucis trophæum
Dic triumphum nobilem,
Qualiter Redemptor orbis
Immolatus vicerit.

De parentis protoplasti
Fraude factor condolens,
Quando pomi noxialis
Morsu in mortem corruit,
Ipse lignum tunc notavit,
Damna ligni ut solveret.

Hoc opus nostræ salutis
Ordo depoposcerat,
Multiformis proditoris
Ars ut artem falleret,
Et medelam ferret inde,
Hostis unde læserat.

Quando venit ergo sacri
Plenitudo temporis,
Missus est ab arce Patris
Natus orbis Conditor:
Ac de ventre Virginali
Caro factus prodiit.

Vagit infans inter arcta
Conditus præsepia:
Membra pannis involuta
Virgo mater alligat;
Et manus pedesque et crura
Stricta cingit fascia.

Gloria et honor Deo
Usquequaque altissimo,
Una Patri, Filioque,
Inclito Paraclito,
Cui laus est et potestas
Per æterna sæcula. Amen! *

* [The Edit. Colon. Agripp. 1664. read *lauream* for *prælium* in the first stanza, and *trophæo* for *trophæum*: in the second *in necem morsu ruit* for *morsu in mortem corruit*: in the fourth *carne amictus* for *caro factus*: in the fifth *et Dei manus pedesque* for *et manus pedesque et crura*: and alters the last thus,—

Sempiterna sit Beatæ
Trinitati gloria,
Æqua Patri, Filioque:
Pars decus Paraclito:
Unius Trinique nomen
Laudet Universitas!

Ed.]

There were many other hymns for the use of particular Churches, composed by learned men, as Nepos, and Athenogenes, and Ephrem Syrus, not to mention those spoken of by Pliny and Tertullian, and frequently by Eusebius; nor those, which Paulus Samosatensis caused in his anger to be cast out of the Church of Antioch; nor those which, Sozomen [94] says, were made upon a special occasion, when the people of Antioch had incensed Theodosius, by throwing down his statues; which were both sung in the church, and before Theodosius himself by the singing boys, as he sat at table. Of all which we have no further account but only the bare mention of them in their several authors. As for those composed by Gregory Nazianzen, Paulinus, Prudentius, and other Christian poets, they were not designed for public use in the church, but only to antidote men against the poison of heresies, or set forth the praises of the martyrs, or recommend the practice of virtue in a private way: for which reason I take no notice of them in this place, being only concerned to give an account of such hymns as related to the ancient psalmody, as a part of the public service of the Church. And so I have done with the first part of their worship in the *missa catechumenorum*, or *service of the catechumens.*

CHAP. III.

Of the manner of reading the Scriptures in the public service of the Church.

1. NEXT to the psalmody and hymns, we are to take a view of their way of reading the Scriptures, which was another part of the service of the catechumens, at which, as has been observed before, all sorts of persons were allowed to be present for instruction. Which is an argument of itself sufficient, if

Lessons of the Scripture sometimes mixed with psalms and hymns, and sometimes

[94] L. 7. c. 23. (v. 2. p. 313. 23.) Καὶ, παυσάμενοι μαίνεσθαι, μετεμέλοῦντο· καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ παροῦσι τοῖς ἀγγελλομένοις κακοῖς ἔστενον τε, καὶ ἐδάκρυον, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἱκέτευον πραῦναι τοῦ κρατοῦντος τὴν ὀργὴν, μελῳδίαις τισὶν ὁλοφυρτικῶς πρὸς τὰς λιτὰς κεχρημένοι. Ἠνίκα δὴ καὶ Φλαβιανὸς ὁ Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπος, πρεσβευόμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἔτι τοῦ βασιλέως χαλεπαίνοντος, πέπεικε τοὺς παρὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν τράπεζαν ἅδειν εἰωθότας νέους τὰς ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς τῶν Ἀντιοχέων ψαλμῳδίας εἰπεῖν· ἐφ' ᾧ λέγεται φιλανθρωπίᾳ διαχυθέντα τὸν βασιλέα κρατηθῆναι τῷ ἐλέῳ, καὶ αὐτίκα τὴν ὀργὴν ἐκβαλεῖν, καὶ σπείσασθαι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, δάκρυσι βρέξαντα τὴν φιάλην, ἣν ἔτυχε κατέχων.

read after them.

there were no other, to prove that they were always read in a known tongue: of which I need say no more here, because it has been so fully evinced by great variety of arguments in the [fourth chapter of the] last Book. What we are now to observe further relates to the manner and circumstances of this service. Where, first of all, it is proper to remark, that though many times the psalms and lessons and hymns were so intermixed, as now they are in our Liturgy, that it is hard to tell which came first in order, or with which the service began; yet in some places it was plainly otherwise: for the psalms were first sung all together, only with short prayers between them, and then the lessons were read by themselves, to such a number as the rules of every Church appointed. Of which I have given sufficient proof out of Cassian and St. Jerom in the beginning of the last chapter, which may supersede all further confirmation in this place.

The lessons read both out of the Old and New Testament, except in the Church of Rome, where only Epistle and Gospel were read.

2. The next thing worthy of our observation is the number of the lessons, which were *always two at least*, and sometimes three or four, and those partly out of the Old Testament, and partly out of the New. Only the Church of Rome seems to have been a little singular in this matter: for as Bishop Stillingfleet[1] observes, out of Walafridus Strabo[2] and others of her old Ritualists, for four hundred years, till the time of Pope Celestine, they had neither Psalms nor lessons out of the Old Testament read before the sacrifice, but only Epistle and Gospel. In other Churches they had lessons out of the Old Testament as well as the New. Cassian says[3], in Egypt, after

[1] Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 215. (v. 3. p. 136.) How he [Baronius] can justify the ancient use of the singing psalms at Rome, either before or after Damasus's time, till Celestine was Pope, I cannot imagine, if the Pontifical Book say true; for that expressly affirms, *That Celestine appointed David's Psalms to be sung antiphonatim before the sacrifice, and that it was not done before, but only the Epistles of St. Paul and the holy Gospel were read.* Which words are repeated by Alcuinus, Amalarius, Rabanus Maurus, Walafridus Strabo, Berno Augiensis, and several other ritualists and historians.

[2] De Reb. Eccles. c. 22. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 15. p. 191 e. 1.) Antiphonas ad introitum dicere Cælestinus Papa 45. instituit, sicut legitur in Gestis Pontificum Romanorum, cum, ad ejus usque tempora, ante sacrificia lectio una Apostoli tantum et Evangelii legeretur.

[3] Instit. l. 2. c. 6. (p. 18.)... Quibus [psalmis duodecim] lectiones geminas adjungentes, id est, unam Veteris et aliam Novi Testamenti, tanquam a se eas traditas et velut extraordinarias, volentibus tantum, ac Divinarum Scripturarum memoriam possidere assidua meditatione studentibus, addiderunt. In die vero Sabbati vel Dominico, utrasque de

the singing of the Psalms, they had two lessons read, one out of the Old Testament, and the other out of the New: only on Saturdays and Sundays and the fifty days of Pentecost they were both out of the New Testament, one out of the Acts of the Apostles, or the Epistles, and the other out of the Gospels. The Author of the Constitutions speaks[3] of 'four lessons, two out of Moses and the Prophets besides the Psalms, and then two out of the Epistles or Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels.' Again[4], he mentions 'the reading of the Prophets on Sundays.' And in another place[5], 'the Law and the Prophets, the Psalms and the Gospels.' And again[6], 'the Law and the Prophets, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels.' So Justin Martyr[7], describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's-day, speaks of 'the reading of the writings of the Prophets, as well as the Apostles.' In like manner Chrysostom[8], reproving some who were very negligent at church, says, 'Tell me what Prophet was read to-day, what Apostle?'—implying that the one was read as well as the other. Particularly he tells us, that the book of Genesis was always read in Lent, of which more by and by in the following observations [in the next section.] St. Basil[9], in one of his Homilies upon Baptism in Lent, takes notice of the several lessons that were read that day, besides the Psalms; whereof one was out of Isaiah 1, the second out of Acts 2, and the third out of

Novo recitant Testamento, id est, unam de Apostolo vel Actibus Apostolorum, et aliam de Evangeliis. Quod etiam totis Quinquagesimæ diebus faciunt hi, quibus lectio curæ est seu memoria Scripturarum.

[3] L. 2. c. 57. See before, ch. 1. s. 1. p. 2. n. 3.

[4] L. 2. c. 59. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 268.) Ἐν ᾗ [ἡμέρᾳ Κυριακῇ] Προφητῶν ἀνάγνωσις, καὶ Εὐαγγελίου κηρυκία, καὶ θυσίας ἀναφορὰ, καὶ τροφῆς ἱερᾶς δωρεά.

[5] L. 5. c. 9. See before, ch. 1. s. 1. p. 2., the second part of n. 3.

[6] Ibid. l. 8. c. 5. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 392.) Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν, τῶν τε Ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τῶν Πράξεων, καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

[7] Apol. 2. See before, b. 13. ch. 9. s. 1. v. 4. p. 524., the first part of n. 13.

[8] Hom. 24. in Rom. p. 270. (t. 9. p. 697 e.)... Ὁ μάτην ἐνταῦθα εἰσελθὼν εἰπέ, τίς Προφήτης, τίς Ἀπόστολος σήμερον διελέχθη ἡμῖν, καὶ περὶ τίνων;

[9] Hom. 13. de Bapt. t. 1. p. 409. (t. 2. part. 1. p. 159 b.) Σὺ δὲ, διὰ Προφητῶν διδασκόμενος, Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· διὰ Ψαλμῶν νουθετούμενος, Προσέλθετε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ φωτίσθητε· δι' Ἀποστόλων εὐαγγελιζόμενος, Μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος· ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου προσλαμβανόμενος, λέγοντος, Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες, καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα σήμερον συνέδραμε πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, κ.τ.λ.

Matthew 11. And in another Homily[10] he speaks of the Psalms and Proverbs, and Epistles and Gospels, as read that day. Maximus Taurinensis in one of his Homilies upon the Epiphany[11] says, the lessons were out of Isaiah 60, Matthew 2, and John 1, for that festival. St. Austin sometimes only mentions Epistle and Gospel. But in other places[12] he expressly mentions the reading of the Prophets, and particularly mentions the Prophet Micah, and those words of the sixth chapter, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" which were the theme for his discourse upon the lesson for the day.

In the French Churches there is still more evidence for this practice: for Cæsarius Arelatensis[13], in one of his Homilies cited by Mabillon, uses this argument to the people, why they should stay the whole time of divine service, 'because the lessons were not so properly called *missa*, or *divine service*, as was the oblation or consecration of the body and blood of Christ, for they might read at home, or might hear others read the lessons, whether out of the Prophets, or Apostles, or Evangelists; but they could not hear or see the consecration any where else but only in the house of God.' Where it is

[10] Hom. 21. in Lacizis, p. 460. (ibid. part. 2. p. 836 b. n. 1.) Ἀναλέξασθέ μοι τὰς μνήμας τῶν ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ παραναγνωσθέντων ὑμῖν λογίων πνευματικῶν, διδασκαλίας ψυχωφελεῖς, θεραπείας ψυχῶν· μνήσθητε τῶν ψαλμικῶν διδαγμάτων· συναγάγετε μοι τὰς παροιμιώδεις ὑποθήκας· ἐρευνήσατε τῶν ἱστοριῶν τὸ κάλλος· πρόσθετε τούτοις τὰς ἀποστολικὰς παραινέσεις· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἱονεὶ κορωνίδα, ἐπέθετε τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ῥημάτων τὴν μνήμην, κ. τ. λ.

[11] Hom. 4. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 6. pp. 10, 11.) Ait Prophetarum præcipuus Esaias, sicut audistis, fratres carissimi, *Illuminare, illuminare Hierusalem, &c.*... Ait namque Beatissimus Matthæus evangelista, *Ecce Magi ab oriente advenerunt, dicentes, &c.*... Judæus Christum videt, invidet, *sicut lectum est, In sua venit, et sui eum non receperunt.*

[12] Hom. 237. de Temp. p. 384. [al. Serm. 49.] (t. 5. p. 271 c.) Memini, superiore Dominico quod promiserim. Cum enim de sancto Propheta quod lectum fuerat, aliquid exponere voluissem; lectum autem fuerat, quærenti homini quibus sacrificiis placaret Deum? renuntiatum esse, Nihil ab illo Deum quærere, nisi facere judicium et justitiam, et diligere misericordiam, paratumque esse ire cum Domino Deo suo; &c.

[13] De non recedendo ab ecclesia, &c., ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 4. n. 4. (p. 28.) Non tunc fiunt missæ, quando divinæ lectiones in ecclesia recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur, et corpus vel sanguis Domini consecratur. Nam lectiones, sive propheticas, sive apostolicas, sive evangelicas, etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere, aut alios legentes audire potestis; consecrationem vero corporis et sanguinis Domini non alibi, nisi in domo Dei audire vel videre poteritis.

plainly implied, that the lessons were then read in the church as well out of the Prophets as the Epistles and Gospels. And so in the relation of the Conference between the Catholics and Arians in the time of Gundobadus, king of Burgundy, which we have had occasion to mention before[14] out of the same learned writer, it is said, 'that in the vigil held the night before the Conference four lessons were read, one out of Moses, another out of the Prophet Esaias, a third out of the Gospel, and the last out of the Epistles.' And in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon[15], [Paris, 1684, 4to.] there is always a lesson out of the Old Testament before the Epistle and Gospel: and on the *Sabbatum Sanctum*, or *Saturday before Easter*, there are no less than twelve lessons appointed out of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Jonah, beside the Epistle and Gospel, which follow after.

It further appears from the canons of the Council of Laodicea[16], and the third Council of Carthage[17], and St. Cyril's Catechetical Discourses[18], that all the Books of the Old Testa-

[14] Ch. 1. s. 2. of this Book, p. 4. n. 11.

[15] Ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. l. 2. (pp. 137—140.) Legenda in Sabbato Sancto, &c.

[16] C. 59. (t. 1. p. 1507 a.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς Καινῆς καὶ Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης.—C. 60. (ibid. a.) Ὅσα δεῖ βιβλία ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης· α' Γενεσις κόσμου. β' Ἔξοδος ἐξ Αἰγύπτου. γ' Λευιτικόν. δ' Ἀριθμοί. ε' Δευτερονόμιον. ς' Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ. ζ Κριταί. Ῥούθ. η' Ἐσθήρ. θ' Βασιλειῶν, α', β'. ι' Βασιλειῶν, γ', δ'. ια' Παραλειπόμενα, α', β'. ιβ' Ἔσδρας α', β'. ιγ' Βίβλος Ψαλμῶν ρν'. ιδ' Παροιμίαι Σολομῶντος. ιε' Ἐκκλησιαστής. ις' Ἆσμα ᾀσμάτων. ιζ' Ἰώβ. ιη' Δώδεκα Προφῆται. ιθ' Ἡσαΐας. κ' Ἰερεμίας καὶ Βαρούχ, Θρῆνοι καὶ Ἐπιστολαί. κα' Ἰεζεκιήλ. κβ' Δανιήλ. Τὰ δὲ τῆς Καινῆς Διαθήκης, ταῦτα· Εὐαγγέλια τέσσαρα, κατὰ Ματθαῖον, κατὰ Μάρκον, κατὰ Λουκᾶν, κατὰ Ἰωάννην. Πράξεις Ἀποστόλων. Ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαὶ ἑπτά, οὕτως· Ἰακώβου μία, Πέτρου δύο, Ἰωάννου τρεῖς, Ἰούδα μία, Ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου δεκατέσσαρες· πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μία, πρὸς Κορινθίους δύο, πρὸς Γαλάτας μία, πρὸς Ἐφεσίους μία, πρὸς Φιλιππησίους μία, πρὸς Κολοσσαεῖς μία, πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς δύο, πρὸς Ἑβραίους μία, πρὸς Τιμόθεον δύο, πρὸς Τίτον μία, πρὸς Φιλήμονα μία.

[17] C. 47. (t. 2. p. 1177 a.) Item placuit, ut præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium, Jesus Nave, Judicum, Ruth, Regnorum libri quatuor, Paralipomenon libri duo, Job, Psalterium Davidicum, Salomonis libri quinque, Libri duodecim Prophetarum, Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Tobias, Judith, Esther, Esdræ libri duo, Macchabæorum libri duo. Novi autem Testamenti, Evangeliorum libri quatuor, Actuum Apostolorum liber unus, Pauli apostoli Epistolæ tredecim, ejusdem ad Hebræos una: Petri apostoli duæ, Johannis apostoli tres, Judæ apostoli una, et Jacobi una, Apocalypsis Johannis, liber unus.

[18] Catech. 4. n. 22. [al. 36.] p. 67.

ment were then read in the church, as well as the New. For they give us catalogues of what books might or might not be read in the church, among which all the books of the Old Testament are specified as such as were then actually read in the public service; and Cyril allows his catechumens to use no other books in private but the books of the Old and New Testament, which he thought they might safely read, because they were both publicly read in the church.

Proper lessons for certain times and festivals.

3. The next observation to be made is upon their method of reading the Scriptures, which seems always to be done by some rule, though this might vary in different Churches. St. Austin[19] tells us, there were some lessons so fixed and appropriated to certain times and seasons, that no others might be read in their stead. And he particularly instances[20] in the festival of Easter, when for four days successively the history of Christ's resurrection was read out of the four Gospels. On the day of his passion[21] they read the history of his sufferings out of St. Matthew's Gospel only. And all the time between Easter and Pentecost, he says[22], they read the Acts of the

(p. 69 d.) Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πάντα ἔξω κείσθω ἐν δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε, καθὼς ἤκουσας.

[19] Expos. in 1 Ioan. in Prolog. t. 9. p. 235. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 825.)... Interposita est solemnitas sanctorum dierum, quibus certas ex Evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesiæ recitari, quæ ita sunt annuæ, ut aliæ esse non possint.

[20] Serm. 139. de Temp. [al. Serm. 240.] (t. 5. p. 1001 a.) Per hos dies, sicut recolit caritas vestra, sollemniter leguntur evangelicæ lectiones, ad resurrectionem Domini pertinentes. —Serm. 140. de Temp. [al. Serm. 235.] (ibid. 989 d.) Hesterno die, id est, nocte, lecta est ex Evangelio resurrectio Salvatoris. Lecta est autem ex Evangelio secundum Matthæum. Hodie vero, sicut audistis pronuntiare lectorem, recitata est nobis Domini resurrectio, sicut Lucas evangelista conscribit.—Serm. 141. de Temp. [al. Serm. 231.] (ibid. p. 977 c.) Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi ex more legitur, his diebus, ex omnibus libris sancti Evangelii.—Serm. 144. de Temp. [al. Serm. 232.] (ibid. p. 980 d.) Resurrectio Domini nostri Jesu Christi et hodie recitata est: sed de altero libro Evangelii, qui est secundum Lucam. Primo enim lecta est secundum Matthæum; hesterna autem die secundum Marcum; hodie secundum Lucam.—Serm. 148. de Temp. [al. Serm. 248.] (ibid p. 1026 c.) Et hodie lectio recitata est, de his, quæ facta sunt post resurrectionem Domini, secundum evangelistam Johannem.

[21] Serm. 144. de Temp. [al. Serm. 232.] (t. 5. p. 980 e.) Passio autem quia uno die legitur, non solet legi, nisi secundum Matthæum.

[22] Tract. 6. in Ioan. t. 9. p. 24. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 337 g.) Actus Apostolorum testes sunt, ille liber canonicus omni anno in ecclesia recitandus. Anniversaria solemnitate post passionem Domini nostis illum librum recitari; ubi scriptum est, quomodo conversus sit Apostolus, et ex persecutore prædicator factus.

Apostles. This last particular is frequently mentioned by St. Chrysostom, who has a whole Sermon to give an account of the reasons of it. There he takes notice of many things together relating to this matter of reading the lessons by rule and order. First[23] he tells us, 'how by the appointment of the Church, on the day of our Saviour's passion, all such Scriptures were read as had any relation to the cross; then how on the Great Sabbath or Saturday before Easter, they read all such portions of Scripture as contained the history of his being betrayed, crucified, dead and buried.' He adds also[24], 'that on Easter-day they read such passages as gave an account of his resurrection; and on every festival, the things that related to that festival.' But it seemed a difficulty, why then the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the history of their miracles done after Pentecost, should not rather be read after Pentecost than before it? To this he answers, 'that the miracles of the Apostles contained in that Book were the great demonstration of our Saviour's resurrection: and therefore the Church appointed that Book to be read always between Easter and Pentecost, immediately after our Saviour's resurrection, to give men the evidences and proofs of that holy mystery, which was the completion of their redemption.' So that though the lessons for other festivals related the things that were done at those festivals; yet for a particular reason, the Acts of the Apostles, which contained the history of things done after Pentecost, were read before Pentecost, because they

[23] Hom. 73. Cur in Pentecoste Acta legantur. t. 5. p. 949. (t. 3. p. 88 a.) *Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ πάντα ἀναγινώσκομεν· ἐν τῷ Σαββάτῳ τῷ Μεγάλῳ πάλιν, ὅτι παρεδόθη ἡμῶν ὁ Κύριος, ὅτι ἐσταυρώθη, ὅτι ἀπέθανε τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὅτι ἐτάφη.*

[24] Ibid. p. 951. (p. 89 d.) *Ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ [τοῦ] σταυροῦ ἀναγινώσκομεν, καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὰ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἑορτῇ γεγονότα τῇ αὐτῇ πάλιν ἀναγινώσκομεν, οὕτως ἔδει καὶ τὰ θαύματα τὰ ἀποστολικὰ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἀποστολικῶν σημείων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν οὐ τότε αὐτὰ ἀναγινώσκομεν, ἀλλ' εὐθέως μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, ἀκούσετε μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὴν αἰτίαν ἅπασαν. Μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν εὐθέως ἀνάστασιν καταγγέλλομεν τοῦ Χριστοῦ· τῆς δὲ ἀναστάσεως ἀπόδειξίς ἐστι τὰ σημεῖα τὰ ἀποστολικά, τῶν δὲ σημείων ἀποστολικῶν διδασκαλεῖόν ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον. Ὁ τοίνυν μάλιστα πιστοῦται τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν Δεσποτικήν, τοῦτο μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον ἀνάστασιν εὐθέως οἱ πατέρες ἐνομοθέτησαν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν, ἀγαπητοί, μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐθέως ἀναγινώσκομεν τὰ σημεῖα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἵνα ἔχωμεν σαφῆ καὶ ἀναμφισβήτητον τῆς ἀναστάσεως τὴν ἀπόδειξιν.*

were more proper for the time immediately following our Saviour's resurrection. And upon this account it became a general rule over the whole Church to read the Acts at this time, as not only Chrysostom testifies here, but in many other places of his writings. In his Homily upon those words, "Saul yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples," (Acts 9,) he gives[25] this reason, why he could not preach in order upon every part of that book, 'because the law of the Church commanded it to be laid aside after Pentecost, and the reading of it to conclude with the end of the present festival.' In another place[26] he says, 'it was appointed by law to be read on that festival, and not usually read in any other part of the year.' And in another place[27] he gives this reason why he broke off his sermons upon Genesis in the Passion-week, 'because the intervention of other solemnities obliged him to preach then upon other subjects, agreeable to what was read in the church,' as against the traitor Judas, and upon the passion, and our Saviour's resurrection, at which time he took in hand the Acts of the Apostles, and preached upon them from Easter to Pentecost. Cassian[28] says, the same order was observed among the Egyptians: and it appears from the ancient *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, that it was so in the French Churches: for there almost on every day between Easter and Pentecost, except the Rogation-days, and some few others, two lessons are ordered to be read out of the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles. Whence it may be concluded further, that the reading of the Apocalypse was also in a great measure appropriated to this season in the Gallican Church. And so it was in the Spanish Churches by an order of the fourth Council

[25] Hom. 47. t. 5. p. 637. (t. 3. p. 102 b.) Τῶν πατέρων ὁ νόμος κελεύει μετὰ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ βιβλίον, καὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς ἑορτῆς ταύτης συγκαταλύεται καὶ ἡ τοῦ βιβλίου ἀνάγνωσις.

[26] Hom. 48. in Inscript. Altar. Act. 17. t. 5. p. 650. (ibid. p. 54 b.) Σήμερον βουλόμεθα ἀπὸ τῶν Πράξεων τῶν Ἀποστόλων εἰπεῖν. . . . Δεῖ τοίνυν ἐξετάσαι, τίς ὁ γράψας, καὶ πότε ἔγραψε, καὶ περὶ τίνων, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ νενομοθέτηται αὐτὸ ἀναγινώσκεσθαι· τάχα γὰρ οὐκ ἀκούετε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔτους ἀναγινωσκομένου τοῦ βιβλίου.

[27] Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 478. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 2. v. 4. p. 449. n. 37.

[28] Instit. l. 2. c. 6. See before, b. 13. ch. 10. s. 14. v. 4. p. 571., the latter part of n. 67. In die vero Sabbati, vel Dominico, &c.

of Toledo[29], which enjoins the reading of it in this interval, under pain of excommunication.

In Lent they usually read the Book of Genesis, as is plain from Chrysostom, whose famous Homilies, called Ἀνδριάντες, because they are *about the statues* of the Emperor, which the people of Antioch had seditiously thrown down, were preached in Lent: and in one[30] of these he says, he would preach upon the book that had been read that day, which was the Book of Genesis, and the first words, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," were the subject of his discourse. In another Sermon[31], preached upon the same text in the beginning of Lent, he says, the words had been read in the lesson that day. And for this very reason he preached two whole Lents upon the Book of Genesis, because it was then read of course in the Church. For the thirty-two first of those Homilies were preached at Constantinople in Lent, in the third year after he was made bishop, anno 400 or 401; but the festivals of the Passion, and Easter, and Pentecost coming on, this subject was interrupted, and he preached upon other subjects, as he himself[32] tells us, suitable to those occasions. Afterward

[29] C. 16. [al. 17.] (t. 5. p. 1711 b.) Si quis [Apocalypsin] a Pascha usque ad Pentecosten missarum tempore in ecclesia non prædicaverit, excommunicationis sententiam habebit.

[30] Hom. 7. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 107. (t. 2. p. 85 e.).... Τὸ σήμερον ἡμῖν ἀναγνωσθὲν μεταχειριοῦμαι βιβλίον· καὶ, εἰ δοκεῖ, τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ προοίμιον, ὃ δοκεῖ μάλιστα, μηδὲ ἴχνος ἐμφαίνειν παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ καθόλου παρακλητικῶν ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι λόγων, εἰς μέσον προθεὶς, ὃ λέγω, ποιήσω φανερόν. Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστι τὸ προοίμιον; Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, κ. τ. λ.

[31] Serm. 1. in Gen. 1. t. 2. p. 880. (t. 4. p. 645 d.) Φέρε, λεπτοτέρων κατατολμήσωμεν νοημάτων, περὶ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάττης, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ τῆς κτίσεως φιλοσοφοῦντες σώματος· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀνεγνώσθη σήμερον.—Conf. Hom. 6. de Pœnitent. ap. Edit. Latin. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 10. v. 4. p. 479. n. 59.

[32] Hom. 33. in Gen. p. 480. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 2. v. 4. p. 449. n. 37.—Conf. ibid. (t. 4. p. 332 b.) Ἴστε καὶ μέμνησθε ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατριαρχὴν εἰς μέσον ἀγαγόντες,.... (Ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ Λὼτ μετ' αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὴν ἔρημον·) ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον καταλύσαντες, τὰς μεταξὺ πάσας ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν περὶ τῶν κατεπειγόντων διδασκαλίαν αὐτὸν μετηγάγομεν.—Severian. Gabalens. Hom. 1. in Gen. (ap. Combefis. Auctar. Noviss. p. 214.) Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Οἶδα μενοῦν, ἀδελφοὶ, ὅτι τὰ λεπτὰ ταῦτα ζητήματα δυσχερῆ φαίνεται ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίαις· ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ νηστείας νηφούσαις μᾶλλον ταῖς ψυχαῖς περὶ τῶν βαθυτέρων νοημάτων διαλέγεσθαι.—Augustin. Serm. 71. de Temp. [al. Serm. 6. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 13 c, d.) Lectio illa, fratres caris-

he resumed his former work, and finished his comment upon Genesis in thirty-two sermons more in the year ensuing. Which makes it plain that Genesis was then read in Lent, as the Acts were in Pentecost, and that Chrysostom conformed his discourses according to the order of reading then established in the Church.

It appears further from St. Ambrose, that the Book of Job and Jonah were both read in the Passion-week. For, speaking of a sermon which he made to the people at this time, he says[33], 'Ye have heard, children, the Book of Job read, which is in course appointed to be read at this time.' And again[34], says he, 'the Book of Jonah was read;' that is, as Pagi[35] critically remarks, on the third day of the Passion-week. And that this was an ancient rule of the Church, appears from Origen's Comment upon Job, which, St. Jerom[36] says, St. Hilary translated into Latin. For there he[37] not only tells

simi, in qua beatus Abraham Isaac filium suum in holocaustum legitur obtulisse, ideo in ordine suo, diebus Quadragesimæ, non recitatur; quia, sicut ipsi nostis, in vigiliis Paschæ propter sacramentum Dominicæ passionis reservatur. Et quia tunc non est in spatio, ut de ista possit aliquid dici, nunc, si videtur, expositionem ejus, secundum quod eam patres nostri, inspirante Domino, tractaverunt, caritatis vestræ auribus, quantum possumus, breviter intimemus.

[33] Ep. 33. [al. 20.] ad Marcellin. p. 160. (t. 2. p. 855 e. n. 14.) Audistis, filii, librum legi Job, qui solemni et munere est decursus et tempore.

[34] Ibid. p. 162. (p. 858 f. n. 25.) Sequenti die lectus est de more liber Jonæ.

[35] Critic. in Baron. an. 387. n. 4. [al. 5.] (t. 1. p. 568.) Postea ait, *Sequenti die* (nempe feria tertia, die 31 Martii, non autem feria secunda, ut putavit Baronius) *lectus est de more liber Jonæ, &c.*

[36] Cont. Vigilant. [corrige, Cont. Ruffin. l. 1. c. 2. (t. 2. p. 459 c.)... Habuit in promptu Hilarium confessorem, qui quadraginta ferme millia versuum Origenis in Job et Psalmos transtulit. Ed.]

[37] Origen. in Job. l. 1. p. 366. (t. 2. p. 851 c.) In conventu ecclesiæ, in diebus sanctis legitur Passio Job, in diebus jejunii, in diebus abstinentiæ, in diebus, in quibus tamquam compatiuntur ii, qui jejunant et abstinent, admirabili illo Job, in diebus, in quibus in jejunio et abstinentia sanctam Domini nostri Jesu Christi passionem sectamur: ut terribilem ejus passionem transeuntes ad beatam ejus resurrectionem venire mereamur, compassi nunc, ut et conregnemus, condolentes modo in tempore passionis, ut et congaudeamus post hoc in tempore resurrectionis. Quam passionem Dominus noster Jesus Christus ad terras veniens in humano corpore sustinuit pro omnium hominum salute, ut per passionem sane mortem interficeret, per resurrectionem vero suam recidivam vitam cunctis ostenderet. Cujus passionis atque resurrectionis Domini formam atque exemplum quia Job passio in multis gerebat, sicut ii, qui diligentius requisierunt, repererunt; merito etiam nunc in diebus passionis, in diebus sanctificationis, in diebus jejunii, beati Job passio legitur, meditatur, atque scrutatur.

us, that the Book of Job was read in the church in Passion-week, but also gives us the reason of it, 'because it was a time of fasting and abstinence, a time in which they that fasted and abstained, had, as it were, a sort of fellow-suffering with admirable Job, a time in which men by fasting and abstinence followed after the passion of Christ Jesus our Lord: and because the passion of Job was in a great measure a type and example of the passion and resurrection of Christ, therefore the history of Job's passion was with good reason read and meditated upon in these days of passion, these days of sanctification, these days of fasting.' Thus far Origen: but in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*[38] there is no mention of the Book of Job, but only of Jonah, on the *Sabbatum Magnum*, or *Saturday before Easter-day*. St. Jerom[39] seems to say that the Prophet Hosea was also read on the vigil of our Saviour's passion. For he mentions a long discourse of Pierius, which he had read, made by that martyr on the beginning of that book, in an elegant but extemporary style, on the vigil before the passion.

St. Chrysostom[40], in one of his Homilies upon the Gospel of St. John, which he was then expounding, advises his auditors 'to read at home, in the week-days before, such portions of the Gospel as they knew were to be read and expounded on the Lord's-day following in the church.' Which implies some certain rule and order. So that though we have not any complete *Lectionarium* or *Calendar of lessons* now remaining, yet we are sure their reading of Scripture was some way methodized and brought under rule, especially for the greater solemnities and festivals of the Church. The first Calendar of this kind is thought by some to be Hippolytus's *Canon Pas-*

[38] Ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. (p. 139.)

[39] Procem. in Hosea, ad Pammach. (t. 6. Præf. p. 23.) Pierii quoque legi tractatum longissimum, quem in exordio hujus Prophetæ die vigiliarum Dominicæ passionis extemporali et diserto sermone profudit.

[40] Hom. 10. [Ed. Bened. 9. al. 10. in Ioan., al. 11. juxt. Ed. Savil. t. 2. p. 597. 12.] (t. 8. p. 62 b.) *Τί ποτ' οὖν ἐστιν, ὅπερ αἰτοῦμαι ὑμᾶς; Κατὰ μίαν σαββάτων, ἢ καὶ κατὰ σάββατον, τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐν ὑμῖν ἀναγνωσθήσεσθαι τῶν Εὐαγγελίων περικοπὴν, ταύτην πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ χεῖρας λαμβάνων ἕκαστος οἶκοι καθήμενος ἀναγινωσκέτω συνεχῶς, καὶ πολλάκις περισκοπείτω μετὰ ἀκριβείας τὰ ἐγκείμενα, καὶ βασανιζέτω ταῦτα καλῶς· καὶ τί μὲν σαφὲς, τί δὲ ἄδηλον σημειούσθω· τί δὲ αὐτῶν ἐναντίον εἶναι δοκοῦν, οὐκ ὀν δέ· καὶ πάντα ἁπλῶς διακωδωνίσαντες, οὕτως ἀπαντᾶτε πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόασιν.*

chalis, which, as I have shown before[40], no less men than Scaliger and Gothofred take to be a rule appointing lessons proper for the festivals. But Bucherius and others[41] give another account of it, which leaves the matter uncertain. There goes also under the name of St. Jerom a book called his *Comes* or *Lectionarium;* but critics of the best rank[42] reckon this a counterfeit, and the work of a much later writer, because it mentions lessons out of the Prophets and Old Testament, whereas in St. Jerom's time, as we have noted before[43], there were no lessons read besides Epistles and Gospels in the Church of Rome. However, some time after, there were several books of this kind composed for the use of the French Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris[44] says, Claudianus Mamercus made one for the Church of Vienne, anno 450. And Gennadius[45] say, Musæus made another for the Church of Marseilles about the year 458. But both these are now lost, and the oldest of this kind is the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which Mabillon lately published from a manuscript, which he judges by the hand to be above a thousand years old, but wrote after the time of Gregory the Great, because it mentions the festival of Genouefa[46], [or Genoveva,] who is supposed to have lived after his time. But though we have no more ancient Calendar now remaining, yet the authorities alleged before do indisputably evince the thing itself, that the lessons of Scripture

[40] B. 13. ch. 5. s. 6. v. 4. p. 393. nn. 9, 10.

[41] [See Bucher. de Doctrina Temporum, &c., Antwerp. 1633. fol., and Cave's Hist. Liter., (v. 2. p. 46.) where he describes this work of Hippolytus. Ed.]

[42] Stillingfleet, Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 229. (v. 3. p. 142.) .... Which manifests that the book under St. Jerome's name called the *Lectionarius* or *Comes* must be a counterfeit, &c.—Cave, Hist. Liter. (v. 1. p. 225.) *Comes*, sive *Lectionarius* exstat apud Pamelium Liturgicorum tomo 2. Præfationem hujusce libri extulit Dacherius Spicileg. tom. 13. Hunc *Comitem* multo, quam editus sit a Pamelio, ampliorem se habuisse testatus est Cornelius Scultingius. Citatur sub Hieronymi nomine, tituloque *Comitis* et *Lectionarii* a Micrologo c. 25, &c. Plura de hoc libro habet Cardinalis Bona, Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 6. s. 2., qui illum Hieronymo, sed levi quidem argumento nixus, asserere conatur.

[43] See s. 2. p. 50.

[44] L. 4. Ep. 11. (p. 260.)
Hic solemnibus annuis paravit,
Quæ quo tempore lecta convenirent.

[45] De Scriptor. c. 79. (int. Oper. Hieron. t. 2. p. 981.) Excerpsit de sanctis Scripturis lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas; responsoria Psalmorum capitula temporibus et lectionibus congruentia.

[46] Lection. Gallic. ap. Mabillon. de Liturg. Gallican. ad calc. l. 2. n. 16. (p. 114.) Legenda in festo S. Genovevæ virginis, &c.

were generally appropriated to times and seasons, according as the festivals required: and for the rest they were either read in order as they lie in the Bible, as Mabillon[46] shows from the Rules of Cæsarius and Aurelian; or else were arbitrarily appointed by the bishops at discretion, as sometimes particular Psalms were upon emergent occasions, according to the observation that has been made[47] in speaking of that subject. St. Austin[48] says expressly, he sometimes ordered a lesson to be read agreeable to the subject of the Psalm upon which he was preaching. And Ferrarius[49] gives several other instances,

[46] De Curs. Gallican. s. 2. n. 34. (p. 406.) Qua ratione ordinata fuerint Massiliæ divina officia, non liquet: at de Arelatensi ritu conjectare possumus ex Regulis Cæsarii et Aureliani, qui longe diversum a Lugdunensi modum præscribunt. Ambo vero duos tantum *nocturnos* passim in vigiliis nocturnis assignant, et lectiones uterque *missas* appellant. Et *tria* quidem *folia* ad unamquamque exigit Cæsarius; *tres aut quatuor paginas*, pro mensura libri, Aurelianus.

[47] See before, ch. 1. s. 6. of this Book, p. 8.

[48] In Ps. 90. Serm. 2. p. 412. (t. 4. p. 970 d.) Propterea fecimus ipsam lectionem Evangelii recitari, ubi Dominus tentatus est, per ea verba Psalmi, quæ hic audistis.

[49] De Rit. Concion. l. 1. c. 17. (p. 68.) The inscription: Pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei lectione, sive apostolica, sive evangelica seligebatur aliquando peculiaris aliqua et tempori maxime congruens particula, quam tractandam susciperent concionatores. — The chapter itself: *Vere nos hæc quidem hactenus. Verum tamen si quis dixerit, pro communi ac determinata alicujus diei, sive ex Evangelio, sive ex Apostolo, lectione, fecisse aliquando concionatores, ut peculiaris aliqua lectio fuerit, quæ esset congruens et accommodata ei argumento, quod ipsi tractandum suscepissent; non is, mea quidem sententia, a vero longe abibit.* Etenim apud Augustinum in Serm. 121. de Diversis [al. Serm. 362.] (t. 5. p. 1417 d.) ita scriptum invenias: *In memoria retinentes pollicitationem nostram, congruas etiam ex Evangelio et Apostolo fecimus recitari lectiones.* Et in Sermone 23. de Verbis Domini secundum Matthæum ait: [al. Serm. 93.] (ibid. p. 501 b.) *Hesterno die, qui affuistis, promissionem nostram tenetis: quæ hodie non solis vobis, sed pluribus etiam, qui convenerunt, Domino adjuvante, reddenda est. Quæ sint decem virgines, quarum sint quinque prudentes, et quinque stultæ, non facile indagari potest. Veruntamen secundum ea, quæ continet ipsa lectio, quam caritati vestræ etiam hodie volui recitari, &c.* Et in Tractatu 12. in Johannis Evangelium: (t. 3. part. 2. p. 383 g.) *Meminit autem caritas vestra, Dominico præterito, quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus est, disseruisse nos de spirituali regeneratione; quam lectionem vobis iterum legi fecimus, ut quæ tunc non dicta sunt, in Christi nomine adjuvantibus orationibus vestris impleamus.* Chrysologus etiam hoc eleganter expressit in Serm. 66. (p. 103.) *Duas hodie a duobus evangelistis editas ita recitare fecimus lectiones, ut sermoni nostro vester intellectus occurreret, paterent abdita, &c.* Et in Sermone 118. (p. 173.) *Quoniam tota spes fidei Christianæ in resurrectione constituta est mortuorum, ne quisquam de ea ausus sit dubitare, beati Pauli, asserentis eam auctoritate, rebus, exemplis, latissimam recitari vobis fecimus lectionem, &c.*

both out of St. Austin and Chrysologus, to the same purpose, which need not here be repeated.

y whom e Scrip- res were iciently ad in the urch.

4. The next question may be concerning *the persons* by whom the Scriptures were publicly read in the church. Which is a question that has been in some measure answered before[50], in speaking of the order of readers. Where I showed, that for the two first centuries, before the order of readers was instituted, it is probable the Scriptures were read by the deacons, or else, in imitation of the Jewish Church, by such as the bishop or president for that time appointed. But in the time of St. Cyprian it was the peculiar office of the readers, which were become an inferior order of the clergy, to read all the lessons of Scripture, and even the Gospel, as well as other parts; as appears from several of Cyprian's Epistles[51]. Here I must add, that in after-ages the reading of the Gospel was in some Churches confined to the office of the deacons and presbyters. For so the Author of the Constitutions[52] words it: 'After the other lessons are read by the readers, let a deacon or a presbyter read the Gospels.' And so St. Jerom[53] reminds Sabinianus the deacon, 'how he had read the Gospels in the church.' And Socrates[54] notes the same of Sabbatius, a presbyter in the Novatian Church. Sozomen[55] says, 'at Alexandria the Gospel was read only by the archdeacon; in other

[50] B. 3. ch. 5. v. 1. p. 324.

[51] Ep. 34. [al. 39.] (p. 224.) Hunc ad nos, fratres dilectissimi, cum tanta Domini dignatione venientem, testimonio et miraculo ejus ipsius, qui se persecutus fuerat, illustrem, quid aliud quam super pulpitum, id est, super tribunal ecclesiæ oportebat imponi, ut, loci altioris celsitate subnixus, et plebi universæ pro honoris sui claritate conspicuus, legat præcepta et evangelium Domini, quæ fortiter ac fideliter sequitur?—It. Ep. 33. [al. 38.] p. 65. (p. 222.) Merebatur talis clericæ ordinationis ulteriores gradus et incrementa majora, non de annis suis, sed de meritis æstimandus; sed interim placuit, ut ab officio lectionis incipiat: quia et nihil magis congruit voci, quæ Dominum gloriosa prædicatione confessa est, quam celebrandis divinis lectionibus personare: post verba sublimia, quæ Christi martyrium prolocuta sunt, evangelium Christi legere, unde martyres fiunt.

[52] L. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 261.) Ἀνὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἕτερός τις τοὺς τοῦ Δαβὶδ ψαλλέτω Ὕμνους, ... καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διάκονος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἀναγινωσκέτω τὰ Εὐαγγέλια.

[53] Ep. 48. [al. 147.] ad Sabinian. (t. 1. p. 1084 d.) Evangelium Christi quasi diaconus lectitabas.

[54] L. 7. c. 5. (v. 2. p. 350. 42.) Ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γὰρ συνάξεως, τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου περιοχὴν ἀναγινώσκων, κ. τ. λ.

[55] L. 7. c. 19. (ibid. p. 308. 1.) Ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον ἀναγινώσκει ἐνθάδε μόνος ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος· παρὰ δὲ ἄλλοις, διάκονοι· ἐν πολλαῖς δὲ ἐκκλησίαις οἱ ἱερεῖς μόνοι· ἐν δὲ ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις, ἐπίσκοποι, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν τῆς ἀναστασίμου ἑορτῆς.

places by the deacons; in others only by the presbyters, and on the greater festivals by the bishop, as at Constantinople on Easter-day.' In the French Churches it was the ordinary office of deacons, as appears from that canon of the Council of Vaison[56], which says, 'that if the presbyter was sick, the deacon might read an homily,' giving this reason for it, 'that they, who were thought worthy to read the Gospels of Christ, were not unworthy to read the expositions of the holy fathers.' Yet in the Spanish Churches the ancient custom continued, that the readers read the Gospel as well as other lessons. Which may be collected from that canon of the first Council of Toledo[57], which allows no one that had done public penance ever to be ordained, unless it were to the office of a reader, in case of great necessity, and then he should read neither the Epistle nor the Gospel. Which implies, that other readers, who were never under penance, read both the Gospel and all other lessons, as Albaspinæus in his Notes[58] rightly observes upon it.

Whethe the Epi and Gos were re twice, fi to the c chumen and the the faith at the al

5. But in one thing that learned person seems to be mistaken, when he supposes[59] that reading of the Gospel to have been in the communion-service. For anciently the Scriptures, and even the Gospel itself, were only read in the service of the catechumens. Cardinal Bona[60] indeed says, 'the ancient custom was to read the Gospel only to the faithful, and that the Council of Orange[61] in France, and the Council of Va-

[56] Vasens. 2. [al. 3.] c. 2. (t. 4. p. 1680 b.) Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ [al. diacones, quod] Christus in Evangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni judicenter sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?

[57] C. 2. (t. 2. p. 1223 e.) Pœnitentes non admittantur [al. De pœnitente, non admittatur] ad clerum, nisi tantum si necessitas, aut usus exegerit, et tunc inter lectores deputentur [al. inter ostiarios deputetur vel inter lectores] ita ut Evangelia et Apostolum non legant.–Conf. c. 4. (p. 1224 a.) Subdiaconus autem, defuncta uxore, si aliam duxerit, ab officio, in quo ordinatus fuerat, removeatur, et habeatur inter ostiarios, vel inter lectores; ita ut Evangelium et Apostolum non legat. [The Ed. Bened. expounds *Apostolum* by *Epistolam*, in the margin. Ed.]

[58] In C. Tolet. 1. c. 2. (ibid. p. 1241 b.) Liquido ex his constat lectores non Evangelium tantum, sed et lectiones pronuntiasse.

[59] In C. Carth. 3. c. 4. (ibid. p. 1185 c.) Vetus ille mos invaluerat, ut non diaconi, sed lectores Epistolas et Evangelia in solemni missæ sacrificio pronuntiarent.

[60] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 7. n. 1. (p. 290.) .... In Concilio Arausicano 1. tempore Leonis I. c. 18. statutum est, ut Evangelia, quæ solis fidelibus antea legebantur, deinceps etiam catechumenis legerentur. Idem decrevit Concilium Valentinum in Hispania.

[61] Arausic. 1. c. 18. (t. 3. p. 1450 c.) Evangelia deinceps placuit catechumenis legi apud omnes provinciarum nostrarum ecclesias.

lentia[62] in Spain, were the first that ordered it otherwise.' But nothing is plainer than that the reading of the Gospel was always before the sermon, and the sermon was always before the communion-service began, in the presence of the catechumens, and before their dismission ordinarily, being designed chiefly for their instruction. Therefore, though some ill custom might have crept into the Churches of France and Spain, excluding the catechumens from hearing the Gospel and the sermon, which those Councils endeavoured to correct; yet that is far from proving it to be the ancient custom to confine the hearing of the Gospel to the faithful only: and a man cannot look into the homilies of St. Austin or St. Chrysostom but he will find this mistake every where confuted. For they always speak of reading the Gospel before the homily, and the homily made in the presence of the catechumens: and the contrary supposition is merely owing to a common prejudice and conceit, that the ancient service was in all things like the modern, where the Gospel is twice read, first among the lessons, and then with the Epistle by itself in the communion-service; whereas, anciently, they were both read in the ordinary course of the lessons, in that part of the service only which was properly called the service of the catechumens.

The solemnity and ceremonies of reading the lessons. Where first of the salutation, *Pax vobis!* before reading.

6. The next thing worthy our observation is the solemnity and ceremony with which the Ancients appointed the Scriptures to be read. The reader, before he began to read, was commonly used to say, *Pax vobis! Peace be with you!* which was the usual form of salutation at the entrance of all offices in the Church. St. Cyprian plainly alludes to this when, speaking of a new reader, whom he had ordained to the office the Lord's-day before, he says[63], 'He began to use the salutation, *Peace be with you!* when he first began to read.' I know none of the Commentators that take notice of this custom in Cyprian, or make any remark upon the phrase: but this is

[62] C. 1. (t. 4. p. 1617 d.) Ut sacrosancta Evangelia ante munerum illationem in missa [al. vel missam] catechumenorum, in ordine lectionum, post Apostolum legantur: quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant.

[63] Ep. 33. [al. 38.] ad Cler. Carth. p. 75. (p. 223.) Dominico legit interim nobis, id est, auspicatus est pacem dum dedicat lectionem.

evidently the sense of it, and so the learned Albaspinæus[64] understands it. This custom seems to have continued in Afric till the third Council of Carthage made an order[65] to the contrary, that the readers should no longer salute the people. This form of salutation, *Peace be with you!* to which the people usually answered, *And with thy spirit!* was commonly the office of a bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, in the performance of their several functions in the Church, as is noted by Chrysostom[66] in many places: and therefore this Council took away this power from the readers, and put it into the hands of the deacons, or the other superior ministers of the Church. So that as the reader had used to say before reading, *Peace be with you!* this canon only ordered that it should be said by some other minister. For that it was used either by the reader, or some other minister, before he began to read, appears from St. Austin, who, writing against the Donatists[67], says, 'nothing could be more perverse than their own practice, who, before the reader began to read the Epistle, said to him, *Peace be with thee!* and yet separated from the peace of those Churches to which the Epistles were written.'

7. St. Austin in another place[68] mentions the bishop's using this form of salutation as soon as he came into the church, immediately before the reader began to read the lessons, which in Afric, in those days, was the first part of the service,

This salutation sometimes used by the bishop immediately

[64] In c. 4. C. Carth. 3. (t. 2. p. 1185 c.).... Antequam autem Evangelii pronuntiandi initium faceret olim lector, elata voce proferebat, *Pax vobis!* perinde atque hodierno die diaconus dicit, *Dominus vobiscum!* Hoc idem epistola D. Cypriani iisdem verbis probatur: *Interim vobis hoc die auspicatus est pacem, dum dedicat lectionem:* quibus D. Cyprianus verbis alloquutum et salutatum populum ait ab Aurelio, cum primo ei Evangelii recitandi potestas esset facta, et pacem et benedictionem Christi Domini fidelibus condonasse.

[65] C. 4. [juxt. Crabb., c. 2. ap. Labb.] (ibid. p. 1180 b.) Ut lectores populum non salutent.

[66] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. (t. 10. p. 568 c.) Ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέῃ, κ.τ.λ.—Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1338. (t. 11. p. 347 d.) Ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις εἰρήνην, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς λιταῖς, ἐν ταῖς προσρήσεσι, καὶ ἅπαξ, καὶ δὶς, καὶ τρὶς, καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὴν δίδωσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εἰρήνην ὑμῖν ἐπιλέγων.

[67] Ep. 165. [al. 53.] ad Generos. (t. 2. p. 121 c.) Quid autem perversius et insanius, quam lectoribus easdem epistolas legentibus dicere, *Pax tecum!* et ab earum ecclesiarum pace separare, quibus ipsæ epistolæ scriptæ sunt?

[68] De Civitat. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. p. 1489. (t. 7. p. 672 b.) Procedimus ad populum, plena erat ecclesia, personabat vocibus gaudiorum, *Deo gratias! Deo laudes!* .... Salutavi populum.... Facto tandem silentio, Scripturarum divinarum sunt lecta solemnia.

before the reader began to read.

with a responsory psalm between every lesson. 'I went to church,' says he, 'I saluted the people, that is, said, *Peace be unto you!* And then silence being made, the solemn lessons of the holy Scriptures were read in order.' This custom of saluting the people in this form is also mentioned by Chrysostom [69] in several places. 'When we are come into the church,' says he, 'we say immediately, *Peace be unto you!* according to this law, and ye answer, *And with thy spirit!*' Again [70], 'The bishop at his entrance into the church says always, *Peace be unto you!* as a proper salutation when he comes into his Father's house.' And in another place [71], 'When the bishop enters the church, he immediately says, *Peace be with you all!* when he begins his sermon, he says again, *Peace be with you all!*' Now, considering that this was the common salutation at the beginning of all offices, and that the Scriptures began to be read as soon as the bishop came into the church, it is plain that such a form of salutation was always used by one or other before the reading of the Scriptures.

The deacon enjoined silence before the reader began, and required attention: as the reader also did before every lesson, saying, *Thus saith the Lord.*

8. St. Chrysostom takes notice of two other customs relating to this matter, as introductory to the reading and hearing the Scriptures with greater advantage: that is, the deacons enjoining silence and requiring attention, and the reader himself, after the naming any lesson, saying, *Thus saith the Lord.* 'The deacon,' says he [72], 'who is the common minister of the Church, first stands up and cries with a loud voice, Πρόσκωμεν, *Let us give attention:* this he repeats several times, and after that the reader names the prophet, Isaiah, suppose, or any other; and before he begins to read, he also cries aloud, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος, *Thus saith the Lord.*' So again in another place [73], 'When the reader rises up and says, *Thus saith the*

[69] Hom. 33. [Bened. 32. al. 33.] in Matth. p. 218. (t. 7. p. 373 b.).. Κοινῇ πᾶσι τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιλέγομεν εἰσιόντες εὐθέως κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον.

[70] Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 653. (t. 10. p. 340 b.).. Εἰρήνην δὲ νῦν πᾶσιν ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς ἐπεύχεται, ὡς εἰς πατρῴαν οἰκίαν εἰσιών.

[71] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1338. (t. 11. p. 348 c.) Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εὐθέως λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· κ. τ. λ.

[72] Hom. 19. in Act. Apost. p. 538. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 8. v. 4. p. 466. n. 8.

[73] Hom. 3. in 2 Thess. p. 1502. (t. 11. p. 527 d.) Ὅταν γὰρ ἀναστὰς ὁ ἀναγινώσκων λέγῃ, Τάδε λέγει Κύριος· καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἑστὼς ἐπιστομίζῃ πάντας, οὐ τῷ ἀναγινώσκοντι τιμὴν ποιῶν τοῦτό φησιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δι' ἐκείνου πᾶσι διαλεγομένῳ.

Lord, and the deacon stands up and commands all men to keep silence, he does not say this to honour the reader, but God, who speaks to all by him.' This enjoining of silence is spoken of by St. Ambrose[74] and others[75]: but it differed from another act of the deacon's under the same name, *silentium indicere*, which was calling upon the people to fall to their private prayers, of which we shall have occasion to say more in the first chapter of the next Book.

At the naming of the Prophet or Epistle the people in some places said, *Deo Gratias! and Amen!* at the end of it.

9. Mabillon[76] observes, that at the naming of the lessons out of the Prophets or Epistles the people sometimes said, *Deo Gratias! Thanks be to God!* as it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy. But we have little notice of this elsewhere. Only St. Austin[77] says, it was a very common phrase among the monks, when they met a brother Christian, to say, *Deo Gratias! Thanks be to God!* for which the Circumcellions, or Agonistici, as they called themselves, among the Donatists, were wont to insult them, though they themselves often used to say, *Deo laudes!* which in their mouth was more to be dreaded than the roaring of a lion. It appears also from the Acts of Eradius's[78] election to be his successor, that it was an usual acclamation upon many other occasions: for as soon as he had nominated Eradius to be his successor, the people cried out for a long time together[79], *Deo gratias! Christo laudes! Thanks be to God! Praise be to Christ!* What therefore was so common upon other occasions, might very probably be said by way of acclamation at the naming of the lessons of the holy Scriptures. Grotius[80] says, it was also customary at the

[74] Præf. in Ps. 1. n. 9. (t. 1. p. 741 b.) Quantum laboratur in ecclesia ut fiat silentium, cum lectiones leguntur, &c.

[75] August. de Civitat. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. See n. 68, preceding.

[76] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 2. n. 10. (p. 11.) Audito populi responso, legit prophetiam, ad cujus titulum populus respondet, *Deo gratias!* et in fine, *Amen!*

[77] In Ps. 132. p. 630. (t. 4. p. 1487 b.) Agonistici appellantur. Utinam ergo milites Christi essent, et non milites Diaboli. A quibus plus timetur *Deo laudes!* quam fremitus leonis. Hi etiam insultare nobis audent, quia fratres, cum vident homines, *Deo gratias!* dicunt.

[78] [Always termed *Eraclius* in the Benedictine Edition. Vid. Not. ad tit. Epist. citat. (t. 2. ad calc. p. 788.) Editi *Eradio*. At in MSS. constanter *Eraclio* aut *Heraclio*. Ed.]

[79] August. Ep. 110. [al. 213.] [al. Ecclesiast. Gest. a B. August. confect. in designando Eraclio, &c.] A populo acclamatum est trigesies sexies, *Deo gratias! Christo laudes!*

[80] Annot. in Philem. v. 25. (t. 2. v. 2. p. 1009. 16.) Ἀμήν, *Amen*. Est vox, quam ecclesia respondebat lectis Epistolis. Ideo omnibus Pauli Epistolis cœpit ascribi.

end of the Epistle for the people to answer *Amen!* and that hence it was, that at the end of all St. Paul's Epistles the word *Amen* was added by the Church. I know not upon what grounds he asserts this, and therefore I shall let it rest upon the authority of that learned man, without affirming or denying his assertion.

At the reading of the Gospel all stood up, and said in some places, *Glory be to thee, O Lord!*

10. At the reading of the Gospel it was a general custom for all the people to stand up: and some of the middle-age ritualists take notice of their saying, *Glory be to thee, O Lord!* at the naming of it. The author of the Homily[81], *De Circo vel Hippodromo*, under the name of St. Chrysostom, says, 'When the deacon goes about to read the Gospel, we all presently rise up, and say, *Glory be to thee, O Lord!*' But as that Homily is known to be none of Chrysostom's, we cannot certainly say it was the custom in his days. But the custom of rising up at the reading of the Gospel is certainly as old as Chrysostom, for he speaks of it in one of his Homilies on St. Matthew[82]: 'If the letters of a king are read in the theatre with great silence: much more ought we to compose ourselves, and stand up with attentive ears, when the letters not of an earthly king but of the Lord of Angels are read to us.' The author of the Constitutions[83] mentions the same: 'When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters and deacons and all the people stand with profound silence.' And so Isidore of Pelusium[84]: 'When the true Shepherd appears at the opening of the holy Gospels, then the bishop himself rises up, and lays aside his pastoral habit or authority, signifying thereby, that then the Lord himself, the Author of the pastoral function, his God and his Master is present.' This was every where observed, except at

[81] Hom. 52. t. 6. p. 491. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 6. v. 4. p. 463., the latter part of n. 95.

[82] Hom. 1. in Matttb. p. 11. (t. 7. p. 18 a.).. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ θεάτρου πολλῆς σιγῆς γενομένης, τότε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναγινώσκεται γράμματα· πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἅπαντας δεῖ κατεστάλθαι, καὶ ὀρθαῖς [ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ] ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἑστάναι; οὐ γὰρ ἐπιγείου τινὸς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ τῶν ἀγγέλων Δεσπότου τὰ γράμματα ἀναγινώσκεσθαι μέλλει.

[83] L. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 263.).. Καὶ ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκέτωσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας.

[84] L. 1. Ep. 136. (p. 41 e.) Ἡνίκα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀληθινὸς Ποιμὴν παραγίνηται, διὰ τῆς τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τῶν προσκυνητῶν ἀναπτύξεως, καὶ ὑπανίσταται καὶ ἀποτίθεται τὸ σχῆμα τῆς μιμήσεως ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτὸν δηλῶν παρεῖναι τὸν Κύριον, τὸν τῆς ποιμαντικῆς Ἡγεμόνα, καὶ Θεὸν καὶ Δεσπότην.

Alexandria, where it is noted by Sozomen [85], as a singular thing in that Church, 'that the bishop did not use to rise up, when the Gospel was read.' And Cassian [86] observes it, as no less singular in the monks of Egypt, 'that excepting the reader, who always stood up, the rest sat upon low seats both when the Psalms and the lessons out of the Old or New Testament were reading. Which was only indulged them because of their excessive watchings and fastings and labours.' In other places sitting at the Gospel was reckoned a corruption and abuse: insomuch that Philostorgius [87] tells us, that Theophilus, the Arian bishop, who went to the Indies, corrected it as an indecency that had crept in there against the rules of the Church. And Anastasius did the same at Rome, as is said in his Life by the Author of the Pontifical [88]; for he made a decree, 'that as often as the holy Gospels were read, the priests should not sit, but stand in a bowing posture.'

In Afric the general custom was, not only to stand at the Gospel, but at all the other lessons out of Scripture: for they gave equal honour to every part of the Word of God, insomuch as that their sermons and homilies and whatever was rehearsed in the church, was heard standing, as we shall see more in the next chapter. Here it will be sufficient to observe, that Cyprian's readers [89] not only stood up to read, but that all the people stood about them when they read the Scriptures.

[85] L. 7. c. 19. (v. 2. p. 307. 23.) *Κέκτηνται δὲ κἀκεῖνο παρὰ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι τούτοις· ἀναγινωσκομένων γὰρ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων, οὐκ ἐπανίσταται ὁ ἐπίσκοπος· ὁ παρ' ἄλλοις οὗτ' ἔγνων οὔτ' ἀκήκοα.*

[86] Instit. l. 2. c. 12. (p. 24.) Hunc sane canonicum, quem prædiximus, duodenarium psalmorum numerum tali corporis quiete relevant, ut has easdem congregationum solemnitates ex more celebrantes, absque eo, qui dicturus in medium psalmos surrexerit, cuncti sedilibus humillimis insidentes ad vocem psallentis omni cordis intentione dependeant. Itaque namque jejuniis et operatione totius diei noctisque lassescunt, ut nisi bujuscemodi refectione adjuventur, ne hunc quidem numerum stantes implere prævaleant.

[87] L. 3. c. 5. (v. 3. p. 488. 17.) *Κἀκεῖθεν εἰς τὴν ἄλλην ἀφίκετο Ἰνδικὴν, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐαγῶς δρωμένων ἐπανωρθώσατο· καὶ γὰρ καθεζόμενοι τῶν εὐαγγελικῶν ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἀκρόασιν, καὶ ἄλλά τινα, ὧν μὴ θεῖος θεσμὸς ἐπεστάτει, διεπράττοντο.*

[88] Vit. Anastas. (CC. t. 2. p. 1190 c.) Hic constituit, ut quotiescunque sancta Evangelia recitarentur, sacerdotes non sederent, sed curvi starent.

[89] Ep. 34. [al. 39.] p. 78. (p. 224.) Hos lectores interim constitutos sciatis, quia oportebat lucernam super candelabrum poni, unde omnibus luceat, et gloriosos vultus in loco altiore constitui, ubi ab omni populo circumstante conspecti incitamentum gloriæ videntibus præbeant.

And in St. Austin's time the custom was the same: for he[90] says, 'the longest lessons were then heard by all sorts and sexes standing, except only such as through some infirmity in the feet or weakness of body were disabled, who upon that account were indulged in sitting, but no others whatsoever.' Bona[91] thinks there was no certain answer made, when the Gospel was ended. For some said only, *Amen!* as it is in the Mosarabic Liturgy[92], and the rule of St. Benedict[93]. Which Alexander Hales[94] interprets the same as saying, 'God grant we may persevere in the doctrine of the Gospel!' Others said, *Deo Gratias! Thanks be to God!* and others, *Laus tibi, Christe! Praise be to thee, O Christ!* But all this is said only out of the middle-age writers, whilst there is a perfect silence as to this matter in the more ancient writers of the Church.

Lights carried before the Gospel in the Eastern Churches.

11. There was one ceremony more ancient, which St. Jerom makes peculiar to the Eastern Churches, which was *the carrying lights before the Gospel*, when it was to be read. He

[90] Hom. 26. ex. 50. t. 10. p. 174. [al. Serm. 300. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 504.) Quando aut Passiones prolixæ aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes, attentis auribus audiant quæ leguntur, &c.—Note, that this Homily is by Mabillon and the Benedictins, in their new edition, ascribed to Cæsarius Arelatensis: if it be his, it proves *the custom of standing to hear the lessons* to have been according to the usage of the French Churches. [Admonit. Ed. Bened. in loc. In Appendice nunc primum collocatur. In Editione Lovaniensium dubius est, Verlini autem et Vindingii censura suppositius. Augustino stilus et res minime conveniunt, sed apprime Cæsario. Ed.]

[91] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 7. n. 4. (p. 292.) Lecto Evangelio, fideles olim dixisse *Amen*, Beleth, in Explicatione Divinorum Officiorum, c. 39., et Durandus, l. 4. c. 24., testes sunt; quod etiam in Missa Mozarabum et in Regula Sancti Benedicti, c. 11. præscribitur. Alensis item p. 4. Summæ in Tractat. de Offic. Missæ, *Perlecto*, inquit, *Evangelio dicunt assistentes Amen! quasi dicant, Faciat nos Deus perseverare in doctrina Evangelii.* Alii dicunt *Deo gratias! in gratiarum actionem pro beneficio tantæ doctrinæ et tam salutaris.* Nunc dicimus, *Laus tibi, Christe!*

[92] [Or *Missa Mosarabum*. See in Mabillon's *Liturgia Gallicana*, Paris. 1685. pp. 441 and 443. Ed.]

[93] C. 11. (ap. Galland. t. 11. p. 304 b.).... Legat abbas lectionem de Evangelio, cum honore et tremore stantibus omnibus: qua perlecta, respondeant omnes *Amen!*

[94] [A native of Gloucestershire, or, according to some, of Hales in Norfolk. He was a celebrated scholastic divine and philosopher of the thirteenth century: and so great was his reputation for learning, that he obtained the title of *The Irrefragable Doctor*. He flourished in 1230, and died at Paris in 1245. See Cave, (Oxon. 1743. t. 2. p. 293.) and Rose's Biograph. Diction. Lond. 1848.—The Author probably refers to the *Summa Universæ Theologiæ*, the first edition of which was published at Nuremberg in 1482. fol. Ed.]

says[92], they had no such custom in the Western Church, either as burning candles by day at the monuments of the martyrs, as Vigilantius falsely accused them; nor at any other time, save only when they met in the night, to give light to their assemblies: but in the Eastern Church it was otherwise; for without any regard to the relics of the martyrs, whenever the Gospel was read, they lighted candles, partly to demonstrate their joy for the good news which the Gospel brought, and partly by a corporeal symbol to represent that light of which the Psalmist speaks, "Thy word is a lamp to my feet, and a light unto my paths." I know no other author beside St. Jerom that mentions this, and as far as his authority will prevail it may be credited, and no further. Dr. Cave[93] judges it might not be much elder than his time. However it was, it is no argument to patronise the burning of lamps and wax candles, without the same reason, in churches at noon-day.

12. It is further observable, that in some Churches, upon some solemn occasions, they had three or four lessons read out of the Gospels on the same day. St. Austin[94] says, he would have had four lessons read out of the four Gospels on the day of our Saviour's passion; but the people were disturbed at it, as what they had not been accustomed to, so he was forced to

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[92] Cont. Vigilant. c. 3. [al. 8.] (t. 2. p. 394 a.) Cereos autem non clara luce accendimus, sicut frustra calumniaris, sed ut noctis tenebras hoc solatio temperemus .... Absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis ecclesias, quum [al. quando] legendum est Evangelium, accenduntur luminaria jam sole rutilante, non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum lætitiæ demonstrandum, &c.

[93] Primitive Christianity, b. 1. ch. 7. p. 203. (p. 98.) By reason of the darkness of these places, and their frequent assembling there in the night to avoid the fury of their enemies, they were forced to use lights and lamps in their public meetings: but they who make this an argument to patronize their burning of lamps and wax-candles in their churches at noon-day, (as it is in all the great churches of the Roman communion,) talk at a strange rate of wild inconsequence. I am sure St. Jerom, when charged with it, denied that they used any in the day-time, and never but at night, when they rose up to their night-devotions. He confesses, indeed, it was otherwise in the Eastern Churches, where, when the Gospel was to be read, they set up lights as a token of their rejoicing for those happy and glad tidings that were contained in it, light having been ever used as a symbol and representation of joy and gladness: a custom probably not much older than his time.

[94] Serm. 144. de Temp. p. 320. [al. Serm. 232.] (t. 5. p. 980 e.) Passio autem, quia uno die legitur, non solet legi nisi secundum Matthæum. Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes Evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est; non audierunt homines, quod consueverant, et perturbati sunt.

tion beside the canonical Scriptures, such as the Passions of the Martyrs on their proper festivals, and the Homilies of the Fathers, and the Epistles and Tracts of pious men, and the Letters Communicatory of one Church to another, with other things of the like nature. That the Passions of the Martyrs were sometimes read among the lessons in the church, appears not only from the foresaid Homily of Cæsarius or St. Austin, but from a rule made in the third Council of Carthage[3], which forbids all other books to be read in the church, besides the canonical Scriptures, except the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days of commemoration. Eusebius[4] probably collected the Passions of the Martyrs for this very purpose; as Paulinus, bishop of Nola, did after him, which Johannes Diaconus[5] says, were used to be read in the churches. Thus Gelasius[6] says, the Acts of Pope Sylvester were read in many of the Roman churches, though not in the Lateran, because they were apocryphal, and written by an unknown author. And Mabillon[7] gives several other such instances out of Avitus and Ferreolus; and in the old *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, which he published, there are frequently lessons appointed out of St. Austin and others upon the festivals of St. Stephen and the Holy Innocents, and Julian the Martyr, on Epiphany, and the festivals of St. Peter and St. Paul. Whence some learned men[8]

[3] C. 47. (t. 2. p. 1177 b.) Liceat legi Passiones Martyrum, cum anniversarii eorum dies celebrantur.

[4] L. 5. c. 4., where he speaks of these Collections. (v. 1. p. 214. 16.) Ὅτῳ γὰρ φίλον, καὶ ταῦτα ῥᾴδιον πληρέστατα διαγνῶναι, μετὰ χεῖρας ἀναλαβόντι τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ τῇ τῶν μαρτύρων συναγωγῇ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὡς γοῦν ἔφην, κατείλεκται.

[5] Præfat. ad Vit. Greg. M (præfix. Oper. t. 4. p. 19.) Nuper ad Vigilias beati Gregorii, Romani pontificis, Anglorum gentis apostoli, lectione de Paulino, civitatis Nolanæ præsule, consuetudinaliter personante, &c.

[6] Decreta, ap. Crabb. CC. t. 1. p. 992. (ap. Labb. t. 4. p. 1263 d.) Actus beati Sylvestri, apostolicæ sedis præsulis, licet ejus, qui conscripsit, nomen ignoretur, a multis tamen in urbe Romana Catholicis legi cognovimus, et pro antiquo usu multæ hæc imitantur ecclesiæ.

[7] De Curs. Gallican. (pp. 402, 403.)—Idem [Avitus] in Fragmento 6. meminit *lectæ Passionis* Sanctorum Agaunensium in eorum festivitate.—Ibid. (p. 407.) Carthaginense tertium præter ea Ferreolus Ucetiensis antistes, in Regulæ suæ c. 18, *Gesta martyrum*, inquit, *id est, Passiones sanctorum fidelium, quæ, quorundam compaginata studio et sermone, digesta sunt tempore, quo nobis diem migrationis eorum anni meta cursus sui legibus repræsentat, recenseri in oratorio audientibus cunctis omnino decernimus.*

[8] Chamier, Panstratia, de Canon. l. 4. c. 6. s. 3. (t. 1. p. 101 e.) Quinetiam Concilium Carthaginense tertium eo ipso capite, quod ab adversariis solet citari, primo non vetat quidquam legi præter ea, quæ sunt in canone, sed legi sub nomine divinæ Scripturæ. Secundo ad finem

conjecture, not improbably, that such sort of Histories and Passions of the Martyrs had particularly the name of *Legenda, Legends:* for though now that name be commonly taken in a worse sense, for *a fabulous history*, because many lives of saints and martyrs were written by the monks of later ages in a mere fabulous and romantic way, yet anciently it had a good signification, and in its original use denoted only such acts and monuments of the martyrs as were allowed by authority *to be read* in the church. The curious reader may find frequent references made by St. Austin in his Homilies[9] to such lessons, read out of the Passions of the Martyrs on their anniversary-days in the church, as also in the Homilies of Pope Leo[10] and others, which it is needless to recite in this place.

But besides the Passions of the Martyrs and Homilies relating to them, there were also many other pious books read by way of moral exhortation in many churches. Thus Eusebius[11] says, the book called Hermes Pastor, was anciently read in the church. He says the same of Clemens Romanus's first Epistle to the Corinthians[12], that it was read in many churches, both in his own time, and the ages before him. And Dionysius[13], bishop of Corinth, says, they read not only that

addit, *Liceat etiam legi passiones martyrum, cum anniversarii dies eorum celebrantur.* Unde opinor eis *legendarum* nomen inditum.

[9] Serm. 11. de Sanct. p. 408. [al. Serm. 276.] (t. 5. p. 1112 b.) In Passione, quæ nobis hodie [scil. Festo Mart. Vincent.] recitata est, &c.—Serm. 45. de Divers. p. 508. [al. Serm. 37.] (ibid. p. 181 e.) .... In recitatione Passionis martyrum audivimus fœminas, &c. ....—Serm. 93. p. 553. [al. Serm. 315.] (ibid. p. 1261 d.] Beatissimus Stephanus quomodo fuerit diaconus ordinatus, &c., cum ipsa lectio legeretur, audistis, &c.—Serm. 94. p. 564. [al. p. 316.] (ibid. p. 1268 c.) Quid ergo audistis cum ejus Passio legeretur, &c.?—Conf. Serm. 101, 103, 105, 109. de Divers. [Serm. 273. (t. 5. p. 1105 e.) ..... Cum sanctorum Passio legeretur.—Serm. 280. (ibid. p. 1134 b.) ... Triumphosque Passionum, cum legerentur, audivimus, &c.—Serm. 282. (ibid. p. 1138 d.) .... Sicut audivimus, cùm earum Passio legeretur, &c.—Serm. 300. (ibid. p. 1218 f.) ... Quorum mirabiles passiones, cum legerentur, &c. ED.]

[10] Serm. 82. de Maccab. [al. Serm. 19. append. Ed. Ballerin.] (t. 1. p. 453.) Causam igitur solemnitatis hodiernæ, dilectissimi, plenissime sacræ historiæ lectione didicistis, &c.

[11] L. 3. c. 16. (v. 1. p. 90. 15.) *Ὅθεν ἤδη καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίαις ἴσμεν αὐτὸ [βιβλίον τοῦ Ποιμένος] δεδημοσιευμένον.*

[12] De Scriptor. c. 10. (t. 2. p. 831.) Asserunt [Hermen] auctorem esse libri, qui appellatur *Pastor;* et apud quasdam Græciæ ecclesias etiam publice legitur.

[13] L. 3. c. 16. (v. 1. p. 107. 18.) *Τούτου δὴ οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος ὁμολογουμένη μία Ἐπιστολὴ φέρεται, μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία· ἣν ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τῇ Κορινθίων διετυπώσατο, στάσεως τηνικάδε κατὰ τὴν Κόρινθον γενομένης· ταύτην δὲ καὶ ἐν*

Epistle of Clemens, but another written by Soter, bishop of Rome, which they would always continue to read. Sozomen says [14], the book called the Revelations of Peter, was read once a year on Good Friday, in many of the churches of Palestine. Athanasius [15] testifies the same of the book called Διδαχὴ Ἀποστόλων, *the Doctrine of the Apostles.* And St. Jerom [16] says, the Homilies of Ephrem Syrus were in such honour as to be read in the church after the reading of the Scriptures. St. Austin [17] assures us, that the Acts of the Collation of Carthage, were read always in the church in Lent. And in one of his Epistles [18] he desires of Marcellinus Comes, 'that the Acts of the Trial of the Donatists, who were convicted of the murder of the Catholics, might be sent him, to be read in all the churches of his diocese.' And it is remarkable, that in the accounts we have of the burning of the Bible in the Diocletian persecution, there is sometimes mention [19]

πλείσταις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεδημοσιευμένην πάλαι τε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἔγνωμεν.—L. 4. c. 23. (ibid. p. 187. 6.) Τὴν σήμερον οὖν Κυριακὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν διηγάγομεν, ἐν ᾗ ἀνεγνώκαμεν ὑμῶν τὴν Ἐπιστολήν· ἣν ἔξομεν ἀεί ποτε ἀναγινώσκοντες νουθετεῖσθαι, ὡς καὶ τὴν προτέραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν.

[14] L. 7. c. 19. (v. 2. p. 308. 25.) Οὕτω γοῦν τὴν καλουμένην Ἀποκάλυψιν Πέτρου, ὡς νόθον παντελῶς πρὸς τῶν ἀρχαίων δοκιμασθεῖσαν, ἔν τισιν ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Παλαιστίνης εἰσέτι νῦν ἅπαξ ἑκάστου ἔτους ἀναγινωσκομένην ἔγνωμεν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Παρασκευῆς, ἣν εὐλαβῶς ἄγαν ὁ λαὸς νηστεύει ἐπὶ ἀναμνήσει τοῦ Σωτηρίου πάθους.

[15] Ep. ad Rufinian. t. 2. p. 33. [Ep. ad Amun. Monach.] (t. 1. p. 2. 768 a.) Ἔνεκά γε πλείονος ἀκριβείας προστίθημι, καὶ τοῦτο γράφων ἀναγκαίως· ὡς ὅτι ἐστὶ καὶ ἕτερα βιβλία τούτων ἔξωθεν· οὐ κανονιζόμενα μέν, τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τοῖς ἄρτι προσερχομένοις καὶ βουλομένοις κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγον· Σοφία Σολομῶντος, καὶ Σοφία Σιρὰχ, καὶ Ἐσθὴρ, καὶ Ἰουδὶθ, καὶ Τωβίας, καὶ Διδαχὴ καλουμένη τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁ Ποιμήν.

[16] Eccles. de Scriptor. c. 115. (t. 2. p. 929.) Ephraem, Edessenæ ecclesiæ diaconus, multa Syro sermone composuit, et ad tantam venit claritudinem, ut post lectionem Scripturarum publice in quibusdam ecclesiis ejus scripta recitentur.

[17] De Gestis cum Emerito. t. 7. p. 215. (t. 9. p. 627 f, g.) Sed si omnia gesta vobis legere velimus, quanquam præsentibus vobis fratrem et coëpisopum meum Deuterium obstringo, ut quemadmodum fit apud Carthaginem, apud Thagastem, apud Constantinam, apud Hipponem, apud omnes diligentes ecclesias, sic etiam deinceps facere non pigrescat; ut annis omnibus per jejuniorum dies, id est, Quadragesima ante Pascha, quando vobis maxime jejunantibus plus vacat audire, eadem Gesta Collationis per annos singulos, universa a capite in finem, ex ordine recitentur.

[18] Ep. 158. [al. 139.] (t. 2. p. 419 d.) Gesta, quæ promisit præstantia tua, vehementer expecto, et in ecclesia Hipponensi jam jam cupio recitari, ac si fieri potuerit, per omnes ecclesias [etiam] in [nostra] diœcesi constitutas.

[19] Vid. Gesta Purgationis Felicis et Cæciliani, ad calc. Optat. p. 276. (CC. t. 1. p. 1452 c.) Inde cathedram tulimus, et epistolas salutatorias, et

made of 'burning the salutary or communicatory letters, which were sent from one Church to another.' St. Austin[20] adds further, 'that when any one received a signal mercy from God, the relation of it was many times read publicly in the church.' Of which he gives several instances in his own and other churches of Afric. And St. Chrysostom[21] says, sometimes the Emperor's letters were read in the church, and heard with great attention; which he urges as an argument why men should hear with reverence the writings of the Prophets, because they come from God, and their epistles are from heaven. Such Circular Epistles also as were sent from one Church to another, to notify the time of keeping Easter, which were called *Heortastical* or *Festival Epistles*[22], were generally published in their churches. But these I mention not as lessons, but only hint the custom incidentally, corresponding to that of our reading briefs for charity[23], or the circular letters of bishops, or notifying holidays or banns of marriage, or things of the like kind relating to the public.

15. As to those books, which we now call *apocryphal*, they were read in some Churches, but not in all. For in the Church of Jerusalem they were utterly forbidden, as appears plainly from Cyril's Catechisms[24], where he directs the catechumens to read no apocryphal books, but only such books as were securely read in the church: and then he specifies what books were then read in the church, viz. all the canonical books,

Those, which we now call *apocryphal books* were anciently read in some Churches, but not in all.

ostia omnia conburimus secundum sacrum præceptum.

[20] De Civitat. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. p. 1489. (t. 7. p. 671 c.) .... Libelli eorum, qui beneficia percipiunt, recitantur in populo, &c.

[21] Hom. 3. in 2 Thess. p. 1501. (t. 11. p. 528 a.) Εἴτ' ἂν μέν τις παρὰ βασιλέως ἦκῃ, πάντες προσέχετε· παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἥκει, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φθέγγεται ὁ Προφήτης, καὶ οὐδεὶς ὁ προσέχων.

[22] Collat. 10. c. 2. (p. 383.) Intra Ægypti regionem mos iste antiqua traditione servatur, ut peracto Epiphaniorum die .... epistolæ pontificis Alexandrini per universas dirigantur Ægypti ecclesias, quibus initium Quadragesimæ et dies Paschæ non solum per civitates omnes, sed etiam per universa monasteria, designentur.

[23] [Church-briefs were abolished by the 9th of George the Fourth, chapter 42, in the year 1828; but we still read the Royal Letters Patent, with the Circulars of the bishops, for collections in behalf of the Incorporated Religious Societies. ED.]

[24] Catech. 4. n. 22. [al. 35.] pp. 66, 67. (p. 68 e.) Πρὸς τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μηδὲν ἔχε κοινόν· ταύτας μόνας μελέτα σπουδαίως, ἃς καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ μετὰ παρρησίας ἀναγινώσκομεν. Πολύ σου φρονιμώτεροι καὶ εὐλαβέστεροι ἦσαν οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προστάται, οἱ ταύτας παραδόντες.—Ibid. (p. 69 d.) Ὅσα ἐν ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἀναγινώσκεται, ταῦτα μηδὲ κατὰ σαυτὸν ἀναγίνωσκε.

which are now in our Bibles, except the Book of Revelation, without any mention at all of the apocryphal books; which is a certain argument that they were not allowed to be read in the Church of Jerusalem, as I have more fully demonstrated in another place[24]. The like determination was made for some other Churches by the Council of Laodicea[25], which forbids all but the canonical books to be read in the church, and likewise specifies what she means by canonical books, viz. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Esther, four Books of Kings, two of Paralipomena or Chronicles, two of Esdras, the Book of one hundred and fifty Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations and Epistles of Baruch, Ezekiel, Daniel, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the seven Catholic Epistles; fourteen Epistles of St. Paul. Where none of the apocryphal books, nor the Revelation are mentioned, which is a plain evidence that none of them were read in the churches of that district. After the same manner the Author of the Constitutions[26], giving orders about what books of the Old Testament should be read in the church, mentions the five Books of Moses, Joshua, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, which he means by *the Histories of their return from Babylon*, the Books of Job and of Solomon, the sixteen Prophets and the Psalms: but says nothing of any of the apocryphal books; which argues that he did not find them to be read in the rituals of those Churches whence he made his collections.

However, in other Churches they were allowed to be read[27] with a mark of distinction, as books of piety and moral instruction, to edify the people; but they neither gave them the name of *canonical books*, nor made use of them to confirm articles of faith. This is expressly said by St. Jerom. And Ruffin[28], who was presbyter of Aquileia, delivers the same as

[24] B. 10. ch. 1. s. 7. v. 3. pp. 448, 449.

[25] C. 59. See before, s. 2. p. 53. n. 16.

[26] L. 2. c. 57. See before, ch. 1. s. 1. p. 2. n. 3.

[27] Præf. in Libr. Solomon. (t. 10. p. 1296.) Sicut ergo Judith et Tobiæ et Macchabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed eos inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumnia [Sapientiam et Ecclesiasticum] legit ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.

[28] Expos. Symbol. ad calc. Cypriani, p. 26. (p. 165.) Sciendum

the ancient tradition and practice of that Church, when these books were neither reckoned canonical, nor yet in the worst sense apocryphal, but called *ecclesiastical*, because they were read in the church, but not used to confirm matters of faith. Among these he reckons the Wisdom of Solomon, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Maccabees, and Hermes Pastor, and the book called the Two Ways or the Judgment of Peter. Athanasius[29] also ranks these books, not among the canonical, but among those that might at least be read to or by the catechumens, among which he reckons Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus, and Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, and the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the Shepherd, that is, Hermes Pastor. So in the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, published by Mabillon[30], there are lessons appointed out of Tobit, and Judith, and Esther, particularly in the Rogation-Week for several days together.

16. In some Churches these books were also read under the general name of *canonical Scripture*, taking that word in a large sense, for such books as were in the rule or canon or catalogue of books authorized to be read in the church. Thus at least we must understand the canon of the third Council of Carthage[31], which ordered, 'that nothing but the canonical writings should be read in the church under the name of the divine Scriptures, among which canonical Scriptures there

And in some Churches, under the title of *canonical Scripture*, taking that word in a larger sense.

tamen est, quod et alii libri sunt, qui non canonici, sed ecclesiastici a majoribus appellati sunt: ut est Sapientia Solomonis, et alia Sapientia, quæ dicitur Filii Syrach ..... Ejusdem ordinis est libellus Tobiæ, et Judith, et Maccabæorum libri. In Novo vero Testamento libellus, qui dicitur Pastoris sive Hermatis; qui appellatur Duæ Viæ vel Judicium Petri; quæ omnia legi quidem in ecclesiis voluerunt, non tamen proferri ad auctoritatem ex his fidei confirmandam.

[29] Ep. ap Rufinian. t. 2. p. 39. See before, s. 14. n. 15, preceding.—Conf. ejusd. Synops. Scriptur. t. 2. p. 55. (t. 2. p. 98 c.) Ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων εἰσὶ πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία, τῆς αὐτῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγινωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχουμένοις ταῦτα· Σοφία Σολομῶνος, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἀγαπήσατε δικαιοσύνην οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν. Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιρὰχ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Πᾶσα σοφία παρὰ Κυρίου, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐστιν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. Ἐσθὴρ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἔτους δευτέρου βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέρξου, κ. τ. λ. Ἰουδὴθ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Ἔτους δωδεκάτου τῆς βασιλείας Ναβουχοδονόσορ, κ. τ. λ. Τωβὶτ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· Βίβλος λόγων Τωβίτ, κ. τ. λ.

[30] [Inter Libros de Liturgia Gallicana, pp. 150, 151, 152. Ed.]

[31] C. 47. (t. 2. p. 1177 a.) Præter Scripturas canonicas nihil in ecclesia legatur sub nomine divinarum Scripturarum. Sunt autem canonicæ Scripturæ, id est, Genesis, &c. Salomonis libri quinque .... Tobias, Judith, Hester, Esdræ libri duo, Maccabæorum libri duo.

are reckoned Wisdom, and Ecclesiasticus under the name of Solomon, together with Tobit, Judith, Hester, and the Maccabees.' St. Austin seems to have followed this canon, making all these books canonical, but giving preference to some above the other, as they were more or less generally received by the Churches. In his book of Christian Doctrine[31] he calls all the apocryphal books *canonical*, but he does not allow them so great authority as the rest, because they were not generally received as such by the Churches. He says[32], the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus 'were none of Solomon's, but yet received into authority by the Western Church:' by which he must mean the Roman Church, where Pope Innocent[33] had received them: for in the Eastern Church their canonical authority was always rejected. And [it was so] in many of the Western Churches: for neither Ruffin at Aquileia, nor Philastrius[34] at Brixia in Italy, nor Hilary at Poictiers in France[35], grant

[31] L. 2. c. 8. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 23 d.) Tenebit igitur hunc modum in Scripturis canonicis, ut eas quæ ab omnibus accipiuntur ecclesiis [Catholicis], præponat eis quas quædam non accipiunt. In eis vero, quæ non accipiuntur ab omnibus, præponat eas, quas plures gravioresque accipiunt, eis quas pauciores minorisque auctoritatis ecclesiæ tenent.

[32] De Civitat. Dei, l. 17. c. 20. (t. 7. p. 483 c.) .... Non autem esse ipsius non dubitant doctiores, eos tamen in auctoritatem maxime Occidentalis antiquitus recepit ecclesia.

[33] Ep. 3. ad Exuper. c. 12. [al. 7.] (CC. t. 2. p. 1256 d.) Qui vero libri recipiantur in canone Sanctarum Scripturarum, brevis annexus ostendit. Hæc sunt ergo quæ desiderata moneri voce voluisti: Moysis libri 5., id est, Genesis, Exodi, Levitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii: et Jesu Nave unus, Judicum unus. Regnorum libri 4., simul et Ruth. Prophetarum libri 16. Solomonis libri 5. Psalterium. Historiarum, Job liber unus, Tobiæ unus, Esther unus, Judith unus, Maccabæorum duo, Esdræ duo, Paralipomenan duo, &c.

[34] De Hæresibus, c. 40. [al. 60.] de Apocryphis. (ap. Galland. t. 7. p. 494 b.) Hæresis est etiam, quæ Apocrypha, id est, Secreta dicitur; quæ solum Prophetas et Apostolos accipit, non Scripturas canonicas, id est, Legem et Prophetas, Vetus scilicet et Novum Testamentum. Et cum volunt solum illa Apocrypha legere studiose, contraria Scripturis canonicis sentiunt, atque paulatim dogmatizant contra eas, dantes sententias contra Legem et Prophetas, contraque disputationes [al. dispositiones] beatissimorum Apostolorum consulta ponentes; e quibus sunt maxime Manichæi, Gnostici, Nicolaitæ, Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui Apocrypha Prophetarum et Apostolorum, id est, actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere Scripturas contemnunt. Propter quod statutum est ab Apostolis et eorum successoribus, non aliud legi in ecclesia debere Catholica, nisi Legem, et Prophetas, et Evangelia, et Actus Apostolorum, et Pauli tredecim Epistolas, et septem alias, Petri duas, Johannis tres, Judæ unam, et Jacobi unam, quæ septem Actibus Apostolorum conjunctæ sunt. Scripturæ autem absconditæ, id est, Apocrypha, et si legi debent morum causa a perfectis, non ab omnibus legi debent,

them any authority in the canon of Scripture. Nay, Hilary of Arles[36] expressly told St. Austin, 'that the Churches of France were offended at him, because he had used a proof out of the Book of Wisdom, which was not canonical.' And it is remarkable, that at Rome itself Gregory the Great, having occasion to quote a text out of Maccabees, makes a prefatory excuse[37] for alleging a text 'out of a book that was not canonical, but only published for the edification of the Church.' And even St. Austin himself[38], in answer to the French divines, pleads no further for the divine authority of the Book of Wisdom, which he had cited as canonical, but that it was so received by the Christians of Afric before him. Which by his own rule, laid down before in his book of Christian Doctrine, did not make it in the highest sense canonical, because it was rejected by all the Churches of the East, and a great part of the West, from the authority of canonical Scripture. So that though these books were read in the African Church under the name of *canonical Scripture*, yet they were not esteemed of equal authority with the rest, because they were reputed by all the world besides as *apocryphal*, or, as some call them, *ecclesiastical only*, being such as were allowed to be read in the church for moral instruction and edification, but not used to confirm articles of faith.

And this is the account which Cajetan himself[39] gave of the

qui non intelligentes multa addiderunt et tulerunt, quæ voluerunt hæretici.

[35] Præf. in Psalmos. (t. 1. p. 10 b. n. 15.) Et ea causa est, ut in viginti duos libros lex Testamenti Veteris deputetur: ut cum literarum numero convenirent. Qui ita secundum traditiones veterum deputantur, ut Moysi sint libri quinque, &c. Quibusdam autem visum est, additis Tobia et Judith, viginti quatuor libros secundum numerum Græcarum literarum connumerare, Romana quoque lingua media inter Hebræos Græcosque collecta.

[36] Ep. ad August. int. Oper. August. t. 7. p. 545. [al. Ep. 226. n. 4.] (t. 2. p. 827 b.) Illud etiam testimonium quod posuisti, *Raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus,* [Sapient. 4, 11.] tanquam non canonicum definiunt omittendum.

[37] Moral. in Job. l. 19. c. 13. [al. 21.] (t. 1. p. 622 a. 9.) De qua re non inordinate agimus, si ex libris licet non canonicis, sed tamen ad ædificationem ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus.

[38] De Prædestin. c. 14. t. 7. p. 553. (t. 10. p. 808 b.) ... Non debuit repudiari sententia libri Sapientiæ, qui meruit in ecclesia Christi de gradu lectorum ecclesiæ Christi tam longa annositate recitari, et ab omnibus Christianis, ab episcopis usque ad extremos laicos, fideles, pœnitentes, catechumenos, cum veneratione divinæ auctoritatis audiri.

[39] In fin. Commentar. ad Libr. Histor. Vet. Test. (t. 2. p. 400.)... Ad Hieronymi limam reducenda

practice of the Church, before the Council of Trent defined a new canon of Scripture. He says: 'They are not canonical, that is, regular, to confirm articles of faith: yet they may be called canonical, that is, regular, for the edification of the people, as being received and authorized in the canon of the Bible only for this end.' And with this distinction he thinks we are to understand both St. Austin and the Council of Carthage, all whose sayings are to be reduced to the rule of St. Jerom. But if any think that St. Austin or the African Church meant more, it may be said their authority is of no weight against the general consent of the whole Church in all ages besides, from the first settling of the canon down to the Council of Trent; the proof of which consent is so fully and unanswerably made out by Bishop Cosins in that excellent book, called his Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture, where he produces the testimonies [40] of the writers of every age distinctly in their order, that little more can be added to it, and it is wholly needless to detain the reader upon that subject; it being sufficient to our present purpose to have observed, that these books of controverted authority were read,

sunt tam verba Conciliorum quam doctorum. Et juxta illius sententiam ad Chromatium et Heliodorum episcopos, libri isti non sunt canonici, id est, regulares, ad firmandum ea quæ sunt fidei: possunt tamen dici canonici, hoc est, regulares, ad ædificationem fidelium, utpote in canone Bibliæ ad hoc recepti et auctoritati. Cum hac distinctione discernere poteris dicta Augustini et scripta in provinciali Concilio Carthaginensi. [al. dicta Augustini in Secundo de Doctrina Christiana et scripta in Concilio Florentino sub Eugenio quarto, scriptaque in provincialibus Conciliis Carthaginensi et Laodicensi et ab Innocentio ac Gelasio pontificibus.]

[40] To the testimonies cited by Bishop Cosins the learned reader may add this of Franciscus Georgius Venetus, a Franciscan, who lived a little before the Reformation: Problem. in Scriptur. Paris. 1622. 4to. t. 6. s. 5. (p. 375.) Problem. 184. Cur Raphael venit in comitatum Tobiæ? *Respond.* Quamvis historia sit sine certo auctore, nec in canone habeatur, tamen quia admittitur legenda in ecclesia tanquam vera, hujus quoque rei rationem assignare conabimur. Here he plainly rejects the book of Tobit out of the canon, and speaks of it no otherwise than as of a common history, which was allowed to be read in the church. Which words are so displeasing to the curators of the Roman Index Expurgatorius, that they order it to be struck out, with many other passages of the same order, where he reflects on the Vulgar Translation as corrupt and false, and corrects its errors from the original Hebrew, of which he was a considerable master, though in other things he had his failings. Vid. Indicem Librorum Prohibitorum et Expurgandorum, per Sotomajor. Madriti, 1667. fol. (p. 417.) Problem. 184. initio, post illud, *Comitatum Tobiæ*, dele usque ad *hujus quoque rationem*.

either under the name of *apocryphal*, or *ecclesiastical*, or *canonical*, in most of the ancient Churches.

A short account of the translations of Scripture used in the ancient Church.

17. There is one thing more which it will not be improper to give a short account of, before we put an end to this chapter: that is, the translations of Scripture that were commonly used in the ancient Church. I mean not here to prove again, what has been abundantly done before in the last Book, that the Scriptures were translated and read in the vulgar language in every church; but the thing I would observe in this place is only this, that they generally read the Septuagint translations where Greek was the vulgar language, or else such translations into other languages as were derived from it. For they had no translation of the Bible from the Hebrew, till the time of St. Jerom, in the Latin Church, but only such as were made from the Greek translation of the Septuagint. The Septuagint was used all over the Greek Church, except perhaps that part of Syria where Syriac was the most vulgar language, that is, in Osrhoene and Mesopotamia, where they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew not long after the time of the Apostles. This was called the Old Translation, in opposition to another which was made from the Septuagint in after-ages. In all other parts of the East the Septuagint was the common translation. But this by tract of time and variety of copies was much corrupted, upon which account it was revised and corrected by several learned men, which laboured in this work, particularly by Origen, and Hesychius the Egyptian, and Lucian of Antioch, two martyrs who suffered in the Diocletian persecution. Hence, as St. Jerom [40] informs us, there came to be three famous exemplars or editions of the Septuagint used in the Eastern Churches. Alexandria and Egypt followed the copy revised by Hesychius. Constantinople and all the Asiatic Churches as far as Antioch used that of Lucian. The Churches of Palestine and Arabia read the copy corrected by Origen and published by Eusebius and

[40] Præf. in Libr. Paralipom. (t. 9. p. 1405.) Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt: totusque orbis hac inter se veritate compugnat.

Pamphilus. And so between these three editions the whole world was divided.

Origen did two things further in this matter. First[41], he published an edition of the Bible, which he called his *Hexapla*, because it was *in six columns*. The first was the Hebrew in Hebrew characters, the second the Hebrew in Greek characters, the third the translation of Aquila the Jew, the fourth the translation of Symmachus, the fifth the translation of the Septuagint, and the sixth the translation of Theodotion the Ebionite. To these he afterwards added two other translations found at Nicopolis and Jericho, and these made up his *Octapla*. And in process of time he published another lesser edition, containing only the four translations of the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, which he called his *Tetrapla*. Secondly, he published the Septuagint with the additions of Theodotion mixed with it, to supply the places where it was defective, which additions he marked with an asterisk to distinguish them; and such places as were redundant in the Septuagint, and not to be found in the Hebrew nor in Theodotion, he also marked with an obelisk or straight line for distinction also. But this mixing of the two translations together in process of time occasioned some confusion, and St. Jerom[42]

[41] Vid. Euseb. l. 6. c. 16. (v. 1. p. 275. 21.) Τοσαύτη δὲ εἰσήγετο τῷ Ὠριγένει τῶν θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἑβραΐδα γλῶτταν ἐκμαθεῖν· τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐμφερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις Γραφὰς, κτῆμα ἴδιον ποιήσασθαι· ἀνιχνεῦσαί τε τὰς τῶν ἑτέρων παρὰ τοὺς Ἑβδομήκοντα τὰς ἱερὰς Γραφὰς ἡρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις· καί τινας ἑτέρας παρὰ τὰς κατημαξευμένας ἑρμηνείας ἐναλλαττούσας, τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐφευρεῖν· ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὅθεν ἔκ τινων μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον ἀνιχνεύσας, εἰς φῶς προήγαγεν. Ἐφ' ὧν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα, τίνος ἄρ' εἶεν οὐκ εἰδὼς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπεσημήνατο, ὡς ἄρα τὴν μὲν εὗροι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ Νικοπόλει· τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἥν γε μὴν τοῖς Ἑξαπλοῖς τῶν Ψαλμῶν μετὰ τὰς. ἐπισήμους τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις, ου μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ ἑβδόμην παραθεὶς ἑρμηνείαν, ἐπὶ μιᾶς αὖθις σεσημείωται· ὡς ἐν Ἰεριχοῖ εὑρημένης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίνου, τοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβήρου. Ταύτας δὲ ἁπάσας ἐπὶ ταυτὸν συναγαγὼν, διελών τε πρὸς κῶλον, καὶ ἀντιπαραθεὶς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἑβραίων σημειώσεως, τὰ τῶν λεγομένων Ἑξαπλῶν ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλοιπεν· ἰδίως τὴν Ἀκύλου, καὶ Συμμάχου, καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἔκδοσιν ἅμα τῇ τῶν Ἑβδομήκοντα ἐν τοῖς Τετραπλοῖς ἐπικατασκευάσας.

[42] Præf. in Libr. Paralipom. (t. 9. p. 1405.) Origenes non solum exempla composuit quatuor editionum, e regione singula verba describens, ut unus dissentiens statim, cæteris inter se consentientibus, arguatur: sed, quod majoris audaciæ est, in editione Septuaginta Theodotionis editionem miscuit, asteriscis videlicet designans quæ minus fuerant, et virgulis quæ ex superfluo vide-

complains of it as a bold undertaking, and therefore he set about a new edition and translation of the Septuagint[43] for the use of the Latin Church.

Hitherto all Churches used the translation of the Septuagint, except the Syrian Churches, as was said [just] before, and except on the Book of Daniel, which in all Churches was read according to the translation of Theodotion, as the same St. Jerom informs us in several places[44], particularly in his Preface upon Daniel[45], because, by some means or other, the Septuagint translation of that book was more corrupt than any other part of Scripture. But there were abundance of faults in that translation in other places, partly by the design of the interpreters, who added some things of their own, and left out others, and often changed the sense at pleasure, especially in texts that had any relation to the Holy Trinity, as St. Jerom shows at large in his Preface upon the Pentateuch[46], where he

bantur apposita. Si igitur aliis licuit non tenere, quod semel susceperant, et post septuaginta cellulas, quæ vulgo sine auctore jactantur, singulas cellulas aperuere: hocque in ecclesiis legitur, quod Septuaginta nescierunt, cur me non suscipiant Latini mei, qui, inviolata editione veteri, ita novam condidi, ut laborem meum Hebræis et, quod his majus est, Apostolis auctoribus probem?

[43] Præf. in Jos. (ibid. p. 355.) Et ut in primis, quod sæpe testatus sum, sciat me non in reprehensionem veterum nova cudere, sicut amici mei criminantur; sed pro virili parte offerre linguæ meæ hominibus, quos tamen nostra delectant, ut pro Græcorum ἑξαπλοῖς, quæ et sumptu et labore maximo indigent, editionem nostram habeant. Et si cubi in antiquorum voluminum lectione dubitarint, hæc illis conferentes, inveniant quod requirunt: maxime quum apud Latinos tot sint exemplaria, quot codices; et unusquisque pro arbitrio suo vel addiderit vel subtraxerit, quod ei visum est: et utique non possit verum esse, quod dissonat.

[44] Ibid. (p. 358.) Quare Danielem juxta Theodotionis translationem ecclesiæ susceperunt?—In Dan. c. 4. (t. 5. p. 646 a.) Exceptis LXX translatoribus, qui hæc omnia, nescio qua ratione, præterierunt, tres reliqui *collegam* interpretati sunt. Unde judicio magistrorum ecclesiæ editio eorum in hoc volumine repudiata est, et Theodotionis vulgo legitur: quæ et Hebræo et cæteris translatoribus congruit.—Conf. Apol. cont. Ruffin. l. 2. c. 9. [al. 33.] (t. 2. p. 527 b.) De Daniele breviter respondebo ... me docuisse lectorem, ecclesias Christi hunc Prophetam juxta Theodotionem legere, et non juxta Septuaginta translatores.

[45] Præf. in Dan. (t. 9. p. 1361.) Danielem Prophetam juxta Septuaginta Interpretes Domini Salvatoris ecclesiæ non legunt, utentes Theodotionis editione: et hoc cur acciderit nescio.... Hoc unum affirmare possum, quod multum a veritate discordet, et recto judicio repudiatus sit.

[46] [Præf. in Pentateuch. (ibid. p. 3.) Denique, ubicunque sacratum aliquid Scriptura testatur de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, aut aliter interpretati sunt, aut omnino tacuerunt; ut et regi satisfacerent et arcanum fidei non vulgarent. Et nescio quis primus auctor, septuaginta

exposes the story of their having distinct cells, and their being esteemed inspired writers: and partly from the great variety of copies, and the great corruptions that were crept into them by the ignorance or negligence of transcribers: and this both in the Septuagint copies themselves, and the Latin translations that were made from them. Upon this account St. Jerom, by the instigation of Chromatius and Heliodore, and other pious bishops of the Latin Church, set about a translation of the Psalms and Old Testament from the original Hebrew: but this met with great opposition for some time; for though many applauded it, and read it in the churches, yet others opposed it; and Ruffin and others bitterly inveighed against it, as reflecting on the Church, which had used and recommended the Septuagint, and the translations made from it, ever since the time of the Apostles. St. Austin himself[47] dissuaded him from the undertaking; and when it was finished, he would not suffer it to be read in his diocese for fear of giving scandal to the people; telling him further[48] what a tumult had been raised in one of the churches of Africa by a bishop's introducing his translation, which he was forced to lay aside again for fear all his people should have deserted it. But in other places it met with a kinder reception; for by degrees it came to be used

cellulas Alexandriæ mendacio suo exstruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptitarent. *Grischov.*]

[47] Ep. 19. [al. 82.] ad Hieron. c. 5. (t. 2. p. 202 g.) De interpretatione tua jam mihi persuasisti, qua utilitate Scripturas volueris transferre de Hebræis, ut scilicet ea, quæ a Judæis prætermissa, vel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium.... Ideo autem (p. 203 c.) desidero interpretationem tuam de Septuaginta, ut et tanta Latinorum interpretum, qui qualescunque hoc ausi sunt, quantum possumus imperitia careamus: et hi, qui me invidere putant utilibus laboribus tuis, tandem aliquando, si fieri potest, intelligant, propterea me nolle tuam ex Hebræo interpretationem in ecclesiis legi, ne contra Septuaginta auctoritatem, tanquam novum aliquid proferentes, magno scandalo perturbemus plebes Christi, quarum aures et corda illam interpretationem audire consueverunt, quæ etiam ab Apostolis approbata est.

[48] Ep. 10. [al. 71.] ad Eund. c. 5. (ibid. p. 161 a.) Nam quidam frater noster episcopus, cum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter abs te positum apud Jonam Prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriæque inveteratum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime Græcis arguentibus et inflammantibus [al. inclamantibus] calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (ea quippe civitas erat) Judæorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in Hebræis codicibus responderunt, quod et Græci et Latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere, volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe.

by learned men in their expositions. Gregory the Great[49] makes use of both translations, calling St. Jerom's *the New Translation*, and the other *the Old;* which was otherwise called *the Itala*, and *Vulgata*, and *Communis*, because it was the most *common* and *vulgar* translation used in all the *Latin* and *Italic* Churches.

The present Vulgar Latin translation is supposed by learned men[50] to be neither the ancient Vulgar, nor yet St. Jerom's new one, but a mixture of both together. The Psalms in the present Vulgar are not from the Hebrew, but are of St. Jerom's translation from the Septuagint of Lucian's emendation. The other books come nearer the Hebrew than they do to the Septuagint, which shows that they have something of St. Jerom's translation. But the Psalms were always read at Rome according to the old version, and continued so to be used till Pope Pius V. ordered St. Jerom's version, with emendations from the Septuagint, to be put in its place. And so the old translation of the Psalms came to be called *the Roman Psalter;* and St. Jerom's new translation, *the Gallican Psalter*, because it was immediately received in the Gallican Church. This is observed both by Mabillon[51] and Bona[52] out of Berno Augi-

[49] Ep. ad Leandr. ante Moral. in Job. c. 5. ad fin. (t. 1. p. 6 e. 2.) Novam vero translationem dissero: sed cum probationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia assumo; ut quia sedes apostolica, cui Deo auctore præsideo, utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur. [Ibid. l. 20. Moral. in Job. c. 32. (p. 665 d. 9.) Longe ab hac sententia vetus translatio dissonat .... Sed tamen quia hæc nova translatio ex Hebræo nobis Arabicoque eloquio cuncta verius transfudisse perhibetur, credendum est quidquid in ea dicitur. ED.]

[50] Walton. Prolegom. 10. n. 9. (t. 1. p. 71. circa med.) Certum est, in omnibus Vulgatam non esse Hieronymi: nam præter Psalmos et ea, quæ ex veteri Vulgata, vel ex Theodotione addidit, ut in additionibus ad Estheram et Danielem est videre, etiam in reliquis libris ubique multa occurrunt, quæ Hieronymi non esse, cuilibet clarum est: nam in multis convenit cum veteri Vulg. sive LXX., ubi versio Sept. ab Hebr. differt: sæpe cum Theod. Symm. Aq.: sæpissime etiam aliter habet, quam Hieronymus in operibus suis vertendum censuit: unde puram Hieronymi non esse, sed mixtam, facile est colligere.

[51] De Curs. Gallican. (pp. 395, seqq.) In primis Galli antiquitus peculiari Psalterii versione usi sunt, scilicet ea, quæ a Sancto Hieronymo emendata est. Audiendus hac de re Walafridus Strabo de Rebus Ecclesiasticis, c. 25. *Psalmos autem cum secundum LXX interpretes Romani adhuc habeant; Galli et Germanorum aliqui secundum emendationem, quam Hieronymus pater de LXX editione composuit, Psalterium cantant: quam Gregorius Turonensis episcopus a partibus Romanis mutuatam in Galliarum dicitur ecclesias transtulisse.* De re ipsa eadem est Bernonis Augiensis abbatis sententia: de tempore vero, quo hæc ver-

ensis [who flourished in 1014,] and Strabo, [whose era was 842,] who say, the French and Germans took the new translation of the Psalms corrected from the Septuagint by St. Jerom, whilst the Romans continued to use the old vulgar corrupt edition: which is still read in the Vatican Church at Rome, and the Ambrosian Church at Milan, and St. Mark's at Venice: and Bona is so free as to say, he thinks it had been more for the honour and benefit of the Church to have kept still to the old version of the Psalter, since now there is a great disagreement between the Breviary and the Missal, whilst the same Psalms are sung different ways[53], in the Missal according to the old translation, and in the Breviary according to the new one, which he speaks of as a mistake, but tenderly, because though it was a deviation from the old rule observed in Gregory's Sacramentarium, and the Missa Mosarabica, and the Ambrosian Liturgy, yet it was Pope Pius's order that made the correction.

I might here have added several other things relating to the ancient way of dividing the several books of Scripture into chapters, and verses, and canons, and sections, and sub-sections, very much differing from the present way of dividing them

sio a Gallis recepta est, hic cum Walafrido non consentit. Bernonis verba eo lubentius refero, quod accepta sint ex ejus Epistola inedita ad Meginfridum et Bennonem, ubi de Hieronymo agens, *Inter cætera*, inquit, *ex emendata LXX interpretum translatione Psalterium ex Græco in Latinum vertit, illudque cantandum omnibus Galliæ ac quibusdam Germaniæ ecclesiis tradidit. Et ob hoc Gallicanum Psalterium appellavit, Romanis adhuc ex corrupta Vulgata editione Psalterium canentibus; ex qua Romani cantum composuerunt, nobisque usum cantandi contradiderunt. Unde accidit, quod verba, quæ in diurnis vel in nocturnis officiis canendi more modulantur, intermisceantur, et confuse nostris psalmis inserantur, ut a minus peritis haud facile possit discerni, quid nostræ vel Romanæ conveniat editioni, &c.*

[52] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 3. n. 4. (p. 278.) Priore editione pura, qualis erat ante S. Hieronymum, utebantur olim omnes ecclesiæ Occidentales; Romana præsertim cum omnibus suburbicariis, ut constat ex antiquorum patrum commentariis in Psalmos; donec idem Psalterium ab ipso Hieronymo interpolatum primum quidem in Gallia, nescio quo tempore, unde Gallicanum nuncupatum est, deinde in aliis regionibus, introductum fuit. In omnibus autem urbis Romæ ecclesiis vetus illud permansit usque ad Pium V. qui ipsum sustulit, et in sola Basilica Vaticana reliquit, in qua nunc etiam religiosissime recitatur, et novissime sublatis mendis, quæ irrepserant, pristinæ integritati restitutum est.

[53] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 3. n. 5. (p. 279.) Inconveniens, et merito, visum est, quod idem psalmus et idem canticum aliis verbis in [missa, aliis in] officio cantaretur. Hæc autem dissonantia, ablato nunc veteri Psalterio, sæpe occurrit. Cæterum ista hoc loco notare libuit, non ut quenquam carperem, sed ne prisca ecclesiæ disciplina ignoraretur.

into chapter and verse: but because observations of this kind are very intricate of themselves, and have no relation to the service of the Church, which is the subject in hand, I shall omit them here with many other miscellaneous rites of the same nature, which will be more proper to be explained in a critical discourse by themselves[54]; and now proceed to the next part of the service of the Church in the *missa catechumenorum*, which was the sermon or homily, immediately after the reading of the Psalms and other Scriptures, before any prayers were made either for particular orders of men, such as catechumens, energumens, penitents, &c., or for the general state of Christ's Church.

CHAP. IV.

Of preaching, and the usages relating to it, in the ancient Church.

All sermons anciently called *homilies, disputations, allocutions, tractatus,* &c.

1. IMMEDIATELY after the reading of the Psalms and lessons out of the Scriptures, before the catechumens were dismissed, followed the sermon, which the bishop, or some other appointed by him, made to the people. This being done in the presence of the catechumens, was therefore usually reckoned a part of the *missa catechumenorum*, or *ante-communion-service*. Such discourses were commonly termed *homilies*, from the Greek ὁμιλίαι, which signifies indifferently *any discourse of instruction to the people, whether composed by the preacher himself, or read out of a book composed by another;* though we now generally restrain it to the latter sense in our modern way of speaking. Among the Latins they were frequently called *tractatus*, as appears from many passages of Cyprian, Optatus, St. Ambrose, St. Austin, St. Jerom, Gaudentius, Chrysologus, and many others collected by Ferrarius[55], which I think it needless to recite.

Only I shall observe one thing, that this word signifies any *exposition* or *handling* of Scripture, as well by way of writing

[54] [It is probable that when the Author used this expression, in the year 1719, the date of his original sixth volume, he contemplated *a twenty-fourth book* to consist of such miscellaneous subjects; a desideratum, which he again refers to in the closing paragraph of the twenty-third and last book of what he did live to complete, before his death in 1723. ED.]

[55] De Rit. Concion. l. 1. c. 2. (pp. 2, seqq.) Sacras igitur conciones, tractatus, disputationes, &c.

as preaching: and in both senses the *tractatores*, the *preachers* and *expositors* of Scripture, were opposed to the *canonici* and *authentici*, the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles, who wrote by inspiration, and whose authority was absolutely *infallible* and *authentic:* which could not be said of any expositors, however excellent or learned, who dictated their thoughts without any such peculiar assistance. This distinction is often inculcated by St. Austin. 'I confess,' says he[55], writing to St. Jerom, 'I have learned to pay this reverence and honour only to those books of Scripture which are called *canonical*, that I most firmly believe none of the authors of them were guilty of any error in writing. And if I find any thing in those books which seems contrary to truth, I make no doubt but it is either a corruption of the copy, or that the translator did not hit the sense, or that I myself do not understand it. But I read all others with this caution and reserve, that however eminent they be for piety and learning, I do not believe what they say to be true, merely because it was their opinion, but because they persuade me either by those canonical authors, or by probable reason, which carries the appearance of truth.' So again, in his book *De Catechizandis Rudibus*[56], he distinguishes the inspired writers, by the name *canonical*, from all others, whom he calls *tractators and expositors of Scripture.* As Claudianus Mamertus[57] speaks of all expositors under the

[55] Ep. 19. [al. 82.] ad Hieron. c. 1. (t. 2. p. 190 f.) Ego enim fateor caritati tuæ, solis eis Scripturarum libris, qui jam canonici appellantur, didici hunc timorem honoremque deferre, et nullum eorum auctorem scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero literis, quod videatur contrarium veritati: nihil aliud, quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assequutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse, non ambigam. Alios autem ita lego, ut, quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt; sed quia mihi [vel] per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod a vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt.

[56] C. 8. t. 4. p. 298. (t. 6. p. 271 b.) Nec ipse sane inutiliter interrogatur, quibus rebus motus sit, ut velit esse Christianus: ut si libris ei persuasum esse videris, sive canonicis, sive utilium tractatorum, de his aliquid in principio loquaris, collaudans eos pro diversitate meritorum canonicæ auctoritatis et exponentium solertissimæ diligentiæ.

[57] De Statu Animæ, l. 2. c. 10. (ad calc. n. 4. c. 9. ap. Galland. t. 10. p. 442 e.) Sed istic nunc locus et tempus est, ut, sicut a philosophis ad tractatores, sic a tractatoribus ad authenticos gradum consequar.—l. 1. c. 2. (ibid. p. 418 b.) Post authenticorum plurimorum tractatores &c. [Conf. l. 1. c. 2. (ibid. p. 418 b.) Sed video Prophetas, Evangelistas, Apostolos post etiam authenticorum plurimorum tractatores &c. Ed.]

name of *tractators*, but of the holy penmen themselves under the title of *authentics*.

St. Austin[58] and St. Jerom[59] often speak of preaching under the name of *disputations*. Tertullian[60] calls them *allocutions*; dividing the whole service into these four parts, 'reading the Scripture, singing the Psalms, making allocutions, and sending up prayers.' Among the Greeks they are frequently called λόγοι, which answers to the Latin word *sermones*, and the English *sermons*. The most ancient name is that of *evangelium* and εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, appropriated more peculiarly to the preaching of the Apostles, and therefore seldom or never ascribed to any others by ecclesiastical writers. A more general name in Scripture is that of διδασκαλία, *doctrine* and *teaching*: whence preachers of the word are called διδάσκαλοι, *doctors* and *teachers*, by St. Paul, (1 Cor. 12, 28 and 29.) which Vincentius Lirinensis[61] observes to be the same as *tractatores* in after-ages. St. Paul also uses the word κήρυγμα for

[58] Tract. 89. in Ioan. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 719 e.) Sed quomodo id fieri possit, si adjuvante Domino per nos demonstrari potest; quia hæc disputatio est jam claudenda, nunc non potest.—Confess. l. 5. c. 13. (t. 1. p. 118 a.) Et studiose audiebam disputantem [Ambrosium scilicet] in populo, non intentione qua debui, sed quasi explorans ejus facundiam, utrum conveniret famæ suæ, an major minorve proflueret, quam prædicabatur; et verbis ejus suspendebar intentus.—Serm. 50. de Divers. [al. Serm. 356.] (t. 5. p. 1385 b.) Plus enim me delectat hujus verbi esse lectorem, quam verbi mei disputatorem.—Serm. 81. de Divers. [al. Serm. 223.] (ibid. p. 967 a.) ... Qui episcopum vel presbyterum de bonis moribus disputantem magnis vocibus laudant &c.

[59] Ep. 22. [al. 35.] ad Eustoch. c. 15. (t. 1. p. 117 c.) Post horam nonam in commune concurritur, Psalmi resonant, Scripturæ recitantur ex more. Et, completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem Patrem vocant, incipit disputare. Quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat exscreare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium, &c.

[60] De Anima, c. 9. (p. 270 a.) Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut allocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones delegantur, &c.—So frequently in Gregory the Great the sermon is called simply *locutio*. Vid. in Ezek. l. 1. Hom. 5. c. 1. (t. 1. p. 1205 d. 8.) In ea locutione, quæ ad vos nudius tertius facta est.—Hom. 9. in init. (ibid. p. 1249 b. 6.) Caritati vestræ colloquimur, eidem omnipotenti Deo gratias referentes, quia post tot opaca sylvarum, tandem læti ad campos exivimus, in quibus liberis gressibus locutionis nostræ intrepidum pedem ponamus. [Conf. l. 2. Hom. 2. [al. 14.] n. 2. (ibid. p. 1321 a. 9.) In priori autem locutionum nostrarum parte, &c.—Hoc est homiliarum seu homeliarum, quæ Græce idem significant, quod *sermones* aut *locutiones* Latine. *Ed. Bened. ad loc.*—Hom. 10. [al. 22.] n. 22. (ibid. p. 1430 a. 8.) Nemo autem me reprehendat, si post hanc locutionem cessavero, &c. ED.]

[61] Commonitor. 40. [al. 28.] c. 28. (p. 345.).... Doctores, qui tractatores nunc appellantur.

preaching in 1 Cor. 2, 4, and in many other places[62] of his Epistles: and so it is sometimes used by ecclesiastical writers after him. But we must carefully note, that more commonly the words κηρύσσειν and κήρυγμα among the Greeks, as also *prædicatio* and *prædicare* among the Latins, signify a very different thing, viz. that part of the deacon's office which he performed as the common κήρυξ, or *præco* of the Church, dictating the usual forms of prayer to the people, in which they were to join, and calling upon them as their guide and director in all other parts of divine service. This I have had occasion to speak more largely of in a former Book[63], where we have particularly considered the ordinary office of deacons, and showed that they had no authority in ordinary cases either to preach or consecrate the eucharist, or baptize, but whatever they did of this kind was either in case of great necessity, or by special commission and direction. And therefore those ancient canons which speak of their *predication*[64] are not to be understood of their preaching sermons, but of their proclaiming to the people such directions in performing divine offices, as they were concerned to give them by virtue of their office, as the common heralds and criers of the Church.

Preaching the proper office of bishops and presbyters in ordinary cases, and not of deacons.

2. The deacons indeed, in cases of exigence, were allowed to read the homilies of the Fathers, as they did the lessons of Scripture, which is the reason assigned by the Council of Vaison[65] for permitting them so to do, 'when the presbyter was sick or infirm: for if deacons were worthy to read what Christ has spoken in the Gospel, why should they be thought unworthy to rehearse publicly the expositions or homilies of the Fathers?' But excepting such cases, we very rarely find any permission so much as to read an homily granted them. For preaching anciently was one of the chief offices of a

[62] See 1 Cor. 1, 21.—1 Cor. 14, 15.—2 Tim. 4, 17.—Tit. 1, 3.

[63] B. 2. ch. 20. ss. 10 and 11. vol. i. pp. 258, 260.

[64] Vid. C. Ancyr. c. 2. (t. 1. p. 1456 d.) Πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τοῦ ἄρτον ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν, ἢ κηρύσσειν.—C. Tolet. 4. c. 39. [al. 40.] (t. 5. p. 1716 c.).... Unum igitur orarium oportet Levitam gestare in sinistro humero, propter quod orat, id est, prædicat.

[65] Vasens. 2. [al. 3.] c. 2. (t. 4. p. 1680 b.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per seipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum Patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur. Si enim digni sunt diaconi, quæ [al. diacones, quod] Christus in Evangelio loquutus est, legere: quare indigni judicentur, sanctorum Patrum expositiones publice recitare?

bishop: insomuch that in the African Churches a presbyter was never known to preach before a bishop in his cathedral church till St. Austin's time, but the bishop always discharged this office himself, and St. Austin was the first presbyter in that part of the world that ever was allowed to preach in the presence of his bishop, as has been shown out of Posidius the writer of his Life[66], in a former book. It is true, in the Eastern Churches presbyters were sometimes allowed to preach in the great church before the bishop; but that was not to discharge him of the duty, for still he preached a sermon at the same time after them, as we shall see from the practice of Chrysostom and Flavian at Antioch, and other examples hereafter. In the lesser churches of the city, and country about, this office was devolved upon presbyters, as the bishop's proper assistants; and the deacons, except in the forementioned cases, were not authorized to perform it. So that this office of preaching the Gospel was then esteemed the proper office of bishops and presbyters; the bishop discharging it personally in his cathedral church, in conjunction with his presbyters, or alone without them; and vicariously by his presbyters, where he could not be present in the lesser churches. There are a great many serious passages in the ancient records relating to this matter, as well in the imperial laws, as in the canons of the Church, and in the writings of the most considerable Fathers, partly impressing this as a necessary duty of the episcopal and pastoral function, and partly complaining of the neglect of it, and partly threatening censures and punishments to the offenders.

St. Chrysostom[67] on those words to Timothy, [1. 3, 3.] "A bishop must be *apt to teach*,—διδακτικὸν," says, 'Other qualifications, such as those, *he must be sober, vigilant, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, &c.*, may be in subjects: but because a bishop ought to have those qualifications that belong to rulers, the Apostle therefore added, *He must be apt to*

[66] Cap. 5. See before, b. 2. ch. 3. s. 4. v. 1. p. 75. n. 92.

[67] Hom. 10. in 1 Tim. 3. p. 1569. (t. 11. p. 599 d.) Σώφρονα, κόσμιον, φιλόξενον· ταῦτα ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἔχουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ, δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἴσους εἶναι, δεικνὺς τὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐξαίρετον ἐπήγαγε. Διδακτικόν· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκέτι ὁ ἀρχόμενος ἀπαιτεῖται· μάλιστα δὲ τοῦτο πάντων προσεῖναι δεῖ τῷ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένῳ.

teach: for this is not required of subjects; but is most especially required of those who have the office of governing committed to them.' And again, on those words to Titus, [1, 9.] "Holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, (or, *which relates to teaching,—τοῦ κατὰ διδαχὴν λόγου,*) that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers," he says[68], 'St. Paul converted the world, not so much by his miracles, as by his continual preaching: and therefore a bishop must be able to exhort by sound doctrine, that is, to preserve his flock, and overthrow its enemies. And unless he be such an one, all is lost. For he that knows not how to oppose the enemy, and captivate every thought to the obedience of Christ, and pull down the vain imaginations of men, as he knows not how to teach according to sound doctrine, so *he ought to be far from the teaching throne,—πόρρω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ.*' Where it is observable, that Chrysostom therefore calls the bishop's throne *the throne of doctrine,* or *teaching throne,* because preaching sound doctrine was so necessary a part of the bishop's office, that he could not be without it.

St. Ambrose[69] likewise, describing the office of a bishop, does it chiefly by styling it *the office of teaching;* complaining modestly of his own hard fate, 'in being forced against his will to take upon him the office of the priesthood, that is, to be made a bishop; which obliged him to teach others before he had well learned himself:' for he was made bishop of a catechumen. Sidonius Apollinaris[70] makes the same description

[68] Hom. 2. in Tit. p. 1703. (ibid. p. 739 f.) Οὐχ ὁρᾷς Παῦλον τρεψάμενον τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν, καὶ μείζονως ἰσχύσαντα καὶ Πλάτωνος, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων; Ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων, φησίν. Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν σημείων μόνον· εἰ γὰρ ἐπέλθοις τὰς Πράξεις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, πολλαχοῦ αὐτὸν εὑρήσεις ἀπὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας κρατοῦντα καὶ πρὸ τῶν σημείων· ἵνα δυνατὸς ᾖ καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῇ ὑγιαινούσῃ, τουτέστι, πρὸς φυλακὴν τῶν οἰκείων, πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας ἐλέγχειν· τούτου γὰρ μὴ ὄντος, πάντα οἴχεται. Ὁ γὰρ οὐκ εἰδὼς μάχεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ αἰχμαλωτίζειν πᾶν νόημα εἰς τὴν ὑπακοὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ λογισμοὺς καθαιρεῖν, ὁ οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ χρὴ περὶ ὀρθῆς διδάσκειν διδασκαλίας, πόρρω ἔστω θρόνου διδασκαλικοῦ.

[69] De Offic. l. 1. c. 1. Titulus Capitis. (t. 2. p. 1 a.) Episcopi proprium munus docere [populum].—C. 1. n. 2. (ibid. p. 2 b.) Cum jam effugere non possimus officium docendi, quod nobis refugientibus imposuit sacerdotii necessitudo, &c.

[70] L. 5. Ep. 3. (p. 320.) .... Indignissimo tantæ professionis pondus impactum est, qui miser ante compulsus docere, quam discere, et ante præsumens bonum prædicare,

of the office of a bishop, complaining in the like modest way with St. Ambrose, of the weight of the profession that was laid upon his shoulders, when, 'by being made a bishop against his will, he was forced to teach before he had learned, and preach good to others, before he had done any himself: like a barren tree, when he had no works to show for fruit, he was forced to scatter words for leaves:' meaning the necessity of preaching that was laid upon him by taking the office of a bishop.

St. Cyril of Alexandria[71] in like manner calls the office of a bishop *ἀξίωμα διδασκαλικὸν, the dignity* or *honour of teaching:* and in the sixth general Council[72], where Maximus bishop of Antioch was degraded for his heresy, he is said 'to be removed from the throne of teaching,' that is, from the episcopal office, of which preaching was a special ingredient. The rule of the Apostolical Canons[73] is, 'that a bishop who neglects his clergy or his people, and teaches them not the rules of piety, shall be suspended; and if he persists in his neglect, shall be deposed. For it was his office to teach the clergy as well as the people, and to expound the Scriptures to them.'

St. Jerom[74] gives it as part of the character of Gregory Nazianzen, 'that he was an eloquent teacher, and the master under whom he learned the Scriptures, as he explained them.' Some would have excused themselves, by saying 'they would teach the people by their example:' to which St. Jerom[75] replies, 'that a bishop's innocent conversation, without preaching, did as much harm by its silence, as it did good by its example. For

quam facere: tanquam sterilis arbor, cum non habeam opera pro pomis, spargo verba pro foliis.

[71] Ep. ad Monach. in C. Ephes. part. 1. c. 28. (CC. t. 3. p. 423 a.) *Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔλοιτο ταῦτα πρᾶξαι, ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ ξένον τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοῦ διδασκαλικοῦ ἀξιώματος.*

[72] Act. 12. (t. 6. p. 937 c.) *Οὐδαμῶς ὁ θεῖος κανὼν παραδέχεται τοῦ λοιποῦ εἰς διδασκαλικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον,* &c.

[73] C. 58. (Cotel. [c. 50.] v. 1. p. 445.) *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἀμελῶν τοῦ κλήρου ἢ τοῦ λαοῦ, καὶ μὴ παιδεύων αὐτοὺς τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀφοριζέσθω· ἐπιμένων δὲ τῇ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ, καθαιρείσθω.*

[74] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 117. (t. 2. p. 929.).... Vir eloquentissimus præceptor meus, quo Scripturas explanante didici.

[75] Ep. 83. [al. 69.] ad Ocean. (t. 1. p. 421 b.) Innocens enim et absque sermone [sacerdotis] conversatio, quantum exemplo prodest, tantum silentio nocet. Nam et latratu canum, baculoque pastoris luporum rabies deterrenda est.—Conf. Ep. 2. [al. 52.] ad Nepotian. (ibid. p. 262 d.) Quod Aaron et filios ejus, hoc episcopum et presbyteros esse, noverimus..... Recordemur sæpe, quod Apostolus Petrus præcipiat sacerdotibus, *Pascite eum, qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, &c.*—See 1 Pet. 5, 2.

the barking of the dog is as necessary as the shepherd's staff, to terrify and beat off the fury of the wolves.'

Athanasius[76] gives a very pathetical exhortation to Dracontius, a bishop newly ordained. 'Now that you are made bishop,' says he, 'the people expect that you should bring them food from the doctrine of the Scriptures: but if, while they expect it, they suffer want, and you only feed yourself, what excuse will you have, when the Lord Jesus shall come, and find his sheep starving for want of food?'

St. Austin, in one of his Homilies upon the Anniversary of his Ordination[77], represents this part of a bishop's office with great concern, as a matter in which he was deeply interested, and nearly affected. First, he tells his people what a burden was laid upon him by God in the Prophet Ezekiel, (ch. 33,) which was the lesson appointed for that solemnity, wherein were these words, so full of terror: "I have made thee a watchman. If I say to the sinner, thou shalt surely die, and thou holdest thy peace, and he die in his sins; he indeed dies justly, and according to his desert in his sins; but his blood will I require at thy hands, &c." Upon which he makes this reflection with regard to his own office: 'I am a steward; if I lay not out my Lord's money, but keep it by me, the Gospel terrifies me. I might say, indeed, what have I to do to be troublesome unto men, to

[76] Ep. ad Dracont. t. 1. p. 954. (t. 1. part. 1. p. 208 b. n. 2.)... Καὶ περὶν [leg. πρὶν] μὲν λάβῃς τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς χάριν, οὐδεὶς ἐγίνωσκέ σε· γενόμενον δὲ λοιπὸν, οἱ λαοὶ προσδοκῶσι φέροντά σε τροφὴν αὐτοῖς, τὴν ἐκ τῶν Γραφῶν διδασκαλίαν. Ὅταν τοίνυν οἱ προσδοκῶντες λιμώττωσι, σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν μόνον τρέφῃς, καὶ ἔλθῃ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ἡμεῖς τε αὐτῷ παραστῶμεν, ποίαν σχοίης ἀπολογίαν, ὁρῶντος αὐτοῦ τὰ ἴδια πρόβατα λιμώττοντα;

[77] Serm. 25. ex 50. t. 10. p. 173. [al. Serm. 339.] (t. 5. p. 1309 f, g.) ... Quia erogator sum, non exactor. Si non erogem, et pecuniam servem, terret me Evangelium. Possem enim dicere, quid mihi est tædio esse hominibus, dicere iniquis: Inique agere nolite, sic agite, sic agere desistite? quid mihi est oneri esse hominibus? Accepi, quomodo vivam, quomodo jussus sum, quomodo præceptus sum; assignem quomodo accepi; de aliis me reddere rationem quo mihi? Evangelium me terret. Nam ad istam securitatem otiosissimam nemo me vinceret. Nihil est melius, nihil dulcius, quam divinum scrutari, nullo strepente, thesaurum: dulce est, bonum est. Prædicare, arguere, corripere, ædificare, pro uno quoque satagere magnum onus, magnum pondus, magnus labor. Quis non refugiat istum laborem? Sed terret Evangelium. Processit quidam servus, et ait Domino suo, 'Sciebam te hominem molestum, metere ubi non seminasti: servavi pecuniam tuam, nolui eam erogare, tolle quod tuum est. Si aliquid minus est, indica: si integrum est, noli mihi molestus esse.' Ait autem ille, 'Serve nequam, ex ore tuo te condemnabo: quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam et ego veniens cum usuris utique exegissem illam?'

say to the wicked, do not thus; do thus: desist from doing evil? What have I to do to be thus troublesome unto men? I have received how I ought to live myself, as I am enjoined, as I am commanded, I will return what I have received. What have I to do to give account of others? But the Gospel terrifies me. There is nothing more pleasant than to seek after the divine treasure in quiet. This is sweet and good: but to preach, to reprove, to correct, to edify, to take the care of every other man upon myself, this is a great burden, a great weight, a great labour. Who would not fly from such a labour? But the Gospel terrifies me. There we read of a certain servant who said to his Lord, I knew thee to be an hard man, reaping where thou hast not sowed, therefore I kept thy money; I would not lay it out; take that which is thine. To whom the Lord answered, Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, O thou wicked servant. Thou oughtest to have given my money to the bank, that when I came, I might have received my own with usury.'

The curious reader may find a great deal more to the same purpose in St. Basil's Epistles[78] and Gregory Nazianzen's[79] complaints, and those of Cyprian[80], which I care not here to transcribe. But nothing is more remarkable than what is said

[78] Ep. 61. [al. 90.] ad Occident. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 259 c. n. 1.) ...Ὥστε καὶ ποιμένας ἀναδεικνύναι [τοὺς] τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν πατέρων ἀκολουθοῦντας, καὶ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Κυρίου μετ' ἐπιστήμης ποιμαίνοντας...—Ep. 185. [al. 62.] ad Eccles. Pernas. (ibid. p. 224 c.) Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐκεῖνα παραινεῖν ἔχομεν, ὅτι προσήκει πᾶσαν ἀποθεμένους κατήφειαν ἑαυτῶν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν πρόνοιαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαναστῆναι· ὅπως ἂν ὁ ἅγιος Θεὸς ἐπιμεληθῇ τοῦ ἰδίου ποιμνίου, καὶ παράσχοιτο ὑμῖν ποιμένα κατὰ τὸ αὐτοῦ θέλημα, ποιμαίνοντα ὑμᾶς μετ' ἐπιστήμης.—Ep. 293. [al. 265.] ad Eulog. (ibid. part. 2. p. 592 d. n. 2.) Οὐχὶ γελᾶται τὸ μέγα τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον, ὡς ἄνευ λαοῦ καὶ κλήρου ἐπισκόπων περιερχομένων, καὶ ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιφερόντων, οὐδὲν δὲ κατορθούντων εἰς προκοπὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ σωτηρίας;

[79] Orat. 1. de Fug. (t. 1. p. 15 d.) Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν τοῦ λόγου διανομὴν, ἵνα τελευταῖον εἴπω τὸ πρῶτον τῶν ἡμετέρων, τοῦ θείου λέγω καὶ ὑψηλοῦ, καὶ ὃ νῦν πάντες φιλοσοφοῦσιν, εἰ μέν τις ἄλλος θαρρεῖ, καὶ πάσης [leg. πάσας] διανοίας ὑπολαμβάνει, θαυμάζω τοῦτον ἐγὼ τῆς συνέσεως, ἵνα μὴ λέγω τῆς εὐηθείας.—Orat. 32. (ibid. p. 519 b.) Οἱ δὲ τῆς ὠδῖνος ἐγγὺς, ὅσοι τὸ μὲν ἀσεβὲς φεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ εὐσεβὲς οὐ παρρησιάζονται, εἴτε οἰκονομίᾳ τινὶ χρώμενοι περὶ τὸν λόγον, εἴτε δειλίᾳ πρὸς τοῦτο καταφεύγουσι.—Tract. de Episc., Latine. (t. 2. p. 304 a.) Quod orationem attinet, pedes esto, rusticoque dicendi et imperito genere utitor, &c.

[80] De Laps. p. 123. (p. 89.) Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuratione contempta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari.

by St. Chrysostom[81] in his Homily upon the man, who was to account to God for ten thousand talents: where he thus represents the account, which bishops must make to God: 'Not only secular magistrates,' says he, 'but *the rulers of the Church,—τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες,*—must render an account of their government and administration; and they above all others shall suffer bitter and grievous punishment. For they who are intrusted with the ministry of the word shall be examined most strictly and severely in the next world, whether they have not through sloth or envy neglected to speak any thing which they ought to have spoken; and whether they have demonstrated by their works and labour, that they have delivered all things faithfully, and concealed nothing that was profitable unto men. Again, he that has obtained the office of a bishop, by how much he is exalted to greater dignity, so much the more ample account shall he be required to give, not only of his doctrine or teaching, and care of the poor, but also of his examination and trial of those who are ordained, with a thousand other things of the like nature.' Where it is evident, that teaching is reckoned as necessary a part of the bishop's function as ordination: and as he proves the one from those words of St. Paul to Timothy, (1. 5, 22.) "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins;" so he proves the other from those words of the same Apostle to the Hebrews, (13, 17.) "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves unto them: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account." Which, as he truly observes, is an argument full of terror. St. Chrysostom has abundance more to the same purpose in those excellent Books of the Priesthood, which were composed on purpose to describe the offices and duties of a bishop, among which he reckons the laborious work of making continual homilies[82] and set dis-

[81] Hom. 1. t. 5. p. 9. (t. 3. p. 7 c.) *Οὐχ οἱ ἔξωθεν δὲ μόνον ἄρχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτες τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς ὑφέξουσι τὸν λόγον· καὶ μάλιστα οὗτοί εἰσιν, οἱ ἐπὶ πλέον τὰς πικρὰς καὶ βαρείας εὐθύνας ὑπέχοντες· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ λόγου τὴν διακονίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένος ἐξετασθήσεται μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκεῖ, εἰ μήτε ὄκνῳ, μήτε φθόνῳ παρεῖδέ τι τῶν δεόντων εἰπεῖν, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπέδειξεν, ὅτι πάντα διεστείλατο, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔκρυψε τῶν συμφερόντων. Πάλιν ὁ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν λαχὼν, ὅσῳ πρὸς μείζονα ὄγκον ἀναβέβηκε, τοσούτῳ πλείονα ἀπαιτηθήσεται λόγον, οὐχὶ διδασκαλίας μόνον καὶ πενήτων προστασίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χειροτονιῶν δοκιμασίας, καὶ μυρίων ἑτέρων.*

[82] De Sacerdot. l. 5. c. 1. (t. 1. p.

courses[83] to the people. And whereas some were ready to plead, that a good life was the main thing required, to excuse their want of knowledge, and study, and preaching, and disputing, he answers, 'that both these qualifications were required; they must not only do, but teach the commands of Christ, and guide others by their word and doctrine, as well as their practice: each of these had their part in the episcopal office, and were necessary to assist one another, in order to consummate men's edification.' With much more to the same purpose, which I here omit, because I have more fully represented it in another Book[84], where I had occasion to treat of the general duties of the ecclesiastical function.

What is thus pathetically pressed by private men, is more authoritatively enjoined by the laws of the Church and State, both concurring to enforce this duty. The Council of Laodicea[85] speaks of it as a customary thing, 'for the bishop to make always a sermon before the catechumens were dismissed.' And the Council of Valentia[86] in Spain does the same, when it orders, 'that catechumens, and penitents, and even heathens should be allowed to hear the bishop's sermon, because they had experienced how that by this means many infidels had been brought over to the faith.' These Councils do not so

421 a.) Οὐ γὰρ μέχρις αἰσχύνης ἡ ζημία, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰώνιος ἐκδέχεται κόλασις· τὸ γὰρ, Πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπείκετε· ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς λόγον ἀποδώσοντες· εἰ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ νῦν σιωπήσομαι· ὁ γὰρ φόβος ταύτης τῆς ἀπειλῆς συνεχῶς κατασείει μου τὴν ψυχήν.

[83] Ibid. l. 4. c. 8. (p. 413 e.) Καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ὁ τελειώτατος τῆς διδασκαλίας ὅρος, ὅτ' ἂν καὶ δι' ὧν πράττουσι, καὶ δι' ὧν λέγουσι, τοὺς μαθητευομένους ἐνάγωσι πρὸς τὸν μακάριον βίον, ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς διετάξατο· οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ τὸ ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸ διδάσκειν· καὶ οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος· Ὃς γὰρ ἂν, φησι, ποιήσῃ καὶ διδάξῃ, οὗτος μέγας κληθήσεται. Εἰ δὲ τὸ ποιῆσαι, διδάξαι ἦν, περιττῶς τὸ δεύτερον ἔκειτο· καὶ γὰρ ἤρκει εἰπεῖν, ὃς ἂν ποιήσῃ μόνον· νῦν δὲ τῷ διελεῖν ἀμφότερα, δείκνυσιν, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν ἔργων ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἀλλήλων δεῖται ἑκάτερα πρὸς τελείαν οἰκοδομήν.—[Ibid. l. 5. c. 1. (p. 415 a.) Ἐπεὶ τόγε πρᾶγμα αὐτὸ σωτηρίας τε καὶ πολλῶν γίνεται πρόξενον ἀγαθῶν, ὅτ' ἂν τοὺς διακονουμένους εὑρῃ σπουδαίους τε ἄνδρας καὶ ἀγαθούς· τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν; ὁ πολὺς πόνος, ὁ περὶ τὰς διαλέξεις τὰς κοινῇ πρὸς τὸν λαὸν γινομένας ἀναλισκόμενος. *Grischov.*]

[84] B. 6. ch. 3. s. 2. v. 2. p. 231.

[85] C. 19. (t. 1. p. 1500 c.) Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδιᾷ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

[86] C. 1. (t. 4. p. 1617 e.) Quatenus salutaria præcepta Domini nostri Jesu Christi, vel sermonem sacerdotis, non solum fideles, sed etiam catechumeni, ac pœnitentes, et omnes, qui ex diverso sunt, audire licitum habeant. Sic enim, pontificum prædicatione audita, nonnullos ad fidem attractos evidenter scimus.

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much enjoin bishops to preach, as presuppose it to be their constant and general practice. But the Council of Trullo[87] speaks more expressly by way of injunction, 'that *the rulers of churches,—τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας,*—ought every day, but especially on the Lord's-day, to teach all the clergy and people the words of truth and godliness, gathered out of the holy Scriptures.' And in the imperial laws there are several edicts of the secular power to the same purpose. In the Theodosian Code there is one jointly made by the three emperors, Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius, which bears this title, *De munere seu officio episcoporum in prædicando verbo Dei,—Of the duty and office of bishops in preaching the word of God.* And the body of the edict[88] charges all those with sacrilege, who either confound the sanctity of the divine law by ignorance, or violate it by neglecting to preach it: and the same law now stands inserted into the Justinian Code[89], under the charge of sacrilege, both in the title and the body of it also. In another law of Arcadius and Honorius[90] bishops are styled 'the men who in their several districts are to govern the people, by instilling into them the doctrines of the Christian religion, and more especially the principles of subjection and obedience to civil magistrates, which were often violated by the tumultuous practices of the monks, who were under their inspection.' And in another law of Theodosius[91] all heretics are forbidden

[87] C. 19. (t. 6. p. 1151 c.) Ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶτας ἐν πάσαις μὲν ἡμέραις, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ ταῖς Κυριακαῖς, πάντα τὸν κλῆρον καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἐκδιδάσκειν τοὺς τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγους, ἐκ τῆς θείας Γραφῆς ἀναλεγομένους τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας νοήματά τε καὶ κρίματα. [Conf. C. Nicæn. 2. c. 2. (t. 7. p. 596 e.) Ἀνακρίνεσθαι δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μητροπολίτου εἰ προθύμως ἔχει ἀναγινώσκειν, κ. τ. λ.—C. Ticinens. c. 5. (t. 8. p. 63 a.) Ut episcopi canonicas Scripturas et sancta dogmata jugi meditatione discutiant, et presbyteris ac clericis suis subtilius tractando et differendo occultos sacrarum literarum thesauros aperiant: populis vero juxta ipsorum capacitatem Dominicis et festis diebus verbum prædicationis impendere non negligant. Ed.]

[88] Cod. Theod. l. 16. tit. 2. de Episcopis, leg. 25. (t. 6. p. 57.) Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem, aut nesciendo confundunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.

[89] Cod. Justin. l. 9. tit. 29. de Crimine Sacrilegii, leg. 1. (t. 4. p. 2407.) Qui divinæ legis sanctitatem aut nesciendo omittunt, aut negligendo violant et offendunt, sacrilegium committunt.

[90] Cod. Theod. l. 9. tit. 40. de Pœnis, leg. 16. (t. 3. p. 310.) Ad episcoporum sane culpam, ut cætera, redundabit, si quid forte in ea parte regionis, in qua ipsi populos Christianæ religionis doctrinæ insinuatione moderantur, ex his quæ fieri hac lege jubemus, a monachis perpetratum esse cognoverint, nec vindicaverint.

[91] Ibid. l. 16. tit. 5. de Hæreticis,

'either to teach or hear their profane doctrines in their unlawful assemblies; more particularly they who were called bishops among them should not presume to teach the faith which they themselves had not, nor ordain ministers, when they themselves were really none.' 'This supposes that the offices of ordination and preaching were equally the duties of catholic bishops, and that the pretence in heretical bishops to perform them was mere usurpation. And upon the whole it appears, that as preaching was an office originally invested in bishops, as supreme pastors of the flock of Christ; so by all the rules and laws of Church and State, and all the ties of religion, they were obliged to perform this duty with all assiduity and diligence, as we find they generally did out of the sense of the great obligation that was laid upon them. And some in the Romish Church, where this part of the episcopal function was for many ages scandalously neglected, have earnestly wished and laboured for the restoration and revival of it. Habertus pleads hard for it, and says one thing[92] particularly remarkable to excite those to whom he writes, 'that he could aver upon certain experience in France, that there was more weight in the words of every bishop to the people, than in six hundred of the most eloquent and elaborate discourses of other men.' But I return to the ancient Church.

The singular practice of the Church of Rome, in having no sermons for several ages, noted out of Sozomen and Cassiodore.

3. It being thus certain from what has been related that the work of preaching was ordinarily performed by bishops themselves in their own church, either in conjunction with their presbyters or without them: it is very wonderfully strange, and even astonishing and surprising, to hear what Sozomen[93] relates of the Church of Rome in his time, 'that they had no sermons either by the bishop or any other;' which was contrary to the custom of all other Churches: for at Alexandria the bishop alone preached without his presbyters from the time

leg. 24. (t. 6. p. 141.) Nusquam profana præcepta vel docere vel discere: ne antistites eorundem audeant fidem insinuare, quam non habent, et ministros creare, quod non sunt.

[92] Archierat. part. 7. observ. 5. (p. 91.) Porro id scio expertusque sum, plus esse momenti in unius episcopi ad populum, quam in sexcentis aliorum quantumvis excultis orationibus atque elaboratis.

[93] L. 7. c. 19. (v. 2. p. 307. 18.) Οὔτε δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, οὔτε ἄλλος τὶς ἐνθάδε ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει· παρὰ δὲ Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι μόνος ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος· φασὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πρότερον εἰωθὸς ἐπιγενέσθαι, ἀφ' οὗ Ἄρειος, πρεσβύτερος ὢν, περὶ τοῦ δόγματος διαλεγόμενος ἐνεωτέρισε.

of Arius: and in other Churches it was done by the bishop and presbyters together: but in the Church of Rome by neither the one nor the other. Pagi[94] and Quesnel[95] think Sozomen must needs be mistaken, and that, being a Greek, he took this report up by uncertain rumour; because Pope Leo, in whose time Sozomen lived, not only preached constantly to the people, but declared it his duty so to do, professing that he was afraid it should be imputed to him as a crime, if he was wanting in this part of his office and ministry. But Valesius[96], on the other hand, is very confident that Sozomen's relation is true, because Cassiodore, who was a senator and consul, and *præfectus-prætorio* at Rome, has the same out of Sozomen in his *Historia Tripartita*, without any correction; and he says

[94] Critic. in Baron. an. 57. n. 3. [corrige, an. 55. n. 9. Ed. Antwerp. 1705.] (t. 1. p. 44.) At quis nescit hoc eis plerumque contingere, qui compendiis scriptitandis student, ...ut non minori cura errata exscribant, quam quæ sunt veritati consentanea.... Exemplo sit Sozomeni locus, quem in suam pariter Historiam transtulit Cassiodorus. Scribit ille, l. 7. c. 19., *In urbe Roma nec episcopus nec alius quisquam in ecclesia populum docet.* Sed cum Sozomenus sedente Leone historiam suam scripserit, de hujus narrationis falsitate dubitari non potest, &c.

[95] Dissertat. 6. de Jejun. Sabbat. c. 6. (ap. Oper. Leon. M., Lugdun. 1700. t. 2. p. 289.) Hoc falsum fuisse probabile est, &c.—Ibid. Dissertat. 1. de Vit. Leon. c. 8. (ibid. p. 137.) Immo primus omnium Romanorum pontificum istud muneris in se recepit, si qua Sozomeno fides, cum hæc scribit; *In eadem urbe* (Roma) *nec episcopus nec alius quisquam in ecclesia populum docet.* At Sozomeno hac in re assentiri vix ac ne vix quidem possumus.

[96] [In Sozom. loc. supr. citat. (v. 2. p. 307. n. 4.) Mirum est, quod huic ait Sozomenus, Romæ nec episcopum, nec alium quemquam, in ecclesia sermonem habuisse ad populum. Nec est, quod quis suspicetur, hic Sozomenum falli. Nam Cassiodorus, qui Romæ vixerat, et Romanam ecclesiam frequentaverat, hunc morem ecclesiæ Romanæ retulit in Historia sua Tripartita. Quod procul dubio facturus non erat, si id falsum esse comperisset. Exstant quidem sermones Leonis papæ, quos Romæ habuit ad populum. Verum id recentius est Sozomeno. Nec ante Leonem papam sermones ullius Romani pontificis ad populum habitos proferri posse existimo. Objiciet fortasse aliquis sermonem Liberii papæ, quem habuit Romæ in ecclesia B. Petri, die natalis Dominici, præsente Bononiensi episcopo, ad Marcellinam sororem Ambrosii et alias virgines, quæ tunc virginitatem in ecclesia profitebantur. Quem tractatum Ambrosius totum descripsit in lib. 3. de Velandis Virginibus. Sed responderi potest, hunc Liberii sermonem non fuisse ad populum, sed exhortationem duntaxat, et allocutionem ad Marcellinam virginem. Atqui Sozomenus hoc loco de sermonibus loquitur, qui fiebant ad populum inter missarum solemnia, quas Græci ὁμιλίας vocant. Certe verbum διδάσκειν proprie de iis sermonibus dicitur. Præterea etsi concedamus, sermonem tunc a Liberio habitum esse; nihil hoc facit adversus Sozomenum. Id enim extra ordinem factum est a Liberio in gratiam Marcellinæ. Sozomenus vero loquitur de more recepto atque usitato in ecclesia Romana. *Grischov.*]

further[97], 'that no one can produce any sermons preached to the people by any bishop of Rome before those of Leo, which were not preached till after Sozomen wrote his history.' I will not pretend to decide this controversy among these learned men; but only say, that however it was in Sozomen's time, it seems to have been otherwise in the days of Justin Martyr, when he presented his Apology to Antoninus Pius, and the senate of Rome, where he lived and wrote at that time: for there[98], describing the business of the Christian assemblies on the Lord's-day, he expressly says, 'that after the reading of the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, the προεστὼς, the *bishop* or *president* of the assembly made a sermon to exhort and excite the people to the imitation of the good things they had heard read out of them.' Where it must reasonably be supposed that writing at Rome, and to the Roman senate, he spake at least of the usual custom and practice of the Roman Church. And if it was otherwise in the time of Sozomen[99], some alteration must have happened in the interval. Perhaps they might have taken up the custom of reading the homilies of famous writers among the lessons, or immediately after by the deacon, as I have shown before[1] they read in some churches the Homilies of Ephrem Syrus, and the books of Clemens Romanus, and Hermes Pastor; and in the old *Lectionariums* there are frequently lessons appointed out of the Homilies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, and others, as it is now in the Roman Breviary; and this might supply the place of a sermon, till Leo brought up the ancient way of preaching in the Roman Church again, which was afterwards discontinued for five hundred years together, till Pius Quintus, like another Leo, revived the practice, as we are told by Surius[2], one of their own writers.

[97] Serm. 3. [al. 33. cap. 1.] de Epiphania. (t. 1. p. 118.) Quamvis sciam, dilectissimi, quod sanctitatem vestram hodiernæ festivitatis causa non lateat, eamque secundum consuetudinem evangelicus vobis sermo reseraverit; tamen, ut nostri nihil desit officii, loqui de eadem, quod Dominus donaverit, audebo.

[98] Apol. 2. (p. 98 d.) Εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται.

[99] [Bp. Hooper (Discourse of Lent, part 1. ch. 9. note h. p. 145.) thinks a slight change of εἶτε for οὔτε, in the passage cited from Sozomen, (see n. 93, preceding) will best solve the difficulty. Ed.]

[1] See ch. 3. s. 14. of this Book. pp. 75, 76. notes 11, 12, 16.

[2] Hist. ap. Blondel. Apol. s. 2. Observand. ad nn. 21, 18. (p. 58.)..

4. But there is another question must be resolved with relation to the ancient Church, that is, whether laymen were ever allowed by authority to make sermons to the people? That they did it in a private way as catechists in their catechetic schools at Alexandria, and other places, there is no question. For Origen read lectures in the catechetic school of Alexandria before he was in orders[3], by the appointment of Demetrius, and St. Jerom[4] says, there was a long succession of famous men in that school, who were called ecclesiastical doctors upon that account. But this was a different thing from their public preaching in the church. Sometimes the monks, who were only laymen, took upon them to preach publicly in the church: but this was opposed and censured as an usurpation of an office that did not belong to them. All monks anciently, considered only as monks, were no more than laymen, as I have fully shown in another place[5]: and therefore as monks, they had no title to any part of the ecclesiastical office or function. Particularly St. Jerom[6] says, 'the office of a monk was not to teach, but to mourn.' And[7], 'that the case of the monks and clergy was very different from each other: the clergy are those that feed the sheep, the monks are among those that are fed.' And, therefore, when some monks in the eastern parts about Antioch, presuming on their own qualifications and knowledge, took upon them to preach publicly in the churches, Pope Leo wrote two letters to Maximus[8], bishop of Antioch, and Theodoret[9], to engage them to lay a restraint upon them, telling

... Nunc vero pauciores e Romanæ ecclesiæ communicatoribus præsules, paucissimi vero presbyteri, docendi labore defunguntur: inter urbicos pontifices vix unus ab anno Domini M. aliquoties, si Surio [Comment. Rer. in orbe Gest.] singulari testi, fides, concionatus Pius V. obstupescentem miraculi novitate Romam perculit.

[3] Vid. Euseb. l. 6. c. 3. (v. 1. p. 260. 15.) Ἔτος δ' ἦγεν ὀκτωκαιδέκατον, καθ' ὃ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως προέστη διδασκαλείου.

[4] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 36. (t. 2. p. 861.)...Ubi a Marco evangelista semper ecclesiastici fuere doctores, &c.

[5] B. 7. ch. 2. s. 7. v. 2. p. 334.

[6] Ep. 55. ad Riparium. [juxt. Ed. Vallars. Lib. cont. Vigilant. c. 16.] (t. 2. p. 401 a.)....Monachus non docentis [al. doctoris] sed plangentis habet officium.

[7] Ep. 1. [al. 14.] ad Heliodor. (t. 1. p. 33 d.)...Alia monachorum est causa, alia clericorum: clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor.

[8] Ep. 60. al. 62. (ap. C. Calched. part. 3. c. 17. CC. t. 4. p. 885 b.) Illud quoque...convenit præcavere, ut præter eos, qui sunt Domini sacerdotes, nullus sibi jus docendi et prædicandi audeant vindicare, sive sit ille monachus, sive laicus, qui alicujus scientiæ nomine glorietur.

[9] Ep. 61. al. 63. (CC. t. 3. p. 1348 c.)..Adjicientes et illud, quod

them, 'that besides the priests of the Lord, none ought to presume to take upon them the power of teaching or preaching, whether he were monk or layman, whatever knowledge he could pretend to.' Yet in some cases a special commission was given to a layman to preach, and then he might do it by the authority of the bishop's commission for that time. Thus Eusebius[10] says, Origen was approved by Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Cæsarea, to preach and expound the Scriptures publicly in the church, when he was only a layman. And when Demetrius of Alexandria made a remonstrance against this, as an innovation that had never been seen or heard of before, that a layman should preach to the people in the presence of bishops; Alexander replied in a letter, and told him he was much mistaken, for it was an usual thing in many places, where men were well qualified to edify the brethren, for bishops to entreat them to preach to the people. As Euelpis was requested by Neon at Laranda, and Paulinus by Celsus at Iconium, and Theodorus by Atticus at Synada. These had all special directions from their bishops to preach: and therefore whatever other irregularity or novelty there might be in the thing, it was not liable to the charge of usurpation. Hallier[11], a famous Sorbonne doctor, is of opinion that

nobis propter improbitatem monachorum quorundam regionis vestræ verbo mandastis per vicarios nostros, et hoc specialiter statuentes, ut præter Domini sacerdotes nullus audeat prædicare, seu monachus, sive ille sit laicus, qui cujuslibet scientiæ nomine glorietur.

[10] L. 6. c. 19. (v. 1. p. 283. 22.) ...Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο· ἔνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι, τάς τε θείας ἑρμηνεύειν Γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τῇδε ἐπίσκοποι, καίτοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα, αὐτὸν ἠξίουν. Ὅ καὶ αὐτὸ γένοιτ' ἂν ἔκδηλον, ἀφ' ὧν περὶ τούτου Δημητρίῳ γράφοντες, Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ Καισαρείας, ὧδέ πως ἀπολογοῦνται· προσέθηκε δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν, ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἠκούσθη, οὐδὲ νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων, λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν· οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. Ὅπου γοῦν εὑρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων· ὥσπερ ἐν Λαράνδοις Εὔελπις ὑπὸ Νέωνος· καὶ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ Παυλῖνος ὑπὸ Κέλσου· καὶ ἐν Συνάδοις Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ.— Epiphanius, Hær. 64. Origen. n. 2. (t. 1. p. 525 c.) seems to say he was then a presbyter; but it must be a mistake. Τὴν Παλαιστίνην, τουτέστι τῆς Ἰουδαίας κατοικεῖν γῆν εἵλετο. Ἀνελθὼν γοῦν εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὡς τοιοῦτος ἐξηγητὴς, καὶ λόγιος, προὐτρέπετο ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱερατείου· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πρεσβυτερίου κατηξιῶσθαι τὸ πρὶν, πρινὴ τοῦ θῦσαι. Προτρεπόμενοι [προτρεπομένων δὲ, Petav. in marg.] ὡς ἔφην, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰπεῖν, κ. τ. λ.

[11] De Hierarch. Eccles. l. 1. c. 7. (p. 67. summ.)...Laicis non nisi ex indulgentia illud attingere licere.— Conf. ibid. c. 8. art. 4. (p. 79.)....

they might do it by permission: and he thinks this may be deduced from that canon of the fourth Council of Carthage[12], which forbids a layman to teach in the presence of the clergy, except they request him to do it. If this relate to public teaching in the church, it implies that they might do it by special indulgence and concession.

The ancient author of the Comment upon the Epistles under the name of St. Ambrose[13] says, 'that in the beginning of Christianity, for the augmentation and increase of the Church, a general commission was granted unto all both to preach the Gospel and baptize, and explain the Scriptures in ecclesiastical assemblies. But when the Church had spread itself into all places, buildings were erected, and rulers and other officers were appointed, that no one among the clergy should presume to meddle with any office which he knew was not committed to his trust.' And hence it was that deacons in his time did not preach to the people, nor the inferior clergy nor laymen baptize. What he says of the Apostles' days must rest upon his authority. If he means an unlimited commission to all in general, without previous qualifications and examination of them, his opinion is certainly singular. But if he means only, that all who had extraordinary measures of spiritual gifts were allowed to exercise those gifts sometimes in preaching in public assemblies, without any external ordination besides the gift of the Spirit of prophecy, that is no more than what the best interpreters of those words of St. Paul, (1 Cor. 14, 31.) *Ye may all prophesy one by one*, commonly allow: that is, all who had the gift of prophecy, not every Christian, might use the word of exhortation[14] in the church. But then as such extraordi-

Quod si vero legantur aliqui laici Scripturarum sacrarum explicationem suscepisse, rarum illud fuit nec nisi ob ecclesiæ necessitatem vel utilitatem maximam indultum.

[12] C. 98. (t. 2. p. 1207 c.) Laicus, præsentibus clericis, nisi ipsis rogantibus [al. jubentibus], docere non audeat.

[13] In Eph. 4. [vv. 11, 12.] p. 948. (t. 2. append. p. 241 e.) Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare et baptizare, et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare. At ubi autem omnia loca circumplexa est Ecclesia, conventicula constituta sunt, et rectores et cætera officia in ecclesiis sunt ordinata, ut nullus de clero [al. clericis] auderet, qui ordinatus non esset, præsumere officium, quod sciret non sibi creditum vel concessum. .... Hinc ergo est, unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant, neque clerici vel laici baptizant.

[14] Vide Bezam in loc. (t. 3. p. 219.) Consolationem accipiant, παρακαλών-

nary gifts of the Spirit of prophecy were in a manner peculiar to the apostolical age, this could not be a rule to the following ages of the Church. And therefore when once these gifts were ceased, the Church went prudently by another rule, to allow none but such as were called by an ordinary commission to perform this office, except where some extraordinary natural endowments, such as were in Origen, answering in some measure to those spiritual gifts, made it proper to grant a license to laymen to exercise their talents for the benefit of the Church. Or else when necessity imposed the duty on deacons to perform the office of preaching, when the bishop and presbyters were by sickness or other means debarred from it. For the foresaid author plainly says that deacons in his time did not ordinarily *prædicare in populo, preach to the people*, as being an office to which they had no ordinary commission. And the same is said by the author of the Constitutions[15], and many others[16]. Therefore since deacons were not allowed this power, but only in some special cases, it is the less to be wondered that after the ceasing of spiritual gifts it should generally be denied to laymen.

Women never allowed to preach.

5. As to women, whatever gifts they could pretend to, they were never allowed to preach publicly in the church, either by the Apostle's rules or those of succeeding ages. The Apostle says expressly, "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak: but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law." (1 Cor. 14, 34.) And, "If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak

tas. Vel, exhortationem accipiant. Nam τὸ παρακαλεῖν tum hortari, tum consolari declarat.—Et Estium, (p. 377.) Non omnes fideles: quia jam dixerat, c. 12., *Numquid omnes prophetæ?* Sed omnes prophetiæ donum habentes, ut sensus sit,—Quamvis ex Spiritu prophetico loquamini, mirari tamen non debetis quod jubeam priorem tacere, et loquendi vices altari concedere. Nam in potestate vestra est eum servare ordinem, ut singulatim alius post alium, etiam omnes prophetetis. Certe in eo, quod dicit *omnes*, permittere videtur ut aliquando plures tribus in uno conventu prophetent.

[15] L. 3. c. 20. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 291.) Ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸν μὲν πρεσβύτερον διδάσκειν, ἀναφέρειν, βαπτίζειν, εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαόν· τὸν δὲ διάκονον ἐξυπηρετεῖσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις· τουτέστι, διακονεῖν· οὐ μὴν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διενεργεῖν.

[16] Vid. Vigil. Ep. ad Rustic. (CC. t. 5. p. 554 d.) Adjecistis etiam exsecranda superbia, quæ nec leguntur, nec sine sui pontificis jussione aliquando ordinis vestri homines præsumpserunt, auctoritatem vobis prædicationis contra omnem consuetudinem vel canones vindicare.

in the church." (ibid. 35.) And again, "Let the woman also learn in silence with all subjection. But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." (1 Tim. 2, 11.) And this rule was always strictly observed in the ancient Church. The same Council of Carthage which allows laymen to teach by permission, expressly forbids[17] women to do it in any case: 'Let not a woman, however learned or holy, presume to teach men in a public assembly.' But they might teach women in private, as private catechists to prepare catechumens for baptism. For the same Council of Carthage requires this as one qualification in deaconesses[18], when they were ordained, 'that they should be so well instructed and expert in their office, as to be able to teach the ignorant and rustic women how to make their responses to the interrogatories which the minister should put to them in baptism, and how to order their conversation afterward.' And the author of the Short Notes upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Jerom[19], says, 'that deaconesses were thus employed in all the Eastern Churches, both to minister to their own sex in baptism and in the ministry of the word, to teach women privately, but not in public.'

This matter was carried much further in many heretical assemblies: for they ordained women priests, which the author of the Constitutions[20] calls an heathenish practice: for the Christian law allowed of no such custom. Tertullian[21] says they allowed women to teach and dispute in their assemblies, and to exorcize demoniacs, and administer baptism: all which

[17] C. 99. (t. 2. p. 1207 d.) Mulier, quamvis docta et sancta, viros in conventu docere non præsumat.

[18] C. 12. (ibid. p. 1201 a.) Viduæ vel sanctimoniales, quæ ad ministerium baptizandarum mulierum eliguntur, tam instructæ sint ad officium, ut possint apto et sano sermone docere imperitas et rusticas mulieres, tempore quo baptizandæ sunt, qualiter baptizatori interrogatæ respondeant, et qualiter, accepto baptismate, vivant.

[19] In Rom. 16, 1. (t. 11. p. 898 e.) Sicut etiam nunc in orientalibus diaconissæ [mulieres] in suo sexu ministrare videntur in baptismo, sive ministerio verbi, quia privatim docuisse fœminas invenimus, &c.

[20] L. 3. c. 9. (Cotel. ibid. p. 282.) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσι διδάσκειν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐπετρέψαμεν, πῶς ἱερατεῦσαι ταύταις παρὰ φύσιν τις συγχωρήσει; τοῦτο γὰρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὸ ἀγνόημα, θηλείαις θεαῖς ἱερείας χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῆς Χριστοῦ διατάξεως.

[21] De Præscript. c. 41. (p. 217 c.) Ipsæ mulieres hæreticæ, quam procaces! quæ audeant docere, contendere, exorcismos agere, curationes repromittere, forsitan et tinguere.

was expressly, he says[22], against the rule of the Apostle, (1 Cor. 14, 35,) which is so far from allowing them to teach, that it does not allow them to ask questions or dispute publicly in the church. And whereas some pretended the authority of St. Paul for this, from a book called *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, he says that was a spurious book, and the author of it was convict and confessed the forgery, and was censured for it by the Church. The Montanists were a noted sect for giving this liberty to women, under pretence of inspiration by the Spirit: so that they had not only their prophetesses, such as Prisca and Maximilla, the first followers of Montanus, but also their women-bishops and women-presbyters, as Quintilla and Priscilla, who, as Epiphanius[23] and St. Austin[24] inform us, were dignified among the Pepuzians, a sub-division of the Montanists, with the highest offices of the priesthood. Epiphanius[25] brings the same charge against the Collyridians, so called from their offering *collyria*[26], or *cakes*, in sacrifice to the Virgin

[22] De Bapt. c. 17. (p. 231 a.) Petulantia autem mulieris, quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tinguendi jus sibi pariet: nisi si quæ nova bestia evenerit similis pristinæ: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat. Quod si quæ Paulo perperam ascripta sunt, ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt; sciant, in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse, loco decessisse. Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is docendi et tinguendi daret fœminæ potestatem, qui ne discere quidem constanter mulieri permisit? *Taceant*, inquit, *et domi maritos suos consulant*.—De Virgin. Veland. c. 9. (p. 178 a.) Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tinguere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris, nedum sacerdotalis officii, sortem sibi vindicare.

[23] Hær. 49. Pepuzian. n. 2. (t. 1. p. 418 c.) *Ἐπίσκοποί τε παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι γυναῖκες, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα.*

[24] De Hær. c. 27. Pepuzian. (t. 8. p. 10 d.).... Tantum dantes mulieribus principatum, ut sacerdotio quoque apud eos honorentur.

[25] Hær. 78. Antidicomar. n. 23. (t. 1. pp. 1054 d. 1055 a.) *Ὡς εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἀειπαρθένου κολλυρίδα τινὰ ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ συνάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα τῆς ἁγίας Παρθένου ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτρον τὶ πειρᾶσθαι ἀθεμίτῳ καὶ βλασφήμῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγματι, καὶ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτῆς ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν· ὅπερ τὸ πᾶν ἐστιν ἀσεβές, καὶ ἀθέμιτον, ἠλλοιωμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ κηρύγματος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος.*—Conf. Hær. Collyrid. nn. 2, 3. (p. 1059 d.) *Καὶ οὐδαμοῦ γυνὴ ἱεράτευσεν· ἐλεύσομαι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Καινὴν Διαθήκην· εἰ ἱερατεύειν γυναῖκες Θεῷ προσετάσσοντο ἢ κανονικόν τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδει μᾶλλον αὐτὴν τὴν Μαρίαν ἱερατείαν ἐπιτελέσαι ἐν Καινῇ Διαθήκῃ.*

[26] [Or rather from *κολλυρὶς*, as used by Epiphanius, where cited in the preceding note, which is the diminutive of *κολλύρα*, *a cake* or *roll of bread*. Κολλύριον, or *κολλούριον*, as in Hippocrates and other early writers, is properly a peculiar kind of *eye-salve*, so called from being made up in little *cakes* of the same sort of form as *κολλύραι*. See the Lexicons. See also before, b. 2.

Mary, against whom he disputes at large, not only for their idolatry in offering sacrifice to her, but also for their presumption in putting women into the priest's office; which was a thing never done among the people of God from the beginning of the world; and if it had been allowed to any, would doubtless have been granted to the Virgin Mary. Firmilian, in his Letter to Cyprian[26], mentions another such woman among the Cataphrygians, who pretended by the Spirit of prophecy to preach, and pray, and baptize, and offer the eucharist in their public assemblies. So that this was a common practice among the heretics, but always refuted and opposed by the Church of God, which always kept strictly to the Apostle's rule, not to suffer a woman to teach publicly in the church, whatever sanctity or learning she could pretend to, but to reserve this office to men, for whom it was originally appointed.

6. Having thus examined what persons were allowed to execute this office, we are next to inquire after what manner it was performed. And here we may observe, that they had sometimes two or three sermons preached in the same assembly, first by the presbyters, and then by the bishop, who usually, when present, closed up this part of the service with his paternal exhortation. The Author of the Constitutions[27] gives this

ch. 22. s. 7., the latter part of n. 49. —Comp. Jerem. 7, 18.... *The women knead their dough to make cakes to the Queen of Heaven, &c.* כַּוָּנִים, there used, is from כָּוָן, *a small cake* or *wafer offered to the gods*. Collate Gesenius with Buxtorf, who renders the word *liba, popana, placentæ effigiatæ, effigiem idoli habentes impressam, quod colebatur et cui offerebatur, &c.* The word is not noticed in Leigh's *Critica Sacra*. The Collyridians probably either continued or had revived this ancient idolatry, substituting another object of worship for Astarte. *Queen of Heaven*, by the way, is among the titles ascribed to the Holy Virgin in the Mariolatry of the Jesuits. ED.]

[26] Ep. 75. ad Cypr. p. 223. (p. 323.).... Emersit istic subito quædam mulier, quæ in extasi constituta propheten se præferret, et, quasi Sancto Spiritu plena, sic ageret.... Atque illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cætera, quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemtibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino, non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis, offerret; baptizaret quoque multos usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur.

[27] L. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 263.) Ὅταν ἀναγινωσκόμενον ᾖ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον, πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς στηκετώσαν μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας.... καὶ, ἐξῆς παρακαλείτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαὸν, ὁ καθεὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἅπαντες· καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὡς ἔοικε κυβερνήτης.

rule about it: 'When the Gospel is read, let the presbyters one by one, but not all, speak the word of exhortation to the people, and last of all the bishop, who is the governor or pilot of the ship.' And that thus it was in the Eastern Churches, whose customs that author chiefly represents, appears evidently from St. Chrysostom's sermons, which he preached when he was presbyter at Antioch. For in these [28] he plainly speaks of Flavian, the bishop, as designing to preach after him, whom he usually complimented in some such form as this: 'It is now time for me to keep silence, that our master may have time to speak.' And again [29], 'Let us remember these things and now attend to the more perfect admonition of our good master.' It would be as endless as it is needless, to relate all the passages that occur in Chrysostom [30] or other writers, such as St. Basil [31], Gregory Nyssen [32], Theodoret [33], St. Austin [34], and

[28] Hom. 2. de Verb. Esai. t. 3. p. 853. (t. 6. p. 111 b.) *Γενέσθω οὖν ἡμῖν καιρὸς τοῦ σιγῆσαι, ἵνα γένηται καιρὸς τῷ διδασκάλῳ τοῦ λαλῆσαι.*

[29] Hom. 3. ibid. p. 864. (ibid. p. 120 a.) *Ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες ἀναχωρήσωμεν οἴκαδε· μᾶλλον δὲ ταῦτα φυλάσσοντες δεξώμεθα καὶ τὴν τελειωτέραν τοῦ καλοῦ διδασκάλου παραίνεσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτερα, οἷα ἂν εἴη, ἔχει τὰ τῆς νεότητος δείγματα· τὰ δὲ τούτου, οἷα ἂν ᾖ, πλείονι* κεκόσμηται τῷ φρονήματι.*

[30] Hom. 31. de Philogon. t. 1. p. 399. (t. 1. p. 497 b.) *Ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφ' ἑτέραν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπόθεσιν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐπείγεται· διὰ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ πατρὶ, καὶ ζηλωτῇ τοῦ μακαρίου Φιλογονίου, ταῦτα καταλιπόντες εἰπεῖν, ἅτε ἀκριβέστερον ἡμῶν εἰδότι τὰ ἀρχαῖα πάντα, πρὸς ἑτέραν δημηγορίας ὁδὸν βαδιούμεθα.*—Hom. 48. de Roman. t. 1. p. 621. [de S. Roman. Orat. 11.] (t. 2. p. 622 a.) *Ἐβουλόμην ἄχρι τέλους ἐγχορεῦσαι τῇ τοῦ μάρτυρος ὑποθέσει· ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς συμμετρίας ἐπέστη καιρὸς, καί μοι σιωπᾶν ἐγκελεύεται· ὑμῖν τε γὰρ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἱκανὰ τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πατρὸς τὰ διδάγματα πρὸς τὸν τῶν ῥηθέντων ἀπαρτισμόν.* — Hom. 53. de Pœnitent. t. 1. p. 662. (ibid. p. 316 c.) [juxt. Ed. Savil. *Περὶ Νηστείας.* t. 6. p. 829. 39.]... *Ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· διόπερ ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φωνῆς ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκοῦσαι.*—Conf. Hom. 59. de Babyl. p. 721. (ibid. p. 531.)—Hom. 31. de Natal. Christ. t. 5. p. 476. (ibid. p. 354.) Hom. in Ps. 48. p. 813. (t. 5. p. 203.) Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. (t. 10. p. 332.)

[31] Hom. 18. in Barlaam. t. 1. p. 443. (t. 2. part. 1. p. 197 b.) *Ἀλλὰ τί παιδικοῖς ἐλαττῶ τὸν ἀριστέα ψελλίσμασι; Ταῖς μεγαλοπρεπεστέραις τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ὕμνων παραχωρήσωμεν γλώτταις· τὰς μεγαλοφωνοτέρας τῶν διδασκάλων ἐπ' αὐτῷ καλέσωμεν σάλπιγγας. Ἀνάστητέ μοι νῦν, ὦ λαμπροὶ τῶν ἀθλητικῶν κατορθωμάτων ζωγράφοι, τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κολοβωθεῖσαν εἰκόνα ταῖς ὑμετέραις μεγαλύνατε τέχναις, κ. τ. λ.*

[32] In suam Ordinat. (t. 2. p. 40 d.) *Οὐκ οὖν μηκύνωμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ, τὸ προοίμιον, ἐνασχολούμενοι τῷ θαύματι τῶν προλαβόντων· ἤδη κεκορεσμένοι ἐστὲ, ἤδη ἐπλουτήσατε· ὁ δὲ*

* [Montfaucon reads *πολιῷ* for *πλείονι*, which he defends thus: (ad calc. p. 120.) Sic duo codices MSS. et sic legit Erasmus. Unus *πλείῳ κεκόσμηται*. Editi *πλείονι κεκόσμηται*. *Πολιῷ* legendum; nam hic comparat juventutem suam Chrysostomus cum cana senectute Flaviani episcopi. ED.]

St. Jerom [35], who particularly reflects upon the contrary practice in some Churches, meaning Egypt and Africa, where the bishops allowed none to preach but themselves; which he thought was an indecent contempt of their presbyters, as if they either envied or disdained to hear them; when yet the apostolical rule was, "If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace: for ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted," (1 Cor. 14, 30, 31.) When two or more bishops happened to be present in the same assembly, it was usual for several of them to preach one after another, reserving the last place for the most honourable person; as St. Jerom [36] tells us, that Epiphanius and John, bishop of Jerusalem, preached together in the Church of Jerusalem: and nothing was more common than this practice at Constantinople, where a multitude of bishops were often present to attend the court, or advise with the patriarch about the affairs of the Church.

Sermons every day

7. In some places they had sermons every day, especially in

κόρος ἀπὸ γλυκασμάτων ἐστίν· τούτοις γὰρ ὑμᾶς ὁ προλαβὼν λόγος ἐτιθήνατο.

[33] In 1 Cor. 14. p. 31. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 262.) Αὕτη μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος ἡ τάξις ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις μεμένηκε, καὶ τῶν διδασκάλων οἱ μὲν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πανηγύρει, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ, τῷ λαῷ διαλέγονται.

[34] Serm. in Ps. 94. (t. 4. p. 1022 c.) Ego vellem, fratres, ut patrem nostrum potius audiremus: sed et hoc bonum est, ut patri obediamus. —In Ps. 95. (ibid. p. 1031 e.) Dominus et frater meus Severus adhuc differt lætitiam nostram de sermone, quem nobis debet. — In Ps. 131. (ibid. 1471 e.) Justum quidem erat, carissimi, ut fratrem potius audiremus collegam meum, præsentem omnibus nobis. Et modo non negavit, sed distulit. Et ideo hoc indico caritati vestræ, ut prior obtemperarem jubenti. Extorsit enim mihi, ut esset modo auditor meus, eo sane pacto, ut et ego sim ipsius.

[35] Ep. 2. [al. 52.] ad Nepotan. (t. 1. p. 260 e.) Pessimæ consuetudinis est in quibusdam ecclesiis, tacere presbyteros, et præsentibus episcopis non loqui quasi aut invideant, aut non dignentur audire, &c.

[36] Ep. 61. ad Pammach. c. 4. [al. Lib. cont. Ioan. Hierosol. c. 11.] (t. 2. p. 418 a.) Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando ad horam septimam invitatus populus spe sola, quasi postea auditurus Epiphanium esset, detinebatur, quid tunc concionatus sis, nempe contra Anthropomorphitas, qui simplicitate rustica Deum habere membra, quæ in divinis libris scripta sunt, arbitrantur, furens et indignans loquebaris: oculos et manus et totius corporis truncum in senem dirigebas, volens illum suspectum facere stultissimæ hæreseos. Postquam lassus ore arido, resupinaque cervice, ac trementibus labiis, conticuisti; et tandem totius populi vota completa sunt; quid tibi fecit delirus et fatuus senex? surrexit, ut se indicaret pauca dicturum esse, salutataque et voce et manu ecclesia, 'Cuncta,' inquit, 'quæ locutus est collegio frater, ætate filius, contra Anthropomorphitarum hæresin bene et fideliter locutus est,' &c.

Lent, and the festival days of Easter. St. Chrysostom's Homilies upon Genesis were preached in a running course of two Lents one day after another, as any one may perceive that peruses them. His famous Homilies *De Statuis* were preached in Lent after the same manner. And it were easy to note some scores of passages in his other sermons [37], especially in his first [38], third [39], and fifth [40] volumes, which make mention of their being preached successively one day after another. St. Jerom [41] observes the same practice among the monks of Egypt, where it was customary every day, after the singing of the Psalms, and reading of the Scriptures, and repeating of their prayers, for the Father, that was the title of the presbyter that presided over them, to make them a sermon to elevate their minds to the contemplation of the glory of the next world, which made every one of them, with a gentle sigh and eyes lift up to heaven, to say within himself; "O that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away and be at rest!" [Ps. 55, 6.] Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen [42], relates the same thing of him, that he was used to make ser- in some times and places.

[37] [The Author's citations are here also according to the Editio Ducæana. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 1. v. 4. p. 440. n. 2., with reference to the Paris Edition, 1609 and that of Commelin 1617. For the reason assigned in the last part of my additional note on that place I have again preserved the double verifications, distinguished as before by B. and S. Ed.]

[38] T. 1.—Hom. 25. (B. t. 2. p. 16. S. t. 6. p. 519.)—Hom. 32. (B. t. 1. p. 501. S. ibid. p. 425.)—Hom. 40. (B. t. 2. p. 578. S. t. 5. p. 533.)—Hom. 41. (B. ibid. p. 585. S. ibid. p. 482.)—Hom. 46. (B. ibid. p. 524. S. ibid. p. 529.)—Hom. 49. B. ibid. p. 628. S. ibid. p. 637.) —Hom. 71. (B. ibid. p. 704. S. ibid. p. 826.)

[39] T. 3. Expos. in Ps. 44. (B. t. 1. p. 160. S. t. 1. p. 631.)—Hom. 2. in Ps. 50. (B. int. Spur. ibid. p. 783 b. S. ibid. p. 702. 9.) Τὰ λείψανα τῆς χθεσινῆς τραπέζης ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν βούλομαι σήμερον.—Hom. 1. in Verb. Esai. (B. t. 6. p. 95 b. S. t. 5. p. 127. 23.) Πολλὴν ὁρῶ τὴν σπουδὴν ἐνδεικνυμένους ὑμᾶς εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὰ πρώην ἡμῖν εἰρημένα, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. 4. (B. ibid. p. 120 d. S. ibid. p. 144. 23.) Λάμπρον ἡμῖν τήμερον τὸ θέατρον γέγονε, καὶ φαιδρὸς ὁ σύλλογος. Τί ποτε ἄρα τὸ αἴτιον; τῶν χθὲς σπερμάτων καρπὸς, ὁ σήμερον θερισμός· χθὲς ἐφυτεύσαμεν, καὶ σήμερον τρυγῶμεν.—Hom. 5. init. (B. ibid. p. 131 c. S. ibid. p. 151. 20.) Φέρε, τήμερον, κ. τ. λ.

[40] T. 5. Hom. 2. de Lazar. (B. t. 1. p. 727 d. S. t. 5. p. 234. 31.)... Ὅτε τὸν περὶ τοῦ Λαζάρου πρώην ἐκίνησα λόγον κ. τ. λ.—Hom. 30. (B. t. 1. p. 762. S. t. 5. p. 418.)—Hom. 34. (B. t. 2. p. 397. S. ibid. p. 563.) —Hom. 48. (B. ibid. p. 512. S. t. 8. p. 57.)—Hom. 56. (B. t. 1. p. 601. S. t. 6. p. 385.)—Hom. 62. (B. t. 2. p. 667. S. t. 5. p. 618.—Hom. 63. (B. ibid. p. 246. S. t. 6. p. 680.)

[41] Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 408. n. 56.

[42] Int. Oper. Origen. t. 1. p. 756. (ap. Galland. t. 5. p. 9. c. 11.).... Tractatus, quos pene quotidie habebat in ecclesia, &c.

mons extempore almost every day to the people: and a man cannot look into St. Austin's Homilies, but he will find references made almost every where [43] to the sermon made *heri*, and *hesterno die, the day before*, which either denotes some day in the weekly course, or at least some festival of a martyr. For the festivals of the martyrs were always kept with great solemnity, and they never omitted to make a panegyrical homily upon those days, to excite the people to imitate the virtue of the martyrs. As appears from St. Austin's Sermons *De Sanctis*, and in abundance throughout St. Chrysostom's works [44] upon such occasions. [both according to Sir Henry Savil's edition, and that of the Benedictines.] In France also Cæsarius, the famous bishop of Arles, preached almost every day. For he is said, by the writer of his Life [45], to have made Homilies to the people frequently both at morning and evening prayer, that none of them might have the excuse of ignorance to plead in their behalf. And the Council of Trullo has a canon [46] to promote this practice.

ermons wice a day n many laces.

8. And this leads us to another observation proper to be made in this matter, which is, that in many places they had

[43] In Ps. 58. Serm. 2. (t. 4. p. 569 e.) Hesternus sermo protractus debitorem me in hodiernum reliquit.—In Ps. 63. (p. 618 b.) Hesterno enim die multa audivit caritas vestra, nec hodie tamen huic festivitati [scil. Passioni S. Martyrum] negare potuimus nostram servitutem.—In Ps. 68. Serm. 2. (p. 700 f.) Posterior pars psalmi, de quo hesterno die locuti sumus caritati vestræ, hodie nobis explicanda remanserat. — In Ps. 70. Serm. 2. (p. 733 c.) Commendavimus hesterno die titulum ejus, &c.—In Ps. 90. Serm. 2. (p. 970 d.).... Qui hesterno die sermoni affuistis, psalmum, quem cœperamus exponere, ne ad terminum perveniret, angustia temporis impedivit... Hoc, qui heri affuistis, recordamini: qui non affuistis, agnoscite.—In Ps. 101. Serm. 2. (p. 1101 g.) Hesterno die audivimus cujusdam pauperis gemitum in oratione, &c.—Et passim in Sermonibus de Tempore et de Sanctis.

[44] T. 1. Serm. de Philogon. (B. t. 1. p. 492. S. t. 5. p. 505.)—Serm. 40. de Juventin. (B. t. 2. p. 578. S. ibid. p. 533.)—De Pelag. (B. ibid. p. 585. S. ibid. p. 482.)—De Ignat. (B. ibid. p. 592. S. ibid. p. 498.)—De Roman. (B. ibid. p. 611. S. ibid. p. 488.)—De Melit. (B. ibid. p. 518. S. ibid. p. 537.)—De Julian. (B. ibid. p. 671. S. ibid. p. 621.)—De Lucian. (B. ibid. p. 524. S. ibid. p. 529.)—De Bernic. (B. ibid. p. 634. S. ibid. p. 473.)—De Eustath. (B. ibid. p. 603. S. ibid. p. 628.), &c.—See also what has been observed before of their preaching on Saturdays, and the stationary days, in the former book, ch. 9. ss. 2 and 3. v. 4. pp. 525, 527.

[45] Cyprianus Gallus, s. Tolonensis, Vit. Cæsarii, c. 4. ap. Mabillon. de Curs. Gallican. c. 2. s. 30. (p. 404.) Frequenter etiam ad matutinos et lucernarium propter advenientes recitabat homilias, ut nullus esset qui se de ignorantia excusaret.

[46] C. 19. See before, s. 2. p. 100. n. 87.

twice a day for the better edification of the people. rndike and Hamon L'Estrange, make a little question s to the extent of the practice. The former [47] says, re examples of preaching as well evening as morning ncient Church, but only at particular times, and on r occasions, and therefore he is not satisfied of any ustom of the Church.' The other [48] says, 'the custom evailed at Cæsarea in Cappadocia, where St. Basil d at Cyprus.' St. Basil preached some of his Homilies e *Hexaemeron* [49] at evening prayer. But he [L'E- thinks Socrates [50] confines the custom to those places,

rndike, of Religious As- ch. 10. s. 94. p. 405. (Re- 76.) There are examples ng, &c.

trange, of Divine Offices, 98. (Reprint, p. 140.)... rndike demands to see, e these afternoon sermons he public service of the hurch? If by Church he the catholic and universal or the greatest and most ble parcels of it, that place cannot be found, nor is mention thereof any where, f Cappadocia and Cyprus pted. Of these Socrates . [? 6.] c. 21.) saith: *Cæ- padociæ, et in Cypro, die et Dominica semper sub , accensis lucernis, presby- scopi Scripturas interpre-* . And this, I take, is the ay St. Basil, who was bi- hat Cæsarea, preached so milies, (evidently the se- nth, and ninth of his hex- at the evening.—See the . Ed.]

Hexaemer. Hom. 2. (t. 1. p. 16 a. n. 1.) Μικροῖς ατρίψαντες ῥήμασι τοσοῦ- τερυμμένον τὸ βάθος τῆς ὕρομεν, ὥστε τῶν ἐφεξῆς ποογνῶναι.—Hom. 7. (ibid. . c.) Γένοιτο δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐν ψει τῆς τροφῆς ἐπιτραπέζια , ὅσα τε ἔωθεν ὑμῖν καὶ ἦν ἑσπέραν ἐπῆλθεν ὁ λόγος. . (ibid. p. 112 a. n. 1.) Πῶς σθυνὴ τῶν λόγων τράπεζα κατεφάνη;

[50] L. 6. c. 21. [This citation is incorrect as well as the reference to Socrates by Hamon L'Estrange, (see n. 48, preceding.) There is no *ninth* Book of Socrates, and ch. 21. of the *sixth* has nothing whatever to the purpose. The passage occurs in the *fifth* Book, ch. 22. (Ed. Cantabr. 1720. t. 2. p. 297. 15.) Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Καππαδοκίας καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτου καὶ Κυριακῆς ἀεὶ περὶ ἑσπέραν μετὰ τῆς λυχναψίας οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι τὰς Γραφὰς ἐξερμηνεύουσι. The title of the chapter (p. 291.) is, *Judicium hujus Historiæ scriptoris de discrepantia, quæ quibusdam in locis cernitur, tam in Festo Paschali quam in Baptismo, et Jejuniis, et Collectis, aliisque Ecclesiasticis Ritibus.* The chapter is one of great value by reason of its unequivocal testimony to the diversity of practice in different orthodox Churches of the Historian's era, 439; and it is rather remarkable that my ancestor should have committed the same mistake as Hamon L'Estrange had done before him, especially considering that he cites other parts of this chapter no less than twenty times in various places of his work, and the very passage in question, word for word, in his second book, ch. 3. s. 4. (see v. 1. p. 76. n. 95.) where he speaks of *preaching* as one of the episcopal offices. His first volume, however, containing that book was published in 1710; his fifth, containing the fourteenth book,

because he speaks of it 'as a peculiar usage of those places to have sermons made by bishops and presbyters on Saturdays and Sundays at candle-light in the evening.' Bishop Wettenhal [51] was of a different judgment: he thinks that in cities and greater churches it was usual 'for the pastors to preach on Sundays both morning and afternoon.' And he supports his opinion from several testimonies of Chrysostom, who entitles one of his Homilies [52], 'An exhortation to those who were ashamed to come to sermon after dinner.' And in another [53], he inveighs against them, who condemned his usage of preaching after dinner, as a new and strange custom, telling them, 'he had much more reason to condemn that wicked custom then prevailing among some, to rise from table to sleep.' In another place [54] he defends his practice from our Saviour's long sermon to his disciples after his last supper, and in another Homily, preached to the people of Antioch, he [55] highly commends them 'for coming to church in the afternoon in a full audience.' All these are cited by Wettenhal, to which may be added what he says in his Homily of Satan's Temptations [56],

and consequently the passage before us, not till nine years afterwards. Had his valuable life been spared for the publication of the new edition which he contemplated, without doubt this error would have been detected and removed. Ed.]

[51] Duty of Preaching, ch. 3. (p. 779.) Upon the whole then it is evident that it was the practice of the Primitive Church to spend the Lord's-day wholely, as far as was consistent with necessities and honest conveniences, in holy exercises; and particularly that at least in cities and greater churches, it was usual that the pastors thereof preached on that day, forenoon and afternoon.

[52] Hom. 10. in Gen. (t. 4. p. 71 d.) *Προτροπὴ πρὸς τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας μετὰ τὴν ἑστίασιν παραβαλεῖν τῇ συνάξει κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν, κ. τ. λ.*

[53] Hom. 1. de Lazar. (t. 1. p. 719 c.) *Οἶδα, ὅτι πολλοὶ καταγνώσονται τῶν λεγομένων, ὡς καινήν τινα καὶ παράδοξον συνήθειαν εἰσαγόντων τῷ βίῳ· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μειζόνως τῆς πονηρᾶς καταγνώσομαι συνηθείας, τῆς νῦν κατεχούσης ἡμᾶς· ὅτι γὰρ μετὰ τροφὴν καὶ τράπεζαν, οὐχ ὕπνον, οὐδὲ εὐνὴν, ἀλλ' εὐχὰς καὶ θείων γραφῶν ἀναγνωσιν διαδέχεσθαι χρή.*

[54] Hom. 9. ad Popul. Antioch. p. 121. (t. 2. p. 97 d.) *Ὁ τραπέζης, ὡς ἔοικε, μετασχὼν αἰσθητῆς ἐνόμισεν ἀνάξιον εἶναι, μετὰ τροφὴν αἰσθητὴν ἐπὶ θείων λογίων ἀκρόασιν ἐλθεῖν· ἀλλ' οὐ δικαίως τοῦτο νομίζουσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν, εἰ τοῦτο ἦν ἄτοπον, τοὺς μακροὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνήλωσεν ὁ Χριστὸς λόγους μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐκεῖνο τὸ μυστικόν.*

[55] Hom. 10. ibid. p. 131. (ibid. p. 105 d.) *Χαίρω καὶ συγχαίρω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν, ὅτι τὴν παραίνεσιν ἡμῶν, ἣν ὑπὲρ τῶν μὴ νηστευόντων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπολιμπανομένων ἐποιησάμεθα πρώην, εἰς ἔργον ὑμεῖς ἐξηνέγκατε· καὶ γὰρ πολλοὺς οἶμαι τῶν ἡριστηκότων παρεῖναι τήμερον, καὶ τὸν καλὸν ἡμῖν σύλλογον τοῦτον πληροῦν.*

[56] Hom. 25. de Diabolo Tentatore, t. 1. p. 318. (ibid. p. 260 d.) *Ὁ μὲν Ἰσαὰκ, ἐπιθυμήσας ποτὲ ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ παιδὸς φαγεῖν, τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὴν θήραν ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας· οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἰσαὰκ ἐπιθυμήσας ἄριστον ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων χειρῶν*

'that the bishop attended his sermons, which he preached both morning and afternoon.' For that sermon was preached in the afternoon the same day, that he had preached his twenty-first sermon to the newly-baptized, as he there expressly tells us. So again it appears that the fifteenth and nineteenth Homilies to the people of Antioch against oaths [57] were preached on the same day. And his Homily of bearing Reproof patiently was an evening sermon. For there [58] he thus addresses himself to the people: 'Be not weary, though the evening now be come upon us. For all our discourse is in defence of Paul, that Paul, who taught his disciples three years night and day.' In his Homily upon Elias and the Widow [59], he says, one of his Lent discourses 'was broken off by the evening coming upon them.' And in one of his Homilies upon Genesis [60], he as plainly intimates, that he was then preaching an evening sermon; for he makes this apostrophe to the people: 'I am expounding the Scriptures, and ye all turn your eyes from me to the lamps, and him that is lighting the lamps. What negligence is this, so to forsake me and set your minds on him! For I am lighting a fire from the holy Scriptures, and in my

λαβεῖν, οὐχ ἡμᾶς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔδραμε τράπεζαν. Τί τούτου φιλοστοργότερον γένοιτ' ἄν; τί δὲ ταπεινότερον; ὃς οὕτω θερμὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἀγάπην κατηξίωσεν, καὶ τοσοῦτον καταβῆναι ἠνέσχετο; Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸν τόνον τῆς φωνῆς, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν πολλῶν * καταβαλόντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐωθινῆς διαλέξεως, ἰδόντες τὴν πατρικὴν ὄψιν, εὐθέως ἐπελαθόμεθα τῆς ἀσθενείας, ἀπεθέμεθα τὸν ὄκνον· κ. τ. λ.

[57] Hom. 15. t. 1. p. 198. (ibid. p. 151.)—Hom. 19. ibid. (ibid. p. 188.)

[58] Hom. 13. t. 5. p. 722. (t. 3. p. 125 a.) Ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἀποκάμητε, κἂν ἑσπέρα καταλάβοι· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ Παύλου πᾶς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος, Παύλου τοῦ τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τοὺς μαθητὰς διδάσκοντας.

[59] Hom. 54. ibid. p. 722. (ibid. p. 328 a.) Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, αἷς ἐνηστεύομεν ἅπαντες, τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης πολλάκις ἑλόμενος κινῆσαι λόγους, ἐξεκρούσθην, τῆς ἑσπέρας καταλαμβανούσης καὶ τοῦ λόγου διακοπτούσης ἡμῖν τὸν δρόμον.

[60] Hom. 4. in Gen. t. 2. p. 902. (t. 4. p. 662 c.) Περὶ Γραφῶν ὑμῖν διηγούμεθα, ὑμεῖς δὲ, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀποστήσαντες ἡμῶν, πρὸς τὰς λαμπάδας καὶ τὸν τὰς λαμπάδας ἅπτοντα μετεστήσατε, καὶ πόσης τοῦτο ῥᾳθυμίας, ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας τούτῳ προσέχειν; πῦρ ἀνάπτω κἀγὼ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Γραφῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γλώττης τῆς ἡμετέρας λαμπάδιον καίεται, τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας· τοῦτο μεῖζον καὶ βέλτιον τὸ φῶς ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ θρυαλλίδα διάβροχον ἐλαίῳ, καθάπερ οὗτος, ἐξάπτομεν, ἀλλὰ ψυχὰς ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ ἀρδομένας τῇ τῆς ἀκροάσεως ἀνάπτομεν ἐπιθυμίᾳ.

* [The Benedictine reads *ποδῶν* for *πολλῶν*, and remarks (vid. not. in loc. ad calc. p. 260.) .. Hanc lectionem affert in notis Fronto Ducæus, quæ utique vera et germana est; contra vero illa, quam præfert edit. Morel., *τῶν πολλῶν*, vitiata, ut ex serie liquet. Ed.]

tongue is a burning lamp of doctrine. This is a greater and a better light than that. For we do not set up a light like that moistened with oil, but we inflame souls, that are watered with piety, with a desire of hearing.' The whole allusion and similitude shows, that he was preaching an evening sermon, when candles were lighting, which gave him the hint to draw the comparison between the material light of the lamps, and the spiritual light of the Scriptures. And in his third Homily of Repentance[61], to name no more, he says, 'he would continue his discourse *to the evening*,—ἕως ἑσπέρας,—that he might finish the subject he was then handling.' From all which it is apparent, this was no occasional usage in St. Chrysostom's church, but his constant and ordinary practice.

In the Latin Church we sometimes meet with examples of this kind, though not so frequent. St. Austin not only preached every day, but sometimes twice on the same day; as is evident from the two sermons on the 88th Psalm[62], in the latter of which he says, 'he had preached before in the morning, and remained in their debt for the afternoon.' Gaudentius[63] also, bishop of Brixia, speaks of his having preached twice on the vigil before Easter. And it is probable, the same solemnity was observed in like manner in other places. For at this solemnity especially they made a distinction in their sermons, preaching one to the catechumens, and another to the neophytes, or persons newly baptized. As Gaudentius says in the same place[64], 'that his second sermon was preached to the neophytes.' The like is said by St. Ambrose[65], and Theodo-

[61] Hom. 3. [Bened. 8. Savil. 4.] de Pœnitent. t. 4. p. 559. (t. 2. p. 342 e.) Οὐκ ἀφίσταμαι ἕως ἑσπέρας, ἕως οὗ αὐτὸ λύσω.

[62] In Ps. 88. Serm. 2. (t. 4. p. 945 d.) Ad reliqua psalmi, de quo in matutino locuti sumus, animum intendite, et pium debitum exigite.

[63] Tract. 4. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 5. p. 949 c.) Carnalem Judaicæ Paschæ observantiam, spiritualibus typis refertam, trino jam tractatu docuimus; semel hesterno die, et bis in vigiliis.

[64] Tract. 5. (ibid. p. 950 a. 4.) .... Quia oportebat in illa nocte vigiliarum secundo tractatu .... congrua neophytis explanari.

[65] De iis qui mysteriis initiantur, [al. De Mysteriis] c. 1. n. 1. (t. 2. p. 325 b.) De moralibus quotidianum sermonem habuimus, cum vel patriarcharum gesta, vel proverbiorum legerentur præcepta; ut his informati atque instituti assuesceretis majorum ingredi vias, eorumque iter carpere, ac divinis obedire oraculis; quo, renovati per baptismum, ejus vitæ usum teneretis, quæ ablutos deceret. Nunc de mysteriis dicere tempus admonet, atque ipsam sacramentorum rationem edere: quam

ret[66], and St. Austin[67], as I have had occasion to show in another place[68], in speaking of the distinction that was made between the catechumens and the faithful: to the former they preached only upon moral subjects, to the latter upon mystical points of religion, and abstruser articles of faith. Therefore St. Austin says in another place[69], 'there were some points which required more intent auditors, and therefore the preacher was not to hasten them, but defer them to another opportunity.' And in another Homily upon Easter-day[70], he excuses the shortness of it, 'because he was to preach again to the infants,' as they then called all persons newly baptized. Cyril's Mystical Catechisms were of this kind. And probably those Mystical Homilies of Origen, whereof he wrote two books, mentioned by Ruffin and St. Jerom[71], were of the same nature. However, we have seen sufficient evidence otherwise for more sermons than one upon the same day upon many occasions.

Not so frequent in country villages.

9. But this is chiefly to be understood of cities and large churches: for in the country-parishes there was not such frequent preaching. St. Chrysostom[72] says, 'they that lived in the city enjoyed continual teaching; but they that dwelt in the country had not such plenty: therefore God compensated this want of teachers with a greater abundance of martyrs, and so

ante baptismum si putassemus insinuandam nondum initiatis, prodidisse potius quam edidisse æstimaremur.

[66] Quæst. 15. in Num. (t. 1. part. 1. p. 230.) Ἀσήμως γὰρ διὰ τοὺς ἀμυήτους περὶ τῶν θείων διαλεγόμεθα μυστηρίων· τούτων δὲ χωριζομένων, σαφῶς τοὺς μεμυημένους διδάσκομεν.

[67] Serm. 1. ad Neophyt. in append. t. 10. p. 845. (t. 6. p. 288 d.) ... Dimissis jam catechumenis, vos tantum ad audiendum retinuimus, etc.

[68] B. 1. ch. 4. s. 8. v. 1. p. 34.

[69] Tract. 62. in Ioan. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 670 a.) .... Intentior flagitatur auditor: et ideo eum præcipitare non debet, sed differre potius disputator.

[70] Hom. 82. de Diversis, [al. Serm. 226.] (t. 5. p. 973 a, b.) Satis sint vobis pauca ista, quoniam et post laboraturi sumus, et de sacramentis altaris hodie infantibus disputandum est.

[71] Invect. 2. cont. Hieron., cited by Valesius, Not. in Euseb. l. 6. c. 24. (v. 1. p. 88. n. 4.) Hieronymus in libro quodam, qui citatur a Ruffino in Apologia 2 adversus Hieronymum, indiculum texens librorum Origenis, ita ait; *Scripsit in Genesim libros* 13. *Mysticarum Homiliarum libros duos, &c.*

[72] Hom. 65. de Martyribus. t. 5. p. 973. (t. 2. p. 651 d.) Οἱ μὲν τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες συνεχοῦς ἀπολαύουσι διδασκαλίας· οἱ δὲ ἐν ἀγροικίᾳ ζῶντες, οὐ τοσαύτης μετέχουσι ἀφθονίας· τὴν πενίαν τοίνυν τῶν διδασκόντων ἐν τῇ δαψιλείᾳ τῶν μαρτύρων παραμυθούμενος ὁ Θεὸς ὠκονόμησε πλείους παρ' ἐκείνοις ταφῆναι μάρτυρας. Οὐκ ἀκούουσι διδασκάλων γλώττης ἐκεῖνοι διηνεκῶς, ἀλλὰ μαρτύρων φωνῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου διαλεγομένης αὐτοῖς καὶ μείζονα ἰσχὺν ἐχούσης.

ordered it, that more martyrs lay buried in the country than in the city; where, though they could not hear the tongues of their teachers continually, yet they always heard the voice of the martyrs speaking to them from their graves, and that with greater force of eloquence and persuasion than living teachers could do,' as he there goes on after his manner to describe it. There were sometimes great assemblies held at these monuments of the martyrs: for on their anniversary festivals the whole city went forth to celebrate their memorials in the churches where they lay buried; as Chrysostom tells us both here and in other places[73]: but at other times their chief resort for preaching was to the city-churches. It was not till the beginning of the sixth century that preaching was generally set up throughout the country-parishes in the French Church: but about that time an order was made in the Council of Vaison[74], anno 529, 'that for the edification of all the Churches, and the greater benefit of the whole body of the people, presbyters should have power to preach not only in the cities, but in all the country-parishes: and if the presbyter was infirm, a deacon should read one of the homilies of the holy Fathers.' So that in this respect the state of the present Church may be reckoned happier than that of the ancient Church; since there is scarce a country-parish among us but has a sermon preached every Lord's-day throughout the year by a presbyter or deacon.

10. The next thing to be observed is, their different sorts of sermons, and different ways of preaching. I have already[75] noted some difference to have been made between sermons to

[73] Hom. 67. de S. Droside. p. 989. (t. 2. p. 689 b.) Ἔνδον μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνδιατρίβοντας οὐ σφόδρα εἰκὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα μελετᾷν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν· ἐξελθόντας ἔξω τειχῶν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς τάφους τούτους ἐλθόντας, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατοιχομένων θεασαμένους, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἑκόντας καὶ ἄκοντας τούτους ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως δέξασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, καὶ δεξαμένους ὑψηλοτέρους γενέσθαι, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰ βιωτικὰ πράγματα συμπαθείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι.—Ibid. p. 990. (ibid. p. 690 a.) Διὰ δὴ ταῦτα καὶ τὸν γενναῖον τοῦτον θαυμάζω πατέρα, ὅτι γαληνῆς ἡμέρας ἐπιλαβόμενος ἐνταῦθα ἡμᾶς ἐξήγαγε, προηγουμένης δὲ καὶ ὁδηγούσης τῆς μακαρίας Δροσίδος, ἧς τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν.—[These two homilies, De Martyribus and De S. Droside, are wanting in the Savilian edition, Eton. 1613. Ed.]

[74] C. Vasens. ii. [al. iii.] c. 2. (t. 4. p. 1680 a.) Hoc etiam pro ædificatione omnium ecclesiarum, et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in civitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parochiis, verbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, &c.

[75] See before, s. 8. p. 119, with nn. 65, 66, 67, 69, 70, preceding.

the catechumens, and sermons to the faithful; but that was chiefly in the matter and subject of them. What I observe here relates more to the manner and method of preaching; in which respect they were distinguished into four kinds. 1. Expositions of Scripture. 2. Panegyrical discourses upon the saints and martyrs. 3. Sermons upon particular times, occasions, and festivals. 4. Sermons upon particular doctrines and moral subjects, to illustrate the truth against heresy, and recommend the practice of virtue in opposition to immorality and ungodliness. There are examples of all these kinds in St. Chrysostom's and St. Austin's homilies, the two great standards and patterns of preaching in the Greek and Latin Church.

St. Austin has some homilies upon whole books of Scripture, as those upon the Psalms and St. John's Gospel. He has others, styled *De Sanctis*, which are panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs: others, styled *De Tempore*, which are upon the festivals and great solemnities of the Church, such as the Nativity, Epiphany, Lent, Passion, Easter, Pentecost, and the Lord's-days throughout the year; others, styled *De Diversis*, which are a miscellany upon doctrinal points and moral subjects.

So likewise in Chrysostom, we have his homilies by way of exposition on the whole book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, and all St. Paul's Epistles. Then again, his panegyrics upon the saints and martyrs; his homilies upon the noted festivals, Easter, Pentecost, &c.; and lastly, his moral and doctrinal discourses upon various subjects,—repentance, faith, charity, humility, the truth of the Christian religion, the Divinity of Christ, and such important subjects as the occasion of the times, and the opposition of Jews, Gentiles, and heretics required him to discourse upon, in a plain and familiar way, to the people. His homilies, by way of exposition of any book of Scripture, usually consist but of two parts, an exposition of some portion of a chapter, and an *ethicon* or *moral conclusion* upon some useful subject, which the last part of the words expounded gave him the hint or occasion to discourse upon. But his other homilies are commonly introduced with an useful preface, not relating always to the subject that was to follow, but such as the occasional

necessities of his auditory, either in matters of reproof or commendation seemed to require. But in both these ways he still excelled in this, that he always expounded the Scripture in its most natural and genuine sense, not giving way to tropological descants, as too many others did, and made such useful observations and reflections upon it as were pertinent and proper, which he applied to his hearers with the strongest reasoning, and utmost force of divine eloquence, becoming the seriousness and gravity of a Christian orator.

It is a just character which a late learned critic[76] gives him, and therefore I think it not improper here to transcribe it, for the encouragement of all young students to read him. 'His eloquence is popular, and very proper for preaching; his style is natural, easy, and grave; he equally avoids negligence and affectation; he is neither too plain nor too florid; he is smooth, yet not effeminate; he uses all the figures that are usual to good orators very properly, without employing false strokes of wit; and he never introduces into his discourses any notions of poets or profane authors; neither does he divert his auditory with jests. His composition is noble, his expressions elegant, his method just, and his thoughts sublime; he speaks like a good father and a good pastor; he often directs his words to the people, and expresses them with a tenderness and charity becoming an holy bishop; he teaches the principal

[76] Du Pin, Biblioth. v. 3. p. 34. (t. 3. p. 38.) Ce père est un des plus éloquens orateurs Chrêtiens, et son éloquence est d'autant plus estimable, qu'elle est sans affectation et sans contrainte. Il a une fertilité et une abondance de paroles et de pensées qui lui est tout à fait naturelle: quoi qu'il ne se soit pas attaché, comme Saint Gregoire de Nazianze et Saint Basile, à une pureté Attique, il y a néanmoins beaucoup d'élévation et de grandeur dans son stile. Sa diction est pure et agréable, son discours est orné d'une varieté admirable de pensées et de figures, il amplifie sa matière par un nombre infini de tours différens; il est ingénieux à trouver des convenances, et fertile en exemples et en comparaisons; son éloquence est populaire et très-propre à la prédication; son stile est naturel, facile, et grave; il évite également et la négligence et la trop grande affectation; il n'est ni trop simple ni trop fleuri; il est poli sans être efféminé; il employe fort à propos toutes les figures dont les bons orateurs ont coûtume de se servir: mais il ne s'étudie point à faire de fausses pointes, ni à faire entrer dans son discours des pensées des poëtes et des auteurs prophanes, ni à divertir par des railleries. Sa composition est noble, ses expressions élevées, sa méthode juste, ses pensées sublimes; il parle en bon père et en bon pasteur; il adresse souvent la parole à son peuple, et lui parle avec une bonté et une charité dignes d'un saint évêque. Il enseigne les principales veritez du Christianisme avec une clarté admirable; il divertit par

truths of Christianity with a wonderful clearness, and diverts with a marvellous art, and an agreeable way of ranging his notions, and persuades by the strength and solidity of his reasons. His instructions are easy, his descriptions and relations pleasant. His inducements so meek and insinuating, that one is pleased to be so persuaded. His discourses, how long soever, are not tedious, there are still some new things that keep the reader awake, and yet he hath no false beauties nor useless figures; his only aim is to convert his auditors, or to instruct them in necessary truths. He neglects all reflections that have more of subtilty than profit; he never busies himself to resolve hard questions, nor to give mystical senses, to make a show of his wit or eloquence; he searches not into mysteries, neither endeavours to comprehend them; he is contented to propose, after an easy way, palpable and sensible truths, which none can be ignorant of without danger of failing of salvation. He particularly applies himself to moral heads, and very seldom handleth speculative truths; he affects not to appear learned, and never boasts of his erudition: and yet, whatever the subject be, he speaks with terms so strong, so proper, and so well chosen, that one may easily perceive he had a profound knowledge of all sorts of matters, and particularly of true divinity.'

This is the character which that judicious critic gives that famous and eloquent preacher: and he that will diligently

l'artifice merveilleux et la disposition agréable de ses pensées, et il persuade par la force et par la solidité de ses raisonnemens. Ses instructions sont faciles, ses descriptions et ses narrations agréables, ses mouvemens si doux et si insinuans, que l'on prend plaisir à se laisser persuader. Ses discours, quelques longs qu'ils soient, n'ennuyent jamais, on y trouve toujours de nouveaux agrémens qui réveillent l'esprit du lecteur. Il n'a point néanmoins de faux brillant, ni de figures inutiles; son unique but est de convertir ses auditeurs, ou de les instruire des veritez qui leur sont nécessaires. Il néglige toutes les réflexions qui ont plus de subtilité que d'utilité; il ne s'engage point à résoudre des questions difficiles, ni à donner des sens mystiques pour faire montre de son esprit et de son éloquence; il n'approfondit point les mystères, et ne s'efforce point de les pénétrer: il se contente de proposer d'une manière aisée des veritez palpables et sensibles, qu'on ne peut ignorer sans courir risque de son salut. Il s'attache particulièrement aux points de morale; il est rare qu'il s'arrête à considérer des veritez spéculatives; il n'affecte point de paroître sçavant, il ne fait point valoir son érudition: et cependant de quelque chose qu'il parle, il en parle en des termes si forts, si propres, et si choisis, qu'il est aisé de voir qu'il a une érudition consommée dans toutes sortes de matières, mais principalement dans la véritable théologie.

peruse his homilies, especially those of his first and fifth volumes, which contain his most elaborate discourses, as also those on St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Paul's Epistles, where he excels in his moral applications, will find his sermons to answer the character that is given of them, only making some allowances for the different way and method then used, not so agreeable to the model of sermons in the present age. I had once some thoughts of publishing a volume of his select discourses, which I translated[76] for my own entertainment, when I was unfortunately cut off from other studies for a whole year: but because they are not altogether of the present stamp, and many men have a different taste and relish of things, I choose rather to encourage men to read them in the original, where they may select what they find proper for their use or imitation. As for those who can endure to read nothing but what is either modern, or dressed up in the modern dress, I neither court them to read Chrysostom, nor any other ancient Father; but to others, who can be at pains to peruse, and judiciously select the beauties of style, the strains of piety, and the flights of divine and manly eloquence that almost every where display themselves in this author, I dare venture to say they will never think their time lost, nor find themselves wholly disappointed in their expectation.

St. Basil's homilies come the nearest to St. Chrysostom's in solidity of matter, beauty of style, ingenuity of thought, and sharpness and vivacity of expression. A vein of piety runs equally through them both, and by some St. Basil's are reckoned to come nearer to the Attic purity and perfection. Next after these, the two Gregories, Nyssen and Nazianzen, are esteemed the greatest masters of divine eloquence; though the latter is rather luxuriant and tedious by his too frequent and long similitudes and digressions. Those of Ephrem Syrus were also of great repute in the ancient Church, having the honour to be read as lessons after the reading of the Scriptures in many Churches, as has been noted before out of St. Jerom[77].

[76] [I am happily in possession of the original manuscript of these translations, which I entertain the hope of publishing at some other opportunity; should a continuance of health be vouchsafed; when I have accomplished the arduous task of carrying this new edition of my ancestors most valuable work through the press. ED.]

[77] De Scriptor. Eccles. c. 115. See before, ch. 3. s. 14. p. 76. n. 16.

They are highly commended by Sozomen[78] and Photius[79] for the beauty of their style and sublime thoughts, which were not wholly lost by being translated out of Syriac into Greek. Gregory Nyssen[80] is more copious in his praise; and he particularly observes, that his discourses of morality were so full of compassionate and affecting expressions, that they were able to move the hardest heart. 'For who that is proud,' says he, 'would not become the humblest of men by reading his discourse of humility? Who would not be inflamed with a divine fire by reading his treatise of charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in heart and spirit by reading the praises he has given to virginity? Who would not be frighted to hear the discourse he has made upon the last judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively that nothing can be added to it but the real appearance of judgment itself?' This is a character that would tempt any man to look into them. It is disputed now among the critics, whether these homilies that go under his name be his genuine offspring? Some utterly reject them, and they who say most in their defence own that they may have

[78] L. 3. c. 16. (v. 2. p. 119. 13.) *Οὕτω γοῦν τῶν μὲν, εἴ τις πρὸς τὴν Σύρων ἢ ἑτέραν γλῶτταν μεταβάλλοι τὰ γράμματα, καὶ τὴν καρυκείαν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀφέλοιτο τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν γλωττισμάτων, αὐτίκα φωρᾶται, καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἀπορρεῖ χάριτος. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφραὶμ λόγων οὐχ οὕτως· περιόντός τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν, ἃ συνεγράψατο πρὸς Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν ἑρμηνεύουσι· καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀποδεῖ τῆς ἐν ᾧ πέφυκεν ἀρετῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλλην ἀναγινωσκόμενος, ἐπίσης τῷ Σύρος εἶναι θαυμάζεται.*

[79] Biblioth. cod. 196. (p. 513. 19.) *Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς παραινετικοῖς λόγοις τοῦ ἁγίου θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, ὅσον μὲν ἐμβαθύνεται τὸ πεῖθον, ὅσον δ' αὐτῶν ἀποστάζει τὸ ἡδύνον, καὶ ὅλως εἰς ὅσον βρύει τὸ ἦθος· ἡ γὰρ λέξις καὶ τὰ σχήματα, οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸς τὸ κοινότερον τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ ἡμελημένον νένευκεν. Οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὸν γεννήτορα τῶν νοημάτων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ταῦτα μεταφρασάμενον, ἡ αἰτία διαλαμβάνει· ἐπεὶ οἵγε τῆς Σύρας φωνῆς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἠσκημένοι ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ταῖς λέξεσι καὶ τοῖς σχήμασιν αὐτὸν ἴσασιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι, ὡς ἀμφήριστον εἶναι, πότερον διὰ ταῦτα, ἢ διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς νοῦν, ἡ τοσαύτη χάρις καὶ δύναμις τῶν ἐκείνου πρόεισι λόγων. Οὐ θαυμαστὸν οὖν ἡ τῆς φράσεως ταπεινότης· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμαστὸν, ὡς καὶ διὰ χυδαιότητος τοιαύτης ῥημάτων τηλικαύτη σωτηρία καὶ ὠφέλεια τοῖς προσέχουσι προχεῖται.*

[80] Vit. Ephrem. Syr. (t. 3. p. 603 d.) *Τίς, ἐντυχὼν αὐτοῦ τῷ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης λόγῳ, οὐ πᾶσαν μὲν εὐθὺς οἴησιν ἐκμιμήσει; ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παντὸς ταπεινότερον ἑαυτὸν ἐκκηρύξει; Τίς, τοῖς περὶ ἀγάπης ἐπιβαλὼν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀγάπης προκινδυνεῦσαι σπουδάσει; τίς, τοῖς περὶ παρθενίας προσομιλήσας, οὐχ ἁγνὸν ἑαυτὸν ψυχῇ τε καὶ σώματι Θεῷ ἀγωνίσεται παραστῆσαι; τίς, τοῖς περὶ κρίσεως ἤτοι δευτέρας Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσεως ἐγκύψας, οὐ παρίστασθαι τῷ ἐκεῖθεν κριτηρίῳ νομίσει; καὶ σύντρομος γενόμενος τὴν τελευταίαν ἤδη ἀπόφασιν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξενεχθήσεσθαι δοκήσει; οὕτως γὰρ παρέστησε τὸ μέλλον τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαστήριον ὁ ἀοίδιμος καὶ προφητικώτατος οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὡς μηθὲν μὲν ἕτερον ὑπολείπεσθαι γνώσεως, μόνον δὲ τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ, καὶ τῇ πείρᾳ καταμαθεῖν.*

lost something of their native beauty and majesty by being translated first out of Syriac into Greek, and then out of Greek into Latin. And therefore I will not so confidently assert they deserve the character, which Gregory Nyssen gives of those that were so much admired in his time. As for those of Origen, and others who followed him, though they have some flights of rhetoric, and a vein of piety in them, yet they are so full of allegorical and tropological interpretations, that they are neither good expositions nor good homilies, and fall far short of the majesty and simplicity of those of Chrysostom. Among the Latins, those few moral discourses we have of Cyprian's, whether homilies or treatises, are excellent in their kind. And so are many of St. Austin's, and St. Ambrose, and Leo the Great, and Petrus Ravennas, who for his eloquence had the name of Chrysologus, or the Latin Chrysostom; though his eloquence is of a different kind, being more like that of Seneca than of Tully or Demosthenes, whom Chrysostom copied after.

xtem- dis- ses, uent ng the ients.

11. But of all these we must observe another distinction, that though many of them were studied and elaborate discourses, penned and composed beforehand, yet some were also extempore, spoken without any previous composition, and taken from their mouths by the ταχυγράφοι, or men who understood the art of *writing short hand*, in the church. Origen was the first that began this way of preaching in the church. But Eusebius[81] says, he did it not till he was above sixty years old, at which age, having got a confirmed habit of preaching by continual use and exercise, he suffered the ταχυγράφοι, or *notaries*, to take down his sermons which he made to the people, which he would never allow before. Pamphilus, in his Apology for Origen[82], speaks the matter a little more plainly:

[81] L. 6. c. 36. (v. 1. p. 299. 5.)... Ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑξήκοντα φασὶν ἔτη τὸν Ὠριγένην γενόμενον· ἅτε μεγίστην ἤδη συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς παρασκευῆς ἕξιν, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι, οὐ πρότερόν ποτε τοῦτο γενέσθαι συγκεχωρηκότα.

[82] Inter Oper. Origen. t. 1. p. 756. (ap. Galland. t. 5. p. 9 c. 8.).... Et [quod] præ cæteris verbo Dei et doctrinæ operam dederit, dubium non est et ex his, quæ ad nos laboris et studii ejus certissima designantur indicia: præcipue vero per eos tractatus, quos pene quotidie in ecclesia habebat extempore, quos et describentes notarii ad monimentum posteritatis tradebant.—Dr. Cave reckons his Homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, to be all

for he makes it an instance of his sedulity in studying and preaching the word of God, that he not only composed a great number of laborious treatises upon it, but preached almost every day extempore sermons in the church, which were taken from his mouth by the notaries, and so conveyed to posterity by that means only. The Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril are supposed to be of this kind: for at the beginning of every one almost it is said in the title to be σχεδιασθεῖσα, which Suidas and other critics expound, *an extempore discourse.* St. Jerom[83] says, Pierius thus expounded the Scripture.

St. Chrysostom also sometimes used this way of preaching, being of a ready invention and fluent tongue. Sozomen[84] says, after his return from banishment, the people were so desirous to hear him, that he was forced to go up into the episcopal throne, and make an extempore discourse to them, which is now exstant[85] in his second tome in Latin. Suidas also[86] gives

extempore. Vid. Hist. Liter. (v. 1. p. 78.) Alias [homilias] meditate conscriptas edidit: alias ex tempore recitatas ab actuariis excipi permisit. Priores variis temporibus elucubravit: extemporalesv ero omnes, quæ literis mandatæ sunt, post sexagesimum ætatis annum pronuntiatæ sunt. Ex utroque genere multæ exstant. Homiliarum mysticarum in Genesin, libri 2. Commentariorum in Genesin, libri 13.... Exstant Latine, a Ruffino versæ, homiliæ 17, diversæ autem a mysticis: extemporales fuisse videntur..... Homiliæ in Exodum 12, a Ruffino versæ: extemporales videntur.... Homiliæ in Leviticum 16, exstant ex Ruffini versione: extemporales videntur... Homiliæ in Numeros 28. exstant ex Ruffini versione, et extemporales fuisse videntur.

[83] Procem. in Hos. See before, ch. 3. s. 3. p. 59. n. 39.

[84] L. 8. c. 18. (v. 2. p. 349. 37.) .... Ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ, καὶ σχεδιόν τινα διεξῆλθε λόγον.

[85] Sermo post Reditum, juxt. Ed. Basil. ap. Froben. 1558. t. 2. p. 49, in Append. (ap. Ed. Bened. t. 3. p. 426.—ap. Ed. Savil. t. 7. p. 943.) Quid dicam? quid loquar, &c. [This must not be confounded with the Sermo post Reditum, commencing with the words Ὅτε τὴν Σάρραν, κ.τ.λ. (B. ibid. p. 427. S. t. 8. p. 262. 14.) which was not an extempore discourse, but was premeditated. See the Benedictine's Monitum in Duas Sequentes post Reditum ab Exsilio Orationes. (ibid. p. 423.) Postquam Chrysostomus, curante Theophilo Alexandrino, in pseudosynodo in quercu dicta damnatus depositusque fuerat, tumultuante populo, et abduci antistitem doctoremque suum non sinente, clam illo Chrysostomus se in exsilium, post triduum quam damnatus fuerat, abducendum præbuit, et Prenetum in Bithyniam deportatus est. Exindeque populo magis magisque in iram concitato, vociferante et ad imperatorias ædes episcopi sui reditum postulante, interimque terræ motu palatium urbemque concutiente, Eudoxia Augusta perterrita sanctum virum reducendum restituendumque curavit; quod qua ratione, quantaque civitatis lætitia factum fuerit, pluribus narrabitur in Vita Chrysostomi. *In ecclesiam deductus extemporalem,* inquit Sozomenus, (8, 18.) *habuit orationem: sumptoque argumento ex elegantissima similitudine, subindicavit Theo-*

him this character, 'that he had a tongue flowing like the cataracts of Nile, whereby he spake many of his panegyrics upon the martyrs extempore, without any hesitation.' And it appears from several of his sermons, that he often took occasion in the middle of a discourse from some accidental hint that was casually given, to turn his eloquence from the subject in hand, and make some extempore apostrophe to the people, either of praise and commendation, or of reproof and correction, as the occasion of the thing required, as in that sermon we have already mentioned, (sect. 8,) where he takes occasion, from the people's turning their eyes to see the lighting of the candles, to reprove[87] their negligence in turning away their attention from him, who was holding forth to them a greater light from the holy Scriptures. And there are many other such apostrophes and occasional reflections throughout his homilies, which must needs be extempore, because the occasion of them could not be foreseen, forasmuch as they were pure contingencies and things altogether accidental.

But Chrysostom was not the only man whose fluency enabled him to make extempore discourses. For Ruffin[88], speaking in praise of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil, says, 'there were

philum ecclesiæ suæ vim inferre tentavisse, perinde atque olim regem Ægyptium uxori patriarchæ Abrahami. His aperte indicat Sozomenus secundam post reditum orationem, quæ ab hujusmodi similitudine orditur; quæ in fine vitæ Chrysostomi per Georgium Alexandrinum legitur. (See Ed. Savil. t. 8. as above.) Sed illud cum Chrysostomi non consonare videtur, qui postridie adventum suum hanc secundam orationem habuisse putatur; ut ex his verbis arguunt: *Heri vesperi hæc verba ad me misit* [*Eudoxia*]; ergo, inquiunt, hanc secundam habuerit postridie, primam vero ipso adventus die. Verum circa hæc Chrysostomi verba, non levis exsurgunt difficultates, quas in ejus Vita pluribus expendemur. Ut ut autem est, existimo et ego, primam esse eam oratiunculam, quæ sic incipit: *Quid dicam? aut quid loquar? Benedictus Deus, &c.* Illam quippe extempore, inque ipso adventu dictam fuisse suadet omnino vel ipse audiendi modus: neque puto ullum esse qui non fateatur eam et in ipso adventu habitam et extemporalem esse, ideoque brevissimam, secunda autem longior insequente die dicta fuerit. Lapsus ergo Sozomenus est, qui extemporalem σχέδιον illam orationem, quam reversus Chrysostomus ad populum habuit, dicit eam esse quæ Abrahami et Saræ similitudinem adhibet, ab illaque orditur. Ed.]

[86] Voce, Ἰωάννης, (t. 1. p. 1258 e. 7.) Τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων δὲ πανηγύρεις ἐπηύξησεν ἐν τῷ σχεδιάζειν ἀνεμποδίστως, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν αὐτοῦ καταρρεῖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς Νειλῴους καταρράκτας.

[87] Serm. 4. in Gen. t. 2. p. 902. See before, s. 8. n. 60, preceding.

[88] Ruffin. Hist. l. 2. [al. 11.] c. 9. (p. 249 b. 19.) Exstant quoque utriusque ingenii monimenta magnifica tractatuum, quos extempore in ecclesiis declamabant, &c.

several of their sermons exstant, which they spake extempore in the church, twenty of which he himself had translated into Latin.' Socrates[89] gives the same account of Atticus, 'that, though whilst he was a presbyter he was used to preach composed and studied sermons, yet afterwards by industry and continued exercise, having gained confidence and a freedom or fluency of speaking, he preached extempore to the people: and his sermons were so well received by his auditors[90], that they took them down in writing.' Sozomen[91] indeed gives a different account of them: for he says 'that his performances were so mean, that though they had a mixture of heathen learning in them, yet his auditors did not think them worth writing[92].' However, they both seem to agree in this, that whatever characters they bare, they were extempore discourses. Sidonius Apollinaris[93] seems to give the like account of Faustus, bishop of Riez in France: for he says, 'some of his discourses were *repentinæ*, and others *elucubratæ*,' that is, the one *spoken off hand*, and the others *elaborate and studied.*

There is nothing more certain than that St. Austin did often use the extempore way. For he sometimes preached upon places of Scripture that were accidentally read in the church, and which he knew nothing of before he came thither. Of which we have an undeniable instance in one of his homilies[94], where he tells us 'he was determined to preach upon a certain

[89] L. 7. c. 2. (v. 2. p. 348. 20.)... Καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἡνίκα ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἐτάττετο, ἐκμαθὼν οὓς καὶ ἐπόνει λόγους, ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἐδίδασκε· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, σὺν τῇ φιλοπονίᾳ καὶ παρρησίαν κτησάμενος, ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίου καὶ πανηγυρικωτέραν τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐποιεῖτο. Οὐ μέν τοι τοιοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ λόγοι, ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἀκροατῶν σπουδάζεσθαι ἢ γραφῇ παραδίδοσθαι.

[90] [The reader will observe that the Author seems to have misread the latter part of the citation. Socrates says the very contrary, that the people did not regard the extempore discourses of Atticus worth the trouble of being taken down and committed to writing. Ed.]

[91] L. 8. c. 26. (ibid. p. 362. 35.) Μέτριος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας λόγους, ὡς μήτε γραφῆς ἀξίους νομίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀκροαταῖς, μήτε παιδείας παντελῶς ἀμοίρους.

[92] [And thus it appears that Sozomen agrees with Socrates in speaking slightingly of the sermons of Atticus. Ed.]

[93] L. 9. Ep. 3. ad Faust. Regiens. (p. 563.) Licet prædicationes tuas, nunc repentinas, nunc, cum ratio poposcerit, elucubratas, raucus plausor audierim, &c.—Gennadius de Scriptor. c. 40. gives the same account of Maximus Taurinensis. [ap. Oper. Hieron. (t. 2. p. 96.).... Vir in divinis Scripturis satis intentus et ad docendum ex tempore plebem sufficiens, &c. Ed.]

[94] Serm. 27. ex 50. t. 10. p. 175. See before, ch. 1. s. 6. p. 9. n. 29.

Psalm about repentance, which he thought nothing of before the reader chanced to read it of his own accord in the church.' And in another place[95] he tells us 'when he had appointed the reader to read a certain Psalm, upon which he intended to preach, the reader in some hurry read another in its room; and this obliged him to preach an extempore sermon upon that Psalm that was so accidentally read in the church.' Possidius also in his Life[96] mentions a sermon, wherein 'he left his subject that he was discoursing upon to dispute against the Manichees, which he had no thoughts to have done when he first began to preach; but he reckoned it was the providence of God that directed him so to do, to cure the error of some latent Manichee in the congregation.' And it is very probable that many of his sermons upon the Psalms were extempore, because he so often uses the phrase, '*quantum Deus donaverit, as God should enable him to speak:*' which seems to imply, that he spake without any previous study or composition. It is evident his sermon on the 86th Psalm was of this kind: for he says[97], 'he would explain it as God should enable him, seeing it was appointed by his holy father, the bishop then present: but such a sudden appointment would have been an oppression, were it not that the prayers of the proponent gave him continual assistance.' For indeed they looked upon it as

[95] In Ps. 138. p. 650. (t. 4. p. 1534 a.) Psalmum nobis brevem paraveramus; quem mandaveramus cantari a lectore: sed ad horam, quantum videtur, perturbatus, alterum pro altero legit. Maluimus nos in errore lectoris sequi voluntatem Dei, quam nostram in nostro proposito.

[96] C. 15. (t. 10. append. p. 267 a, b.) Scio item non solus ipse [sc. Possidius] verum etiam alii fratres et conservi, qui nobiscum tunc intra Hipponensem ecclesiam cum eodem sancto viro vivebant, nobis pariter ad mensam constitutis eum dixisse, Advertistis hodie in ecclesia meum sermonem, ejusque initium et finem contra meam consuetudinem processisse, quoniam non eam rem terminatam explicuerim, quam proposueram, sed pendentem reliquerim? Cui respondimus: Ita nos in tempore miratos fuisse scimus et recognoscimus. At ille, Credo, ait, quod forte aliquem errantem in populo Dominus per nostram oblivionem et errorem doceri et curari voluerit, in cujus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri. Nam cum propositæ quæstionis latebras pertractarem, in aliud sermonis excursu perrexi; atque ita, non conclusa vel explicata quæstione, disputationem terminavi magis adversum Manichæorum errorem, unde nihil dicere decreveram, disputans, quam de iis quæ asserere proposueram.

[97] In Ps. 86. p. 390. (t. 4. p. 918 d.) Hic nobis quantum Dominus donare dignatur, cum vestra caritate tractandus modo est, propositus a beatissimo præsente patre nostro. Repentina propositio me gravaret, nisi me continuo proponentis oratio sublevaret.

so necessary a work to preach continually, that when they had not time to compose beforehand, they doubted not but that the grace of God, and a peculiar assistance of the Spirit, would concur with their honest endeavours in such sudden undertakings. Nay, Gregory the Great, who also used this way in explaining some of the most difficult books of Scripture, as particularly Ezekiel, scruples not to say[98], 'that he often found those obscure places of Scripture, which he could not comprehend in his private study, to flow in upon his understanding when he was preaching in public to his brethren.'

What meant by preaching by the Spirit.

12. And in regard to this, they are wont frequently to mention the assistance of the Spirit, both in composing and preaching their sermons. Thus Chrysostom says in one of his sermons[1], when he had the happiness to see a large auditory, and a table well furnished with guests, 'that then he expected the grace of the Spirit to sound in his mind.' In another[2], 'I do not think that I spake those words of myself, but God, that foresaw what would happen, put those words into my mind.' And again[3], speaking of the preaching of Flavian, his bishop, he says, 'It was not human thought that poured forth his discourse, but the grace of the Holy Spirit: as it was not the nature of the vine, but the power of Christ that made the water wine.' St. Austin also often speaks of such illapses and assistances of the Spirit in preaching: which he sometimes[4] calls 'the gift of God;' sometimes[5], 'the revelation of the

[98] Hom. 14. [Ed. Bened. l. 2. Hom. 2. n. 1.] in Ezek. p. 1144. (t. 1. p. 1319 d. 3.) Non enim hoc temeritate aggredior, sed humilitate. Scio enim, quia plerumque multa in sacro eloquio, quæ solus intelligere non potui, coram fratribus meis positus intellexi, &c.

[1] Hom. 23. de Verb. Apost., Habentes eandem fidem, &c. t. 5. p. 351. (t. 3. p. 261 a.) Ἐπεὶ οὖν πλήρης ἡμῖν ἡ τράπεζα, προσδοκῶ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριν ἐνηχῆσαι ἡμῶν διανοίᾳ.

[2] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 30. (t. 2. p. 24 b.) Οὐκ οἶμαι ταῦτα ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ εἰρηκέναι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ μέλλοντα προειδότος εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐμβεβληκέναι τὰ ῥήματα.

[3] Hom. 2. de Verb. Esai. t. 2. p. 331. (t. 6. p. 111 c.) Καὶ τὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἐκεῖνο γέγονε σήμερον· μετὰ τὸν ἐλάττονα γὰρ οἶνον ὁ βελτίων εἰσκομίζεται· καὶ καθάπερ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἄμπελος ἔτεκε τότε, ἀλλ' ἡ δύναμις ἐποίησε τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τούτου τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνη προχέει διάνοια, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις.

[4] Serm. 17. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 132. [al. Serm. 159.] (t. 5. p. 765 e.) Donante illo, &c. Et passim ap. Sermones in Psalmos, 34. 96. (t. 4. pp. 228 et 1040.)

[5] Serm. 15. de Verb. Apost. [al. Serm. 169.] (t. 5. p. 808 f.).... Adjuvando [leg. adjuvante] nos affectu vestro apud Dominum Deum nostrum. Ut ea, quæ ille nobis revelare dignatur, ad vos apte et salu-

Spirit;' and sometimes, 'the help of God,' and 'his divine assistance.' In one place more particularly[6], speaking of his unwillingness to preach before certain bishops when he was but young, he brings them in making this answer: 'If thou art in want of words, Ask and it shall be given thee: for it is not ye that speak, but ye minister what is given unto you.'

If a man would disingenuously interpret these and the like expressions of the Ancients, he might make them seem to countenance that preaching by the Spirit, which some so vainly boast of, as if they spake nothing but what the Spirit immediately dictated to them, as it did to the Apostles, by extraordinary inspiration. Which were to set every extempore, as well as composed discourse, upon the same level of infallibility with the Gospel. Which sort of enthusiasm the Ancients never dreamed of. For, notwithstanding the assistance of the Spirit they speak of, they always put a wide difference between the Apostles' preaching and their own, styling the one infallible and authentic, as we have heard before out of St. Austin[7] and others, and themselves only fallible expositors of the Scripture. All therefore they pretended to from the assistance of the Spirit, was only that ordinary assistance which men may expect from the concurrence of the Spirit with their honest endeavours, as a blessing upon their studies and labours; that whilst they were piously engaged in his service, God would not be wanting to them in such assistance as was proper for their work, especially if they humbly asked it with sincerity by fervent supplication and prayer.

What sort of prayers they used before sermons, and in, and after them.

13. And upon this account it was usual for the preacher many times to usher in his discourse with a short prayer for such divine assistance, and also to move the people to pray for him. St. Austin in the aforesaid homily, having mentioned the assistance of the Spirit, immediately adds[8], 'Whither shall I

briter proferre possimus.–Conf. ibid. Serm. 14. [al. 294.] (ibid. p. 1183.) Hodie ergo, adjuvante Domino, placuit nobis hinc eloqui, [al. loqui].

[6] Serm. 46. de Temp. t. 10. p. 240. [al. Serm. 106. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 190 f.) Si sermo deest, Pete et accipies. Non enim vos estis qui loquimini: sed quod datur vobis, hoc ministratis nobis.—See de Doctrin. Christian., l. 4. c. 15., where he has more to the same purpose. See n. 9, following.

[7] Ep. 19. [al. 82.] ad Hieron. See before, s. 1. p. 90. n. 55.

[8] Hom. 46. de Temp. [al. Serm. 106. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 190 f.) His coarctatus angustiis, quo me conferam, nisi ad sancta vestigia caritatis? Eamque deprecor, ut do-

betake myself, thus violently pressed in these straits, but to the footstool of charity, or grace of the Holy Spirit? and to that I make now my supplication, that he would grant me ability to speak something worthy of him, whereby I may at once fulfil my ministry, and satisfy your desire.' And in his Book of Instructions of the Christian Orator[9], where he prescribes many excellent rules for preaching, he lays down this among others, 'that the Christian Orator should pray both for himself and others before he begins to teach; that he may be able to speak those things that are holy, just, and good; and that his auditors may hear him with understanding, with willingness, and with an obedient heart. To this end, before he looses his tongue to speak, he should lift up his thirsting soul to God, that he may be able to discharge what he has imbibed, and pour forth to others that wherewith he has filled himself. And this the rather, because both we and all our words are in the hand of God, who teaches us both what to speak, and after what manner to speak.' And therefore, though ecclesiastical men ought to learn what they are to teach, and to get the faculty of speaking; yet 'when the hour of speaking comes[10], they should imagine that what our Lord says belongs to every good soul: *Take no thought how or what ye shall speak, for it shall be given to you in that hour*

net mihi aliquid dignum de se dicere, quo et meum ministerium, et vestrum satiem desiderium.—[The Benedictine reads,—quod et meum suppleat ministerium et vestrum satiet desiderium. Ed.] — Conf. Serm. 51. de Divers. [al. Serm. 319. c. 1.] (t. 5. p. 1273 d.) Donet mihi Dominus pauca dicere salubriter, qui donavit sancto Stephano tanta dicere fortiter.

[9] De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. 15. (t. 3. part 1. p. 76 e and f.) ... Noster iste eloquens.... ut orando pro re, ac pro illis quos est allocuturus, sit orator antequam dictor [al. doctor]. Ipsa hora jam ut dicat accedens, priusquam exserat proferentem linguam, ad Deum levet animam sitientem, ut eructet quod biberit, vel quod impleverit fundat. Cum enim unaquaque re, quæ secundum fidem dilectionemque tractanda sunt, multa sint quæ dicantur, et multi modi quibus dicantur ab eis, qui hæc sciunt; quis novit, quid ad præsens tempus, vel nobis dicere, vel per nos expediat audiri, nisi qui corda omnium videt? Et quis facit, ut quod oportet, et quemadmodum oportet, dicatur a nobis, nisi in cujus manu sunt et nos et sermones nostri?

[10] Ibid. (p. 77 a.) Ad horam vero ipsius dictionis illud potius bonæ menti cogitet convenire quod Dominus ait: *Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini: non enim vos estis, qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri qui loquitur in vobis.* Si ergo loquitur in eis Spiritus Sanctus, qui persequentibus traduntur pro Christo, cur non et in eis, qui tradunt discentibus Christum?

what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father that speaketh in you. If therefore the Holy Spirit speak in them who are delivered up to persecutors for the name of Christ, why should he not also speak in those who preach Christ to them that are disposed to learn him?'

I have related this passage at length, both because it shows us to what degree they depended on the Spirit's assistance in preaching, and also what sort of prayers those were which they commonly made before sermon: viz. not the common prayers of the Church, as some mistake, who measure all usages of the ancient Church by the customs of the present, but these short prayers for the assistance and conduct of the Spirit, to direct both them and the people in speaking and hearing. And wherever we meet with any mention of prayer before sermon, it is to be understood only of this short sort of prayers, in ancient writers. Such as that of St. Austin's in one of his Homilies upon the Psalms[11], which begins with these words, 'Attend to the Psalm, and the Lord grant us ability to open the mysteries that are contained in it.' He begins another[12] thus, 'My lords and brethren, (meaning the bishops then present,) and the Lord of all by them, have commanded me to discourse upon this Psalm, that you may understand it, so far as the Lord shall grant us understanding. And may he by your prayers assist me, that I may speak such things as I ought to speak, and such as ye ought to hear: that the word of God may be profitable to us all.' In this sense we are to understand St. Chrysostom, when[13] he says, 'We must first pray, and then preach. So St. Paul does, praying in the pre-

[11] In Ps. 91. p. 417. (t. 4. p. 981 a.) Attendite ad Psalmum: det nobis Dominus aperire mysteria, quæ hic continentur, &c.

[12] In Ps. 139. (ibid. p. 1551 c.) Jusserunt domini fratres* et in ipsis Dominus omnium, ut ipsum Psalmum afferam ad vos intelligendum, quantum Dominus donat. Adjuvet orationibus vestris, ut ea dicam quæ oportet me dicere et vos audire: uti omnibus nobis sit utilis sermo divinus.

[13] Hom. 28. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. t. 1. p. 363. [Ed. Bened. de Incomprehens. 3.] (t. 1. p. 469 d.) *Πρότερον εὐχὴ καὶ τότε λόγος· οὕτω καὶ οἱ Ἀπόστολοι φασίν· Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ* [*διακονίᾳ*, Bened. *διδασκαλίᾳ*, Savil.] *τοῦ λόγου προσκαρτερήσομεν·* [*προσκαρτερήσωμεν*, Ben. et Sav.] *Οὕτω καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ποιεῖ ἐν τοῖς προοιμίοις τῶν ἐπιστολῶν εὐχόμενος, ἵν' ὥσπερ λύχνου φῶς, οὕτω τὸ τῆς εὐχῆς φῶς προοδοποιήσῃ τῷ λόγῳ.*

* [His ex verbis merito conjicias sermonem habitum fuisse in aliquo episcoporum consessu. Ed. Bened. in loc. Ed.]

faces of his Epistles, that the light of prayer, as the light of a candle, may lead the way to his discourses.'

Such is that prayer which St. Ambrose[14] is said to use before his sermons: 'I beseech thee, O Lord, and earnestly entreat thee, give me an humble knowledge, which may edify; give me a meek and prudent eloquence, which knows not how to be puffed up, or vaunt itself upon its own worth and endowments above its brethren. Put into my mouth, I beseech thee, the word of consolation and edification, and exhortation, that I may be able to exhort those that are good to go on to greater perfection, and reduce those that walk perversely to the rule of thy righteousness, both by my word and by my example. Let the words which thou givest to thy servant be as the sharpest darts and burning arrows, which may penetrate and inflame the minds of my hearers to thy fear and love.' But this seems rather to have been a private prayer of St. Ambrose between God and himself, as Bishop Wettenhal[15] and Mr. Thorndike[16] understand it: who yet are mistaken in one thing, when they suppose that the common prayers of the Church came before the sermon, and that there were no other prayers before sermon but those: for nothing is more certain than that the common prayers did not begin till the sermon was ended; and yet there were such short prayers for grace and assistance as we are speaking of,

[14] Orat. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. l. 1. c. 8. (p. 38.) Obsecro, Domine, et suppliciter rogo, da mihi semper humilem scientiam, quæ ædificet, da mitissimam et sapientem eloquentiam, quæ nesciat inflari, et de suis bonis super fratres extolli. Pone, quæso, in ore meo verbum consolationis, et ædificationis, et exhortationis, per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, ut bonos ad meliora valeam exhortari, et eos, qui perverse gradiuntur, ad tuæ rectitudinis lineam revocare verbo et exemplo. Sint verba, quæ dederis servo tuo, tanquam acutissima jacula, et ardentes sagittæ, quæ penetrent et incendant mentes audientium ad timorem et amorem tuum.

[15] Gift of Prayer, ch. 4. (p. 116.) The publick liturgies were indeed used before sermon; but no prayer at all of the minister's own making, in which the people were to join; the minister might himself kneel down before he begun to preach, and in private between God and himself implore the assistance of God's Spirit in that so great work, &c.

[16] Just Weights and Measures, ch. 16. (p. 109.) I know I have alleged a prayer of St. Ambrose before his sermon. I know there is a passage of St. Augustine alleged to the same purpose. But neither of them signifies any more than a prayer to God to bless them in their preaching..... The common prayers of the Church on all ordinary and solemn assemblies were made at the altar, &c.

peculiarly adapted to the business of preaching and hearing, and not respecting any other subject. And sometimes the people's prayers were required to be joined with them, as appears from that of St. Austin in one of his Homilies upon the Psalms[17], where he desires the people to assist him with their prayers to the Lord, that he would grant him ability to explain the latent mysteries and difficulties of the Psalms, as well for their sakes as his own. In Origen's Homilies upon Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Kings, Jeremy, Ezekiel, and St. Luke, there are abundance of such short prayers, not only in the beginning of his discourses, but sometimes also in the middle of them, when any more abstruse passage of Scripture presented itself to consideration; and generally in the close he makes another such short prayer in a few words suitable to the subject; sometimes praying for himself and the people, and sometimes exhorting them to pray for themselves and him. All which being produced at large in a noted book of Mr. Daille's[18], I shall not think it needful to transcribe them in this place.

But I cannot omit to observe, that as St. Austin often began his sermon with a short prayer, so he usually ended it with another of the like nature. The forms of which are some of them now to be found at the end of several of his homilies. In some of them[19] we have this form at length: 'Let us now turn

[17] In Ps. 147. p. 699. (t. 4. p. 1652 c.) Adsit ergo nobis apud Dominum Deum nostrum iste affectus precum vestrarum: etsi non propter nos, certe propter vos donare dignetur, quod hic absconditum latet.—Vid. Serm. 50. de Divers. [al. Serm. 356.] (t. 5. p. 1385 d.) Audistis quid velimus. Orate, ut possimus &c.

[18] De Objectu Cultus Religiosi, l. 3. c. 13. tot. (pp. 412, seqq.) Est sane et evangelii prædicatio, &c.

[19] Serm. 30. de Verb. Dom. t. 10. [p. 122. Ed. Basil. per Froben. 1529. or Paris. 1637.] which corresponds with Serm. 106. of the Ed. Bened. (t. 5. p. 549 f.) where no such words occur. But see the close of Serm. 67. (ibid. p. 377 f, g.) Conversi ad Dominum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem puro corde ei [al. et] quantum potest parvitas nostra, maximas atque uberes gratias agamus, precantes toto animo singularem mansuetudinem ejus, ut preces nostras in beneplacito suo exaudire dignetur; inimicum [quoque] a nostris actibus et cogitationibus sua virtute expellat; nobis multiplicet fidem, gubernet mentem, spiritales cogitationes concedat, et ad beatitudinem suam perducat, per Jesum Christum Filium ejus. Amen. [al. per J.C.F. suum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.]— Sermones 102, 120. de Divers. [al. 277, 361.] (ibid. pp. 1113, 1406.)—Serm. 18, ex editis a Sirmond. [al. Serm. 256.] (ibid. p. 1054.) [See the remarks of the Benedictine Editor at the end of Serm. 106, as above. Ed.]

to the Lord God our Father Almighty with a pure heart, and give him thanks with all our might, beseeching his singular clemency with our whole soul, that of his good pleasure he would vouchsafe to hear our prayers; that he would drive away the enemy from all our thoughts and actions by his power; that he would increase our faith, govern our minds, grant us spiritual thoughts, and conduct us to everlasting happiness, through Jesus Christ his Son our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him in the unity of the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen!' And in many other homilies[20] this prayer is referred to as a known form used frequently by him in the close of his sermons, *Conversi ad Dominum, &c.* But he sometimes varied and shortened this form, as the matter of his sermon required. Thus, in his long sermon upon the Resurrection[21], having said that the saints in the next world will keep a perpetual sabbath, and have nothing to do but to sing Hallelujah! and applying the words of the Psalmist [84, 4.] to this purpose, "Blessed are they that dwell in thy house, for they will be always praising thee:" he concludes his sermon with this prayer: 'Let us turn to the Lord, and beseech him for ourselves, and all the people that stand with us in the courts of his house: which house may he vouchsafe to preserve and protect, through Jesus Christ his Son our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with him, world without end. Amen!' In another of his homilies, a fragment of which is cited by Sirmond, as it is preserved in Eugyppius's Collections[22] out of St. Aus-

[20] De Verb. Dom. Serm. 1. [al. 109.]–5. [al. 61.]–7. [al. 100.]–8. [al. 67.]–10. [al. 69.]–14. [al. 72. append.]–31. [al. 110.]–32. [al. 111.]–37. [al. 171.]–40. [al. 122.] et passim inter Homilias [al. Sermones] de Diversis.

[21] De Divers. Serm. 121. [al. 362.] (ibid. p. 1437 d.) Conversi ad Dominum, ipsum deprecemur pro nobis et pro omni plebe sua, adstante nobiscum in atriis domus suæ: quam custodire protegereque dignetur: per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum, qui cum eo vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

[22] Thesaur. l. 2. c. 288. ap. Sirmond. Not. in August. Hom. 18. inter 40. a se editas. Audistis me, credo, fratres mei, quando dico, Conversi ad Dominum benedicamus nomen ejus, de nobis perseverare in mandatis suis, ambulare in via eruditionis suæ, placere illi in omni opere bono, et cætera talia. [Prorsus, inquiunt, hoc totum in potestate nostra est constitutum. Ergo nos inaniter talia vobis optamus. Defendamus nos et vos,] ne [et nos sine causa benedicamus et] vos sine causa Amen subscribatis. [This 18th Sermon of the Forty Homilies of Augustine, first published by Sirmond at Paris, 1631, and corresponding to the 256th of the Be-

tin's works, he has another form in these words: 'Let us turn to the Lord, and bless his name, that we may have grace to persevere in his commandments, to walk in the way of his instructions, and please him in every good work, &c.' From all which it is manifest they used such short prayers both in the beginning and conclusion of their sermons, and sometimes, as occasion required, in the middle of them also, and that these were distinct from the common prayers of the Church.

The Salutation, *Pax vobis! The Lord be with you!* commonly used before sermons.

14. Before they began to preach, it was usual also in many places to use the common salutation, *Pax vobis! Peace be unto you!* or, *The Lord be with you!* which was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices; to which the people answered, *And with thy spirit!* This the author of the Constitutions[23] calls *πρόσρησιν, the salutation*, giving this rule to the bishop newly ordained. 'After the reading of the Law, and the Prophets, and the Epistles, and the Acts, and the Gospels, let him salute the Church, saying, The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all! and let all the people answer, And with thy spirit! And *after this salutation*, *μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν*, let him speak to the people the words of exhorta-

nedictine Editors, (In Diebus Paschalibus, 27. de Halleluia,) does not conclude with those words: it ends with the same formula as the 67th Sermon of the Benedictine: (see n. 19, preceding.) *Conversi ad Dominum Deum, Patrem Omnipotentem, puro corde, &c.* Neither in Sirmond's note on the place, (ad calc. Ed. ut supr. p. 217. sive in Oper. Sirmond. Venet. 1728. t. 1. p. 198.) is there any mention of Eugyppius, but merely the following remark:—*Solemnis precatio, qua sermones suos claudere solebat Augustinus.* Ejus in veteri codice prima tantum verba de more legebantur, cætera descripta sunt ex Sermone 30. de Verb. Dom. [juxt. Ed. Bened. Serm. 106. c. 10.] sed incertum est an eam in hoc sermone usurparit, an alteram breviorem, qualis est in Sermone 121. de Diversis, [juxt. Ed. Bened. Serm. 362. c. 31. t. 5. p. 1437 d.] in hunc modum: *Conversi ad Dominum ipsum deprecemur pro nobis, et omni plebe sua adstante nobiscum in atriis domus suæ, quam custodire protegereque dignetur, per Jesum Christum Filium ejus, Dominum nostrum qui cum ea vivit et regnat in sæcula sæculorum.* However the formula, as above, *Audistis me, &c.*, though not particularly noticed by Sirmond, is found in the Thesaurus of Eugyppius, (Basil. 1542.) according to the reference. ED.]

[23] L. 8. c. 5. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 392.) *Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ Νόμου καὶ τῶν Προφητῶν, τῶν τε Ἐπιστολῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν Πράξεων, καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων ἀσπασάσθω ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, λέγων· Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν· καὶ πάντες ἀποκρινέσθωσαν, Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Πνεύματός σου. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν προσλαλησάτω τῷ λαῷ λόγους παρακλήσεως.*

tion.' And that this author did not impose any new custom upon the Church appears from Chrysostom, who in several of his homilies makes mention of it. In his third Homily upon the Colossians, he says, the bishop, when he first entered the church, said, *Peace be unto you all!* and when he began to preach[24], *Peace be unto you all!* And a little before he says, the bishops used it *ἐν ταῖς προσρήσεσι*, by which he means their sermons, or at least the form of salutation itself, ushering in the sermon, as we have seen the author of the Constitutions understands it. Chrysostom[25] adds, that the people returned the salutation of peace to him that gave it, saying, *And with thy spirit!* In another place[26] he says, 'Nothing is comparable to peace and unity: and for this reason the father, the bishop, when he enters the church, before he goes up to his throne, prays for peace to all; and when he rises up to preach, he does not begin to discourse before he has given the peace to all.' In other places[27] he opens the reason of this practice, by declaring the original intent and design of it. 'For,' he says, 'it was an ancient custom in the Apostles' days, when the rulers of the Church had the gift of inspiration, and spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, for the people to say to the preacher, *Peace be with thy spirit!* Therefore now when we begin to preach, the people answer, *And with thy spirit!* showing that heretofore they spake not by their own wisdom, but as they were moved by the Spirit.' And though this gift of extraordinary inspiration had ceased, yet all preachers still were presumed to be under the conduct and assistance of the Spirit in a lower degree: and therefore he says in another place[28], 'that the Holy Ghost was in their common father and

[24] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1338. See before, ch. 3. s. 8. p. 66. n. 71.

[25] Ibid. p. 1339. (t. 11. p. 348 d.) .... *Ἀντιδιδόντες τῷ διδόντι τὴν εἰρήνην πολεμοῦμεν; λέγεις, Καὶ τῷ Πνεύματί σου, κ.τ.λ.*

[26] Hom. 52. In eos qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. p. 713. [al. Cont. Judæos, Hom. 3.] (t. 1. p. 614 c.) *Οὐδὲν εἰρήνης ἴσον καὶ συμφωνίας. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ εἰσιὼν ὁ πατὴρ, οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον ἀναβαίνει τοῦτον, ἕως ἂν ἅπασιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην ἐπεύξηται· καὶ ἀναστὰς οὐ πρότερον ἄρχεται τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς διδασκαλίας, ἕως ἂν ἅπασι δῷ τὴν εἰρήνην.*

[27] Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. (t. 10. p. 339 d.) *Ἐπειδὰν ἀρξώμεθα λέγειν, ὁ λαὸς ἀντιφθέγγεται, Τῷ Πνεύματι σου, δεικνὺς ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτως ἔλεγον, οὐκ οἰκείᾳ σοφίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Πνεύματι κινούμενοι.*

[28] Hom. 36. de Pentecost. t. 5. p. 553. (t. 2. p. 463 b.) *Εἰ μὴ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τούτῳ πατρὶ καὶ διδασκάλῳ, οὐκ ἂν ὅτε πρὸ μικροῦ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βῆμα τοῦτο, καὶ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδωκεν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἐπε-*

teacher, (meaning the bishop,) when he went up into the episcopal throne, and gave the peace to them all, and they with one voice answered, *And with thy spirit!* And this, not only when he went into his throne, but also when he preached to them, when he prayed, and when he stood by the holy table to offer the oblation.' And by this we may understand what Sozomen[29] and others say of Chrysostom after his return from banishment, 'that the people forced him against his will, before he was synodically reinstated, to go up into the throne, and give them the peace in the usual form, and preach to them.'

Optatus[30] speaks of the same custom in Afric, both in the beginning and end of their sermons. For he says, 'they used a double salutation: the bishop never began to speak to the people before he had first saluted them in the name of God. Every sermon in the church began in the name of God, and ended in the name of the same God.' And by this he proves that Macarius, the Emperor's officer, did not take upon him the office of a bishop among the Catholics as the Donatists falsely objected against them. For though he spake to the people in the church, yet it was upon some other business, and not by way of preaching, which was the office of bishops, which they always began and ended with this salutation: but Macarius used no such salutation, and from thence he argues that he did not preach. Bona[31] cites also Athanasius's Epistle to Eusta-

φθέγξασθε αὐτῷ κοινῇ πάντες, Καὶ τῷ Πνεύματί σου. Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναβαίνοντι μόνον, οὐδὲ διαλεγομένῳ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ εὐχομένῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ταύτην ἐπιφθέγγεσθε τὴν ῥῆσιν, ἀλλ' ὅταν παρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἑστήκῃ τράπεζαν· ὅταν τὴν φρικτὴν ἐκείνην θυσίαν ἀναφέρειν μέλλῃ.

[29] L. 8. c. 18. (v. 2. p. 349. 37.) *Ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· παραιτούμενόν τε, καὶ πολλάκις ἰσχυριζόμενον, χρῆναι πρότερον τοὺς καταψηφισαμένους αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀποψηφίσασθαι, ὡς ἱερεῦσι θέμις, ἠνάγκασαν τὴν εἰρήνην τῷ λαῷ προσεῖπεῖν, καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐπισκοπικὸν καθίσαι θρόνον· ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ, καὶ σχέδιόν τινα διεξῆλθε λόγον.*

[30] L. 7. p. 112. (p. 84.) Episcopalis tractatus probatur.... salutatione geminata. Non enim aliquid incipit episcopus ad populum dicere, nisi primo in nomine Dei populum salutaverit. Similes sunt exitus initiis. Omnis tractatus in ecclesia a nomine Dei incipitur, et ejusdem Dei nomine terminatur. Quis vestrum audet dicere episcoporum more Macarium populum salutare? Igitur, cum nec salutaverit, antequam aliquid loqueretur, nec salutare ausus sit, postquam locutus sit, nec manum imposuerit, nec sacrificium Deo ritu episcopali obtulerit, quid est, quod dicitis pollui potuisse episcopale collegium, cum ab omni episcoporum officio Macarium videatis alienum?—Conf. l. 3. p. 73. (p. 79.)... Salutas de pace, qui non amas.—[See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 418. n. 88. Ed.]

[31] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 5. n. 1.

thius, where he inveighs against the Arian bishops, 'who in the beginning of their sermons used that kind word, *Peace be with you!* and yet were always harassing others, and tragically engaged in war.' But as there is no Epistle under that title among Athanasius's works[29], I let it rest upon the credit of our author.

But the use of *Ave Maries* before sermons, unknown to the Ancients.

15. But I cannot but observe, that among all the short prayers used by the Ancients before their sermons, there is never any mention of an *Ave Mary!* now so common in the practice of the Romish Church. Their addresses were all to God, and the invocation of the Holy Virgin for grace and assistance before sermons was a thing not thought of. They, who are most concerned to prove its use, can derive its original no higher than the beginning of the fifteenth century. For Ferrarius[30] ingenuously confesses that Vincentius Ferrerius[31] was the first ecclesiastical writer that ever used it before his sermons. Baronius has not a syllable of its antiquity in all his twelve centuries; there being a perfect silence both among the Ancients and all the Ritualists about it, till that Dominican

(p. 282.) Athanasius tandem Epistola ad Eustathium invehitur in quosdam episcopos, cum initio sacrificii et sermonis blandum illud proferrent, *Pax vobiscum!* tragœdias tamen excitabant, et alios affligebant.

[29] [Bona's statement is correct according to Montfaucon's edition of the works of Athanasius; (Paris, 1698.) where this Epistle to Eustathius does not appear under that express title, but forms the Preface, as it were, to the Confutations of Seventeen Propositions, which, in that edition, come next after the Second Dialogue against Macedonianus. See among the *Dubia*, which form the second tome, or third volume, of that edition, the first tome consisting of two parts: (t. 2. p. 560 f.) .... Καὶ ταῦτα δραματουργεῖ [al. δραματουργεῖσθαι] διὰ πολλῶν ἱερέων· Ὦ τῆς ἀνιεροῦ τολμῆς· ὃ τῆς ἀφορήτου δίκης· ὧν προοίμιον ἱερουργίας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας τὸ γλυκύτατον ἐκεῖνο, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· κ. τ. λ.—The entire context completely justifies the remark which Bona makes.—See also the Ed. Patav. 1771. (t. 2. p. 491.) under the title, *Epistola cujusdam, ut videtur, præfationis loco scripta, in qua motuum ecclesiasticorum tragœdia.* Ed.]

[30] De Ritu Concion. l. 1. c. 11. p. 30. (p. 42.) Non ita vetus autem esse laudabile hoc ecclesiæ institutum, ex eo facile crediderim, quod Beatus Vincentius Ferrerius, qui floruit anno Domini 1410, primus ex omnibus scriptoribus ecclesiasticis illius meminerit, dum singulis sermonibus suis præmittit ea verba, *Salutetur Beata Virgo.* Fatendum ut sit, illud vel a Beato Vincentio initium habuisse, vel certe ipsius Vincentii temporibus cœpisse frequentari.

[31] [Whom Bellarmine, de Scriptoribus, (Colon. 1684. p. 227.) calls *Vir apostolicus*, and says: Prædicavit multis in locis verbum Dei cum summa utilitate populorum, Deo cooperante et sermones ejus confirmante sequentibus signis: &c. He was of the Order of Preachers. He died in 1418. See more in Wharton's Append. to Cave, Oxon. 1743. t. 2. Append. p. 116. Ed.]

preacher, in his abundant zeal for the worship of the Holy Virgin, began to use it before his sermons; from whose example, for he was a celebrated preacher in the age he lived in, it gained such reputation and authority, as not only to be prefixed before all their sermons, but to be adapted and joined with the Lord's Prayer in the Roman Breviary. Ferrarius says all he can to justify a novelty; but nothing can clear this *hyperdulia* of idolatry; and he might have spared his censure of Erasmus, who says a witty thing upon it[32], 'that their preachers were used to invoke the Virgin Mother in the beginning of their discourses, as the Heathen poets were used to do their Muses:' for Epiphanius would have said much severer things against it had he had the like occasion given him to inveigh against this idolatry as he had to censure that of the Collyridians[33]: but then this idolatry was confined to the weaker sex, and had not yet made its way into the pulpits, or any part of the liturgy of the ancient Church, when preachers were used to pray for grace and assistance only from Him who is the proper donor of it.

Sometimes their sermons were prefaced with a benediction.

16. I observe further, that as their sermons were thus usually prefaced with a short prayer, so they were sometimes introduced with a short form of benediction. This seems to have been peculiar to times of calamity and distress, or to happy deliverances out of them. There are instances of both kinds in Chrysostom's sermons to the people of Antioch, when they were under apprehensions of being destroyed by the Emperor's displeasure. His fourth sermon[34] begins thus: 'Blessed be God, who hath comforted your sorrowful souls, and comforted your wavering minds.' His eleventh[35], twelfth[36], thir-

[32] [See his *Apologia adversus Rhapsodias Calumniosarum Queremoniarum, &c.* Basil. ap. Froben. 1531. (p. 168.) Sed si est fons gratiæ, quid opus est illi dicere *Ora pro nobis?* Non est probabile eam consuetudinem a gravibus viris inductam, sed ab inepto quopiam, qui, quod didicerat apud poëtas propositioni succedere invocationem, pro Musa supposuit Mariam.—Conf. ap. Erasm. Lugd. Bat. 1706. t. 9. col. 1165 f. sub tit. *Veneratio Virginis Deiparæ.* ED.]

[33] See before, s. 5. p. 109. n. 25.

[34] Hom. 4. ad Pop. Antioch. (t. 2. p. 48 d.) Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παρακαλέσας τὰς ὀδυνωμένας ὑμῶν ψυχὰς, ὁ στηρίξας δονουμένας ὑμῶν τὰς διανοίας.

[35] Hom. 11. (ibid. p. 114 d.) Ἐπειδὰν ἐννοήσω τὸν παρελθόντα χειμῶνα, τὴν παροῦσαν γαλήνην, οὐ παύομαι λέγων, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ποιῶν πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων αὐτά.

[36] Hom. 12. (ibid. p. 123 b.) Καὶ χθὲς εἶπον, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός· καὶ σήμερον τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πάλιν ἐρῶ.

teenth [36], and twentieth [37] homilies begin much after the same manner. And his Homily after his Return from Banishment [38] is thus prefaced: 'What shall I say? what shall I speak? Blessed be God! This was the word which I spake when I went away; and this I repeat now at my return.' And this he tells them he did after the example of Job, who in adversity, as well as prosperity, said always, "Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

Sometimes preached without any text, and sometimes upon more texts than one.

17. It appears further from those homilies and several others [39], both in him and other writers, that they sometimes preached without any text; only treating of such matters as they thought most proper for the occasion. But most commonly they took their text out of some paragraph of the Psalms or Lessons, as they were read. And sometimes they so ordered the matter, as to preach upon the Psalm, the Epistle, and Gospel, all together, when they were either accidentally or by their own appointment upon the same subject. Thus St. Austin preached upon the subject of praise and thanksgiving out of the Epistle, the Psalm, and the Gospel together [40], because they had all something relating to his subject. But they never showed so little reverence for Scripture as to choose their text out of Aristotle's Ethics, as Sixtinus Amama [41] tells

[36] Hom. 13. (ibid. p. 133 a.) Ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν προοιμίων, ὧν χθὲς καὶ πρὸ ἐκείνης ἠρξάμην, καὶ σήμερον ἄρξομαι, καὶ ἐρῶ νῦν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός.

[37] Hom. 20. [al. 21.] (ibid. p. 213 e.) Ἀπὸ τῆς ῥήσεως, ἀφ' ἧς ἀεὶ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν κινδύνων πρὸς τὴν ὑμετερὰν εἰώθειν ἀγάπην προοιμάζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καὶ σήμερον ἄρξομαι τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς λόγου, καὶ ἐρῶ μεθ' ὑμῶν, Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην ἑορτὴν μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης πολλῆς καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελέσαι σήμερον, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποδοὺς τῷ σώματι, καὶ τὸν ποιμένα τοῖς προβάτοις, τὸν διδάσκαλον τοῖς μαθηταῖς, τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ποιῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκπερισσοῦ ὧν αἰτούμεθα, ἢ νοοῦμεν.

[38] Hom. post Redit. t. 2. (t. 3. p. 424 a.) Τί εἶπω; ἢ τί λαλήσω; Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός· τοῦτο εἶπον ἐξιὼν τὸ ῥῆμα, τοῦτο πάλιν ἐπαναλαμβάνω. [See my remarks at n. 85. p. 127. of this volume. Ed.]

[39] Homm. 3–6. ad Pop. Antioch. (t. 2. pp. 35, seqq.)

[40] Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 112. [al. Serm. 176.] (t. 5. p. 839 e.) Has tres lectiones, quantum pro tempore possumus, pertractemus, dicentes pauca de singulis, et quantum conari possumus, adjuvante Domino, non in aliqua earum immorantes, &c.

[41] Oratio de Barbarie. Cited by Mr. Seller in his Life of Justin Martyr, p. 123. (Anti-Barbarus, p. 8.) In nonnullis quoque locis eo deventum fuit, ut textus ex Ethica Aristotelis pro concione proposuerint et interpretati sint; id quod dominus Melancthon suis se auribus audivisse testatur.

us one of the Romish preachers did at Paris in the hearing of Melancthon.

Their sermons always upon important subjects.

18. Neither did they entertain their auditory with light and ludicrous matters, or fabulous and romantic stories, such as those with which preaching so much abounded in the age before the Reformation; of which Erasmus [42], and Faber [43], and Hottinger [44], and many other learned men, have made so great and so just complaints.

[42] Moriæ Encomium, p. 176, &c. (Oper. Lugd. Bat. 1703. t. 4. p. 475 b. 6.) Audivi ipsa quendam eximie stultum, erravi, *doctum* volebam dicere, qui in concione celeberrima Divinæ Triadis mysterium explicaturus, quo et doctrinam suam non vulgarem ostentaret, et theologicis satisfaceret auribus, nova prorsus ingressus est via, nimirum a literis, syllabis, et oratione, tum a concordia nominis et verbi, adjectivi nominis et substantivi, mirantibus jam plerisque, ac nonnullis Horatianum illud apud se mussitantibus, *Quorsum hæc tam putida tendunt?* Tandem huc rem deduxit, ut in grammaticorum rudimentis sic expressum ostenderet totius Triadis simulacrum, ut nemo mathematicorum in pulvere posset evidentius depingere. Atque in hac oratione θεολογώτατος ille totos octo menses ita desudarat, ut hodie quoque magis cæcutiat, quam talpæ, nimirum tota luminum acie ad ingenii cuspidem avocata. Verum haud pœnitet hominem cæcitatis, ac parvo quoque putat emptam eam gloriam. Auditus est nobis alius quidam octogenarius, adeo theologus, ut in hoc Scotum ipsum renatum putes. Is explicaturus mysterium nominis Jesu, mira subtilitate demonstravit, in ipsis literis latere, quidquid de illo dici possit. Etenim quod tribus duntaxat inflectitur casibus, id manifestum esse simulacrum Divini Ternionis. Deinde quod prima vox *Jesus* desinat in *s*, secunda *Jesum*, in *m*, tertia *Jesu*, in *u*, in hoc ἄρρητον subesse mysterium: nempe tribus literis indicantibus, eum esse summum, medium, et ultimum. Restabat mysterium his quoque retrusius, mathematica ratione. Jesus sic in duas æquales diffidit portiones, ut scilicet penthemimeres in medio resideret. Deinde docuit, eam literam apud Hebræos esse v, quam illi Syn appellent; porro Syn, Scotorum opinor lingua, *peccatum* sonat: atque hinc palam declarari, Jesum esse, qui peccata tolleret mundi. Hoc tam novum exordium sic inhiantes admirati sunt omnes, præcipue theologi, ut parum abfuerit, quin illis acciderit, quod olim Niobæ; cum mihi propemodum evenerit, quod ficulno illi Priapo, qui magno suo malo Canidiæ Saganæque nocturna sacra spectavit, &c.

[43] Declamat. de Humanæ Vitæ Miseria. ap. Hotting. Hist. Eccles. Sæc. 16. (part. 4. p. 1271.) Concionatorum vicem persæpe vehementer indolui, quibus nescio quæ putida commentaria revolvenda sunt, quoties ad populum declamandum est. Aucupantur nonnulli sedulo quidem, sed parum scite, ut Meffret. Quædam non usquequaque recepta, sed propemodum anilia referunt aliqui, ut discipulus. Multi nimium secure dormiunt, dum fere ubique dormitant. Quæ, malum, insania est, divinum oratorem pro evangelica veritate somnia quædam et aniculorum visiones et terriculamenta referre? Miserebat me eorum, quibus illa deliria facessebant negotia. .... Sola divini verbi declamandi facultas rudior, quam hæc ætas docta ferat, atque impurior videbatur. Non enim sine magno meo vel stomacho legi vulgus sermologorum, ut vocant. Nam occurrerunt pleraque barbara et indigniora, quæ

There is one instance given by Hottinger out of one of their authentic Books of Homilies, which for its singular vanity, and to show the difference between the ancient and the modern way of edifying a popular audience, I shall here transcribe out of him, as he relates it in his history. He says[45], in a Book of Sermons composed by the theological faculty of Vienna, anno 1430, which was read in their monasteries and their churches, this ridiculous story is told, to recommend their relics to the people: 'That the thirty pieces of gold, (though the

vel doctus homo legeret, vel imbiberet auris Christiana, quæ conatus sum, &c.

[44] Sæc. 16. s. 3. (part. 1. p. 263.) In cærimoniis plerique exponendis, quam fidei articulis tradendis erant occupatiores. Habeo hac de re Beati Rhenani judicium, epistola perquam familiari, a. C. 1518, Basilea ad Zuinglium, in Helvetiorum eremo adhuc commorantem, perscripta, quod ex ipso autographo in lucem producemus: *Nihil est, quod magis doleat, quam quod video, Christianum populum passim cærimoniis nihil ad rem pertinentibus onerari, immo meris næniis. Et causam non aliam reperio, quam quod sacerdotes, per summularios istos et sophisticos theologos decepti, ethnicam aut Judaicam doctrinam docent. De vulgo sacerdotum loquor. Neque enim me latet, te tuique similes purissimam Christi philosophiam ex ipsis fontibus populo proponere, non Scoticis aut Gabrielicis interpretationibus depravatam; sed ab Augustino, Ambrosio, Cypriano, Hieronymo, germane et sincere expositam. Deblaterant illi nugas in eo loco stantes, ubi, quidquid dicitur, populus verissimum esse putat, de pontificia potestate, de condonationibus, de purgatorio, de fictis divorum miraculis, de restitutione, de contractibus, de votis, de pœnis inferorum, de Antichristo, &c.*

[45] Sæc. 15. (pp. 63, seqq.) Pagina 456 ex apocryphis quibusdam deliramentis refert, triginta aureos, quibus Servatorem prodidit Judas, cusos esse ab Abrahami parente Thæracho, fabro peritissimo, a quo, auctoritate et jussu regis Nimrodi, primum nummum signatum orbis terrarum habuerit. Hæreditario jure hos triginta nummos cessisse Abrahamo, quibus ab Ephrone sepulchrum emerit. Inde ad Ismaëlitas devenisse, qui Josephum eodem pretio suum fecerint. Josepho autem in Ægypto, fratribus frumentum vendenti, fuisse redditos, et thesauro regio additos. Ex thesauro paullo post Mosem obtinuisse, cum a rege ad subigendam Æthiopiam mitteretur. Ea occasione reginæ Sabæ a Mose fuisse oblatos dotis loco. Postea vero, cum Æthiopum regina Salomonem salutasset, argenteos illam nummos eidem donasse. Qui iterum gazophylacio regio addicti, Nebucadnezaris tandem urbem occupantis prædæ cesserint. Cumque regem quendam Arabiæ haberet in comitatu suo, ex cujus posteris unus eorum fuerit regum, qui Christum Bethlehemi honoribus et muneribus affecerint, hoc ei Nebucadnezarem munus sponte destinasse. Atque sic a rege illo Orientali tam splendidum donum B. Virgini fuisse consecratum. Mariam vero, Filium suum sistentem, munus hoc sacrum templo esse voluisse. Atque hoc ipsum tandem argentum pretium proditionis fuisse. Addit etiam argenteos istos, quos aureos ante vocaverat, post Christi passionem toto orbe dispersos et sanctis annumeratos reliquiis esse. Unum quidem ostendi Romæ ad introitum basilicæ Petri: sed aureum esse, et nummo Anglico majorem.—St. Bernard's censure of such trifles is, Inter sæculares nugæ nugæ sunt, in ore sacerdotis blasphemiæ. See De Consider. l. 2. c. 13. (t. 2. p. 1037 d.)

Scripture calls them silver,) which Judas had for betraying his master, were coined by Terah, Abraham's father, who was a famous artificer under King Nimrod; that he gave them to his son Abraham; that Abraham therewith purchased the field of Ephron the Hittite; from whence they came into the hands of the Ishmaelites, who therewith bought Joseph, when his brethren sold him into Egypt; that Joseph's brethren paid them to Joseph when they went to buy corn in Egypt, and so they came into the king of Egypt's treasury; that hence they were given to Moses when the king of Egypt sent him with an army to subdue Ethiopia; that Moses upon this occasion gave them as a dowry to the queen of Sheba; and the Ethiopian queen afterward made a present of them to King Solomon; who put them into the treasury, where they continued till Nebuchadnezzar among the spoil seized them in the devastation of Jerusalem; Nebuchadnezzar, having an Arabian king among his auxiliaries, made a present of them unto him; and of him sprang one of those Eastern kings who came to worship Christ at his birth, and made a present of them to the Virgin Mary; and the Virgin, when she presented her son in the temple, made them an offering for her purification. So this very silver, which was gold before, was the price which Judas had for betraying his master. And these silver pieces are there said to be dispersed over all the world, and kept as sacred relics, one of which in gold as big as an English noble is showed at Rome in the entrance of St. Peter's church.' One would hardly believe that such absurd and ridiculous fictions should have been authorized from the pulpit among the rules of eternal life, had not undeniable proof been often made[46] that their breviaries and legends, as well as sermons, before the Reformation, were stuffed with such fables; though I believe this story outdoes any in the Golden Legion, of which Ludovicus Vives[47] and Melchior Canus[48] so much complain,

[46] See Patrick's Devotions of the Roman Church. Lond. 1674. 8vo. [With two Digressions concerning the Reliques and Miracles in Mr. Cressy's late Church History. Ed.]

[47] De Tradendis Disciplinis, l. 5. [illegible]) Acta vero Apostolorum, [illegible]f. Hottinger. Hist. Eccles. [illegible]3. (p. 260.) ex Ludov. Viv. l. 2. p. 28. Indigna est divis et hominibus Christianis illa sanctorum historia, quæ Legenda Aurea nominetur, quam nescio cur auream appellant, quum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, plumbei cordis. Quid fœdius est libro? O quam pudendum est nobis Christianis, non esse præstantissimos nostrorum

and Jacobus de Voragine [49] was but an ass to these men for invention. Now let us see how the ancient way of preaching differed from this.

Justin Martyr [50] makes it a plain but a very edifying way of instruction. For he says, 'when the writings of the Apostles and Prophets were read, the bishop made a discourse to exhort and excite the people to imitate and transcribe into their practice the good things they had heard read out of them.' Their subjects, as Gregory Nazianzen [51] describes the choice of them,

divorum actus verius et accuratius memoriæ mandatos, sive ad cognitionem, sive ad imitationem tantæ virtutis, quam de suis ducibus, de philosophis, et sapientibus hominibus, tanta cura Græci et Romani perscripserint? *Grischov.*]

[48] Loci Theolog. l. 11. c. 6. p. 533. (De Hum. Hist. Auct. p. 238. col. 2. et ap. Hottinger. ut supr. p. 333.) Dolenter hoc dico potius quam contumeliose, multo a Laërtio severius Vitas philosophorum scriptas, quam a Christianis Vitas sanctorum; longeque incorruptius et integrius Suetonium res Cæsarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dico imperatorum, sed martyrum, virginum, et confessorum. Illi enim in probis, aut philosophis, aut principibus, nec vitia, nec suspiciones vitiorum tacent, in improbis vero etiam colores virtutum produnt. Nostri autem plerique vel affectibus inserviunt, vel de industria quoque ita multa confingunt, ut eorum me nimirum non solum pudeat, sed etiam tædeat. Hos enim intelligo ecclesiæ Christi cum nihil utilitatis attulisse, tum incommodationis plurimum. Nominibus parco, quoniam hujus loci judicium morum etiam est, et non eruditionis tantum, in qua liberior potest esse censura. Nam quæ morum est, hæc debet profecto esse et in vivos cautior, et in mortuos reverentior. Certum est autem, qui ficte et fallaciter historiam ecclesiasticam scribunt, eos viros bonos atque sinceros esse non posse, totamque eorum narrationem inventam esse aut ad quæstum aut errorem, quorum alterum fœdum est, alterum perniciosum.

[49] [Floruit anno 1290. Rectius *de Viragine*, urbe Ligurum maritima, oriundus S. Dominici familiæ nomen dedit, ejusque in Lombardia Provincialis, deinde totius ordinis Generalis, &c. .... Vir quidem in Deum devotus, in pauperes munificus... pius magis quam doctus, etsi Augustini opera sedulo legebat, ejusque pene omnia memoria tenuisse dicitur. In rebus historicis, præsertim quæ de Vitis Sanctorum congessit, nimium credulus, et in fabulis undique invasandis ad ludibrium ineptus.—Vid. Cav. Hist. Liter. Oxon. 1743. t. 2. p. 334. ED.]

[50] Apol. 2. p. 98. See before, s. 3. p. 103. n. 98.

[51] Orat. 1. de Fug. (t. 1. p. 15 d.) *Ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν πρᾶγμα φαίνεται, οὐ τῶν φαυλοτάτων, οὐδὲ ὀλίγου τοῦ πνεύματος διδόναι κατὰ καιρὸν ἑκαστῷ τοῦ λόγου τὸ σιτομέτριον, καὶ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων· ὅσα περὶ κόσμων ἢ κόσμου πεφιλοσόφηται, περὶ ὕλης, περὶ ψυχῆς, περὶ νοῦ καὶ τῶν νοερῶν φύσεων, βελτιόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων, περὶ τῆς τὰ πάντα συνδεούσης τε καὶ διεξαγούσης προνοίας· ὅσα τε κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντᾷν δοκεῖ, καὶ ὅσα παρὰ λόγον τὸν κάτω καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον· ἔτι τε ὅσα περὶ τῆς πρώτης ἡμῶν συστάσεως καὶ τῆς τελευταίας ἀναπλάσεως, τύπων τε καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ διαθηκῶν, καὶ Χριστοῦ παρουσίας πρώτης τε καὶ δευτέρας, σαρκώσεώς τε, καὶ παθημάτων, καὶ ἀναλύσεως· ὅσα τε περὶ ἀναστάσεως, περὶ τέλους, περὶ κρίσεως, καὶ ἀνταποδόσεως σκυθρωποτέρας τε καὶ ἐνδοξοτέρας· τὸ κεφάλαιον, ὅσα περὶ τῆς ἀρχικῆς καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος ὑπολῃπτέον.*

were commonly such as these: of the world's creation, and the soul of man: of angels, as well those that kept, as those that lost their first integrity: of providence, and its wise laws and constitutions; of the formation of man and his restoration; of the two covenants, the types of the old, and the antitypes of the new; of Christ's first and second coming, of his incarnation and passion; of the general resurrection and end of the world; of the day of judgment, and the rewards of the just, and the punishment of the wicked; and above all of the doctrine of the Trinity, which was the principal article of the Christian faith. In like manner Chrysostom[31] puts his auditors in mind of what matters he had used to preach to them, of the nature of the soul, of the fabric of the body, of the state of immortality, of the kingdom of heaven and the torments of hell, of the long-suffering of God and the methods of pardon: of the powers of repentance, of baptism, and the forgiveness of sins: of the creation of the superior and inferior world; of the nature of men and angels; of the subtilty of Satan, and his methods and policies; of the different opinions of the Christian world: of the true faith, and the gangrene of heresies, and other such mysteries, which it behoves a Christian to be acquainted with.

19. And as they were thus careful in the choice of their subjects, so they were no less careful to put their well chosen matter into the most useful and pleasing dress: that they might answer the true ends of Christian oratory, and as the Wise Man words it, [Prov. 25. 11.] make their "apples of gold" appear the more beautiful by being set in pictures of silver."

"The design of Christian oratory," as St. [illegible]

[31] Hom. 24. de Bapt. Christ. t. 1. p. 399. (t. 2. p. 368 c. [illegible]

'is either to instruct men in the truth, or to refute their errors, or to persuade them to the practice of holiness and virtue, and dissuade them from the contrary vices. The first of these requires plain narration; the second, strength of argument and ratiocination; and the third, the art and power of moving the mind and affections. And in doing each of these, the Christian orator[53], as he never speaks anything but what is holy, just, and good, so he endeavours to speak these in such a manner, as that he may be heard with understanding, with pleasure, and with obedience, as the chief thing of all. That he may be heard with understanding, he speaks everything with a natural plainness and perspicuity, and also a regard to men's capacities and apprehensions. He reckons the greatest oratory of no use, if it cannot be understood: for[54] what signifies a golden key, if it cannot open what we intend? A wooden key is of more use, if it will answer the true design of a key, which is only to open what is locked up and shut before. Therefore the Christian orator labours chiefly at perspicuity in his speech, never thinking he has done justice to any truth by his eloquence, unless he has also delivered it with a sufficient evidence to men of reasonable capacities and comprehensions. There are some things[55] which are unintelligible in their own nature, or not to be understood by the ordinary sort of men, though they be spoken with never so much plainness of the orator: and therefore such things are seldom or never, without great necessity, to be handled in a popular audience. For the same

mare.... Si docendi sunt qui audiunt, narratione faciendum est, si tamen indigeat, ut res de qua agitur, innotescat. Ut autem, quæ dubia sunt, certa fiant, documentis adhibitis ratiocinandum est. Si vero, qui audiunt, movendi sunt potius quam docendi, ut in eo, quod jam sciunt, agendo non torpeant, ut rebus assensum, quas veras esse fatentur, accommodent, majoribus dicendi viribus opus est. Ibi obsecrationes et increpationes, concitationes et coercitiones, et quæcunque alia valent ad commovendos animos

c. 15. (p. 76 a.)
te eloquen
bona dic

enim alia debet dicere: agit ergo quantum potest, cum ista dicit, ut intelligenter, ut libenter, ut obedienter audiatur.

[54] Ibid. c. 11. (p. 74 e.) Quid enim prodest clavis aurea, si aperire quod volumus non potest? Aut quid obest lignea, si hoc potest, quando nihil quærimus, nisi patere quod clausum est?

[55] Ibid. c. 9. (p. 73 b.) Sunt enim quædam, quæ vi sua non intelliguntur, aut vix intelliguntur, quantolibet et quantumlibet, quamvis planissime dicentis versentur eloquio, uæ in populi audientiam, vel raro, liquid urget, vel nunquam omittenda sunt.

reason, he that studies perspicuity and evidence will sometimes neglect rhetorical expressions, and not regard how sonorous, but how significant his words are, to intimate and declare his sense to the minds of his hearers. For there is a *diligens negligentia*, an *useful negligence*, proper in this case to ecclesiastical teachers, who must sometimes condescend to improprieties of speech, when they cannot speak otherwise to the apprehensions of the vulgar: (as he notes[56], that they were used to say *ossum* instead of *os*, to distinguish *a mouth* from *a bone* in Afric, to comply with the understandings of their hearers:) for what advantage is there in purity of speech, when the hearer understands it not, seeing there is no occasion at all of speaking, if they, for whose sake we speak to be understood, apprehend not what we say?'

And for this reason, I doubt not, there are so many Africanisms, or idioms of the African tongue, in St. Austin, because he thought it more commendable sometimes to deviate a little from the strict grammatical purity and propriety of the Latin tongue, than not be understood by his hearers. This was a laudable condescension in every respect, and much valued by the Ancients, who thought it the first office of a preacher, to speak always to the capacity and understanding of his hearers. It is this which Nazianzen[57] so highly commends in Athanasius, that he tempered his style according to the difference of his auditory: he condescended to speak to mean capacities in a lower way, whilst to the acute his words and notions were more sublime. And there was but one case in which they affected to speak any thing darkly and obscurely, and that was when they preached in a mixed auditory, where the catechumens were present, from whom they purposely intended to conceal some of the profounder knowledge of the Christian

[56] Ibid. c. 10. (p. 73 e.) Si enim non piguit dicere interpretes nostros, *Non congregabo conventicula eorum de sanguinibus*, quoniam senserunt ad rem pertinere, ut eo loco pluraliter enuntiaretur hoc nomen, quod in Latina lingua tantummodo singulariter dicitur; cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem, ossum potius quam os dicere, ne ista syllaba, non ab eo quod sunt ossa, sed ab eo quod sunt ora, intelligatur, ubi Afræ aures de correptione vocalium vel productione non judicant? Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quos, ut intelligant, loquimur?

[57] Orat. 21. de Laud. Athanas. p. 396. (t. 1. p. 39 d.) ... Πεζὸς τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις, ὑψηλότερος τοῖς μετεωροτέροις.

ysteries for a time, and therefore they usually spake of them a covert way, with an ἴασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι, *the initiated know hat we mean*, as being well understood by them, though they ake only by hints and dark terms upon the account of the echumens: of the reasons of which discipline and practice, I ve spoken largely heretofore[58], and therefore need say no ore of it in this place.

The next thing which St. Austin[59] commends in his Christian ator is, 'that he labours to be heard with pleasure,—*ut intelenter, ut libenter*,—for though a plain declaration of truth ay satisfy those who regard nothing but truth, yet the eater part of men love sweetness and ornament of speech: d therefore if it be unpleasant, the benefit of it will reach but ry few, who are desirous to hear what they ought to learn, ough it be in a mean and uncomely dress. But the generality men are not pleased with this: some similitude exists beeen eating and speaking; and therefore because weak stoachs cannot relish their most necessary food, without which ey cannot live, their food is to be seasoned to make it pleat for them.' Upon this account he commends the saying of ancient orator[60], who said truly, 'that an orator ought so to eak, as not only to teach and instruct, but also to delight and ve. And some hearers are to be induced to hear by the easure of a discourse, which arises from the sweetness, and auties, and ornaments of it.' St. Chrysostom[61] inculcates the me rule, in describing the office of a bishop, 'whose task,' he ys, 'was something the more difficult upon this account, beuse men had generally nice and delicate palates, and were

[58] B. 10. c. 5. v. 3. p. 550.

[59] De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. . (t. 3. part. 1. p. 74 e.) Quod tam si fiat insuaviter, ad paucos idem studiosissimos suus perve- fructus, qui ea quæ discenda nt, quamvis abjecte inculteque dintur, scire desiderant.... Sed quom inter se habent nonnullam silitudinem vescentes atque discen-, propter fastidia plurimorum etn ipsa, sine quibus vivi non potest, menta condienda sunt.

[60] Ibid. c. 12. (p. 74 f.) Dixit o quidam eloquens, et verum it, ita dicere debere eloquentem, ut doceat, ut delectet, ut flectat.... Sicut est autem (p. 75 a.) ut teneatur ad audiendum, delectandus auditor..... Et sicut delectatur, si suaviter loquaris, &c.

[61] De Sacerdot. l. 5. c. 1. (t. 1. p. 415 c.) Οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τέρψιν, ἀκούειν εἰθίσθησαν οἱ πολλοί.... Γενναίας οὖν δεῖ κάνταῦθα ψυχῆς, καὶ πολὺ ἡμετέραν ὑπερβαινούσης σμικρότητα, ἵνα τὴν ἄτακτον καὶ ἀνωφελῆ τοῦ πλήθους ἡδονὴν κολαζῇ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὠφελιμώτερον μετάγειν δύνηται τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ὡς αὐτῷ τὸν λαὸν ἕπεσθαι καὶ εἴκειν.

inclined to hear sermons as they heard plays, rather for pleasure than profit: which added to the preacher's study and labour; who, though he was to contemn both popular applause and censure, yet was he also to have such a regard to his auditory, as that they might hear him with pleasure to their edification and advantage.' 'It was not required, indeed, that every preacher should speak with the smoothness of Isocrates, or the loftiness of Demosthenes, or the majesty of Thucydides, or the sublimity of Plato,' as the same St. Chrysostom[62] words it: 'lower degrees of eloquence,' says St. Austin, 'would please a Christian auditory, provided he had a decent regard to the common rules of eloquence, to say nothing *obtuse, deformiter, frigide,* nothing that was *blunt,* nothing that was *indecent* or *unbecoming,* nothing that was *cold* or *languid;* but everything *acute, ornate, vehementer,* with *sharpness,* and *handsomeness,* and *force:*' which are St. Austin's rules[63] in this very case. 'Or if men could not attain to this perfection of exotic eloquence, yet there was a manly and majestic eloquence, an art of speaking wisely, which no one could fail of that would diligently study the Holy Scriptures. For there the subject is not only great and divine, but the diction also eloquent and beautiful;' as St. Austin[64] shows in several instances out of the Apostles and Prophets; 'the style not glittering with sallies, and flashes of juvenile wit, which would not become a manly eloquence, but altogether agreeable to the dignity and authority of the persons who were the inspired authors of it; who spake with an eloquence becoming both themselves and their subjects; such as is no ways inferior to the eloquence many times of the greatest masters and pretenders to it, and for its wisdom, which is the most true divine eloquence, far exceeds them.' They therefore, who were well versed both in the phrase and sense of the Scriptures, and knew how to make a

[62] Ibid. l. 4. c. 6. (p. 412 a.) Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν τὴν λειότητα Ἰσοκράτους ἀπήτουν, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένους ὄγκον, καὶ τὴν Θουκυδίδου σεμνότητα, καὶ Πλάτωνος ὕψος, κ.τ.λ.

[63] De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. 5. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 66 f.) Sed cum alii faciant obtuse, deformiter, frigide; alii acute, ornate, vehementer; illum ad hoc opus unde agimus jam oportet accedere, qui potest disputare vel dicere sapienter, etiamsi non potest eloquenter..... Sapienter (p. 67 a.) autem dicit homo tanto magis vel minus, quanto in Scripturis sanctis magis minusve profecit.

[64] Ibid. cc. 6, 7, tot. (pp. 68.. 72.)

proper use and application of them, could never want true eloquence to recommend their discourses with pleasure to their hearers. And indeed the very custom of applauding the preachers publicly in the church, of which more by and by, [in the twenty-seventh section,] is a certain evidence that they were commonly heard with pleasure.

The last thing which St. Austin commends in the Christian orator is, 'that he endeavours to be heard *obedienter*; that is, speaks to the *conviction* and *persuasion* of his hearers; convincing their judgments by sound and solid reasonings; and raising the affections, and drawing them into compliance by such motives, and methods, and addresses as are proper to work upon the several passions of human nature, and bend and subdue the will, and lead it captive into the obedience of faith. When the sacred orator has done this, he is at his utmost height: then he leads his hearers, as it were, willingly in triumph, having gained a complete and pleasing victory over them.' 'For,' as St. Austin again observes, 'till men are wrought into compliance and obedience by the orator, they are not properly conquered by him. For they may be taught and pleased[65], and yet yield no compliance or practical assent; without which the two former are of no advantage: but when his oratory has gained their wills, it has then subdued all opposition, and gotten a complete victory.' 'Now this is done,' as St. Austin there goes on to intimate, 'when the orator can bring men to love what he promises, to fear what he threatens, to hate what he rebukes, to embrace what he commends, to sorrow for what he aggravates as sorrowful, to rejoice at what he amplifies as matter of rejoicing, to commiserate those whom he represents before their eyes as objects of compassion, to avoid and fly from those whom he brands and stigmatizes as dangerous persons, and gives them terrible apprehensions of, as men with whom it is not safe to converse: and whatever else may be done by force of grand eloquence, to move the minds of the hearers, not to know what they are to do, but to do what they already know to be their duty to do.' This he

[65] Ibid. c. 12. (p. 75 c.) Ideo autem victoriæ est flectere, quia fieri potest ut doceatur, et delectetur, et non assentiatur. Quid autem illa duo proderunt, si desit hoc tertium?

calls[66] by the name of *grandis eloquentia et gravis, grand and grave eloquence,* and opposes it to what he calls *spumeus verborum ambitus, that light and frothy sort of eloquence,* which 'consists only in a jingling multiplicity of words, which does not become any subject, much less the gravity of a Christian discourse upon the weightiest and most serious of all subjects, where nothing is said but what is great, as having no regard to the affairs of this temporal life, but to the things of eternal happiness and eternal misery. For if a Christian orator speaks of temporal things, though they be small in themselves, yet they are great in his way of handling them; because he treats of them with respect to justice and charity, and piety in the use of them, which are great things in the smallest matters. As when the Apostle speaks of going to law for pecuniary matters, (1 Cor. 6, 1, &c.) he uses all the force of grand eloquence, raising his indignation, correcting, upbraiding, rebuking, threatening, and showing the concern of his soul by sharpening his style into the utmost keenness and quickness of expression; not because secular affairs deserved all this, but for the sake of justice, charity, and piety, that were so deeply concerned in them.' Thus he observes again[67], 'that a cup of cold water is but a small thing in itself, but it was great in our Lord's mouth when he said, he that gives it to a disciple shall not lose his reward.' He adds[68], 'that he himself once spake so movingly and affectionately, by the help of God, upon that subject to the people, that out of that cold water there arose a flame which warmed the cold hearts of men, and inflamed them to do works of mercy in hopes of an heavenly reward.' But he observes further, 'that although a preacher upon this account ought never to speak but of great things, yet he is not

[66] Ibid. c. 13. (p. 75 g.) Ipse quippe jam remanet ad consensionem flectendus eloquentiæ grandi-tate, &c.—C. 14. (p. 76 c.) Nec illa suavitas delectabilis est, qua non quidem iniqua dicuntur, sed exigua et fragilia bona spumeo verborum ambitu ornantur, quali ne magna atque stabilia decenter et graviter ornarentur.

[67] Ibid. c. 18. (p. 79 b.) Nisi forte quoniam calix aquæ frigidæ res minima atque vilissima est, ideo minimum aliquid atque vilissimum Dominus ait, quod eum qui dederit discipulo ejus non perdet mercedem suam.

[68] [Ibid. c. 18. (p. 79 c.) Nonne quando accidit ut de hac re loqueremur ad populum, et Deus affuit ut non incongrue diceremus, tanquam de illa aqua frigida quædam flamma surrexit, quæ etiam frigida hominum pectora ad misericordiæ opera facienda spe cœlestis mercedis, accenderet. Ed.]

'ays obliged to do this *granditer, in the way of vehement d grand eloquence*, or the elated and lofty style; but when speaks only to inform the judgment [69], the submiss or low le is to be used, as more proper for doctrinal instruction; l the temperate or middle style, when he speaks to praise dispraise: but when any thing is to be done, and they to om he speaks are unwilling to do it, then those things which) great in themselves are to be spoken *granditer, in a grand d vehement style*, or in such a way as is proper to incline l bend the wills of the hearers. And sometimes every one these three ways is used about the same subject; the sub- ss style, when any doctrine is delivered about it; the tem- ate style, when any commendation is to be given to it; and) grand style, when the mind that is averse from its duty is be converted and forcibly introduced to practise it. Thus, if man is discoursing concerning God: to show the Unity of) Trinity, he ought only to reason in the submiss and plain y, that what is difficult to be conceived may be understood, far as men are capable of understanding it. Here is no ament required, but only plain documents and instruction. t when God is to be praised, either in himself or his works, n there is a fair occasion for beautiful and splendid oratory, extol him whom no man can sufficiently praise. And again, is worship be neglected, or other things be taken in to rival n in his worship, whether they be idols or devils, or any ier creature, then the evil of the practice is to be aggravated h all the grandeur and vehemence of oratory, to dissuade d turn men from it.' And he gives us several instances of the three kinds, both out of Scripture and the ancient iters, Cyprian and Ambrose, assuring us in the end, 'that at he had said of those two might be found in the writings d discourses of other ecclesiastical men, who treated always weighty subjects in a proper manner, that is, as the matter quired, with perspicuity and acuteness, with ornament and auty, with ardency and grandeur in their applications.'

[69] Ibid. c. 19. (p. 79 d.) Et tamen n doctor iste debeat rerum dictor e magnarum, non semper eas et granditer dicere; sed sub- se, cum aliquid docetur; tempe- , cum aliquid vituperatur sive laudatur. Cum vero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent, nec tamen volunt, tunc ea, quæ magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer, et ad flectendos animos congruenter.

So that if we will take St. Austin's character of the ancient preachers[70], it was in short this: that their discourses were always upon weighty and heavenly matters, and their style* answerable to the subject, that is, plain, elegant, majestic, and nervous; fitly adapted to instruct, to delight and charm, and to convince and persuade their hearers; and if their method was different from ours, or not so exact and visible to the hearers, that must be imputed to custom and the times they lived in; for every age has its peculiarities and proper taste of things: and though I believe the modern way of methodizing sermons to be most useful to the hearers; yet if the question were to be determined by the rules and practice of the most famous orators, whether an open or a concealed method were fittest to be chosen, the judgment and decision would fall upon the side of the Ancients. However, if they failed in this, they made it up in other excellencies, by their perspicuity and clearness, their elegancy and fineness, their sublimity of thought and expression, and above all, by the flaming piety of their lives, corresponding to their doctrine, and giving the greatest force and energy to all their discourses. For, as St. Austin[71] truly observes in the last place, 'the life of the preacher has more weight in it than the greatest grandeur and force of eloquence, to induce his hearers to obedience: for he that preaches wisely and eloquently, but lives wickedly, may edify

[70] Ibid. c. 21. (p. 86 d.) Et in his autem, quos duos ex omnibus proponere volui, et in aliis ecclesiasticis viris, et bona, et bene, id est, sicut res postulat, acute, ornate, ardenterque dicentibus, per multa eorum scripta vel dicta possunt hæc tria genera reperiri, et assidua lectione vel auditione, admixta etiam exercitatione, studentibus inolescere.

[71] Ibid. c. 27. (p. 89 f.) Habet autem, ut obedienter audiatur, quantacunque granditate dictionis majus pondus vita dicentis. Nam qui sapienter et eloquenter dicit, vivit autem nequiter, erudit quidem multos discendi studiosos, quamvis *animæ suæ sit inutilis*, sicut scriptum est*. .... Multis itaque (p. 90 b.) prosunt dicendo, quæ non faciunt: sed longe pluribus prodessent faciendo, quæ dicunt. Abundant enim, qui malæ vitæ suæ defensionem ex ipsis suis præpositis et doctoribus quærant, respondentes corde suo, aut etiam si ad hoc erumpunt, ore suo, atque dicentes, Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis? Ita fit, ut eum non obedienter audiant, qui se ipse non audit, et Dei verbum, quod eis prædicatur, simul cum ipso prædicatore contemnant.

* [Editi, *Sicut scriptum est, Scribæ et Pharisæi in cathedra Moysi sederunt; quæ dicunt facite; quæ autem faciunt facere nolite: dicunt enim et non faciunt.* Abest ab omnibus MSS. hæc Scripturæ sententia, hunc in locum, opinamur, immissa propter clausulam, *Sicut scriptum est*; quæ referenda fuerat ad præcedentia verba ex Eccles. 37, 19, &c. *Ed. Bened. in loc.*]

some, who are desirous to learn and observe the commands of Christ; as many will learn from the Scribes and the Pharisees, who sit in Moses's chair, and say, and do not; but he that lives as he speaks will advantage abundance more. For men are very apt to ask this question, *Quod mihi præcipis, cur ipse non facis? Why dost not thou do that which thou commandest me to do?* And so it comes to pass that they will not obediently hear him, who does not hear himself, but contemn both the word of God and the preacher together. But he whose life is unblamable, his very example is grand oratory, and *his form of living, an eloquent discourse*[72],—*copia dicendi forma vivendi.*' And by these methods, what by their oratory, what by their example, the Ancients gained so much upon their hearers, as often to receive their public acclamations, and hear their groanings, and see their tears, and, what was most delightful of all, found the happy effects of their labour in their holy obedience and sincere conversion. But of these more presently, when we come to the hearers, having made two or three remarks more concerning the preachers.

That it no part the anc oratory move t passion gesticu tions a vain im of thin

20. And among these, I must observe one thing negatively, that it was no part of the ancient oratory to raise the affections of their hearers, either by gesticulations, or the use of external shows and representations of things in their sermons, as is now very common in the Romish Church, especially when they preach upon our Saviour's passion, to produce a cross, and the image of Christ bound to a pillar, and whip it to death, and show the nails, and tear a veil, and many other the like things to create sorrow in their hearers. Ferrarius[73] owns

[72] Ibid. c. 29. (p. 91 a.) .... Ita conversetur, ut non solum sibi præmium comparet, sed etiam præbeat aliis exemplum, et sit ejus quasi copia dicendi, forma vivendi.

[73] De Ritu Concion. l. 1. c. 31. (p. 134.) Scio, permultis non admodum probari concionatores illos, qui ad excitandos affectus animosque permovendos, externa signa, fictasque personas, ac corporeas quasdam imagines, producunt nonnunquam in auditorum prospectum. Quibus ego, ut id, quid sentio, dicam, haud repugnanter assentior; ob eam potissimum causam, quod in his producendis, quædam sæpe occurrunt, quæ risum magis excitent, quam moveant dolorem. Quoniam tamen oculorum sensus omnium acerrimus est, validiusque irritant animos, quæ oculis subjiciuntur, quam quæ demissa per aures influunt; non gravate concesserim, posse non nunquam, præsertim in concionibus de venerandis Christi Domini cruciatibus, ad multitudinis animos solicitandos et commovendos, si modo prudenter istud et opportune, non frigide et affectate procedat, signa

there was no such practice among the Ancients, and confesses, that except it be done very appositely and prudently, it is more apt to excite laughter than sorrow. And which of the two it often produces, is easy to guess, as well from the nature of the thing, as the complaints of wise men against it. What Ferrarius produces out of Chrysostom[74], bidding the people take St. John Baptist's head into their hands, and carry it home with them and hear it speak, is nothing to the purpose: for this is only a rhetorical scheme, made up of two usual figures among orators, *hypotyposis* and *prosopopœia*, that is, *a lively description of a thing*, and *an introduction of a person speaking;* which are figures that have a mighty influence upon the mind to raise in it a just concern, but are no precedents for such practices as rather incline men to ridicule and laughter, of which there is no footstep in the ancient oratory of the Church.

f the ngth of eir ser- ons.

21. Next to the matter and style of their sermons, the question may be asked concerning the length of them. Ferrarius[75] and some others are very positive that they were generally an hour long: but Ferrarius is at a loss to tell by what instrument they measured their hour; for he will not venture to affirm that they preached as the old Greek and Roman orators de-

quædam externa proferri, nec non et suppliciorum instrumenta in auditorum conspectu poni.

[74] Hom. 14. ad Pop. Antioch. p. 177. (t. 2. p. 141 d.) Καὶ γὰρ παρεκάλεσα πρώην ὑμᾶς τὴν κεφαλὴν Ἰωάννου λαβόντας ἀποτετμημένην, καὶ θερμοῦ τοῦ αἵματος ἔτι ἀποστάζουσαν, οὕτως ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε ἕκαστον, καὶ νομίζειν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁρᾷν αὐτὴν φωνὴν ἀφιεῖσαν καὶ λέγουσαν, Μισήσατέ μου τὸν σφαγέα τὸν ὅρκον· ὅπερ ἔλεγχος οὐκ ἐποίησε, τοῦτο ὅρκος ἐποίησεν· ὅπερ θυμὸς τυραννικὸς οὐκ ἴσχυσε, τοῦτο ἐπιορκίας ἀνάγκη παρεσκεύασε· καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἠλέγχετο δημοσίᾳ πάντων ἀκουόντων, ἤνεγκε γενναίως τὴν ἐπιτίμησιν ὁ τύραννος· ὅτε δὲ εἰς ὅρκων ἀνάγκην ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλε, τότε τὴν μακαρίαν ἐκείνην ἀπέτεμε κεφαλήν. Τὸ αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ, καὶ παρακαλῶν οὐ παύομαι, ὥστε ὅπου περ ἂν ἀπίωμεν, ταύτην βαστάζοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπιέναι, καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτὴν ἐπιδεικνύναι βοῶσαν, καὶ τῶν ὅρκων κατηγοροῦσαν· κἂν γὰρ σφόδρα ὦμεν ῥάθυμοι καὶ ὀλίγωροι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκείνης ὁρῶντες φοβερὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς βλέποντας, καὶ ἀπειλοῦντας ὀμνύουσι, χαλινοῦ παντὸς ἐντονώτερον τῷ φόβῳ τούτῳ σωφρονισθέντες, ἄγχειν καὶ ἀποστρέφειν δυνησόμεθα ῥᾳδίως τὴν γλῶτταν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους ὁρμῆς.

[75] De Ritu Concion. l. 1. c. 34. (p. 144.) Prolixiori dicentis oratione auditorum animos abalienari potius ac debilitari, quam erigi ac conciliari, fatentur omnes. Huic igitur certo ac communi malo ut medicinam facerent ecclesiæ patres in concionando, determinatum dicendi tempus, fereque unius horæ spatio conclusum, aut ipsi sibi præscribebant, aut ab aliis præfinitum religiose observabant.

claimed, by an hour-glass; which yet he might have said with as much truth, as that all their sermons were an hour long, from no better proof, than their mentioning sometimes the hour of preaching, which signifies no more than the time in general, as, "the hour of temptation," and "the hour cometh," and "my hour is not yet come," are often used in Scripture. It is a more just and pertinent observation of Bishop Wettenhal's[75], that their sermons were often very short: there are many in St. Austin's tenth tome [of the old Editors, or the fifth of the Benedictines,] which a man may pronounce distinctly and deliver decently in eight minutes, and some almost in half the time: and such are many of those of Leo, Chrysologus, Maximus, Cæsarius Arelatensis, and other Latin Fathers. Some of St. Austin's are much longer, and so are the greater part of Chrysostom's, Nazianzen's, Nyssen's, and Basil's; but scarce any of them would last an hour, and many not half the time: and when it is considered, that they had many times two or three sermons at once, [or, rather, in succession during the same service,] as I have shown[76] it was very usual in Chrysostom's church, it would be absurd to think that each of them was an hour long, when the whole service lasted not above two hours in the whole; as Chrysostom[77] often declares in his sermons, making that an argument to the people, why they should cheerfully attend divine service, since of seven days in the week God had only reserved one to himself, and on that day, exacted no more than two hours, like the widow's two mites, to be spent in his service.

[75] Gift of Preaching, ch. 2. (p. 666.) There are an hundred of St. Austin's Sermons, &c. [See ibid. (at the bottom of the page) where Wettenhal maintains that these short sermons of Augustine, Chrysostome, and Bernard were 'extemporaneous discourses or such, at the utmost, which very little thought furnished, &c.' Ed.]

[76] See before, s. 6. p. 110, preceding.

[77] Hom. 48. de Inscript. Altar. t. 5. p. 648. (t. 3. p. 53 b.) *Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο λέγω, ὅτι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄργησον, οὐδὲ δέκα ἡμέρας· ἀλλὰ δύο μοι δάνεισον ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχε.*—Hom. 1. de Utilitat. Lection. Scriptur. t. 5. p. 676. (ibid. p. 73 c.) *Προσέχωμεν τοίνυν τῇ ἀναγνώσει, μὴ τὰς δύο μόνον ταύτας ὥρας, οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ ἡμῖν εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡ ψιλὴ αὕτη ἀκρόασις, ἀλλὰ διηνεκῶς.*—Hom. 24. de Bapt. Christi. t. 1. p. 309. (t. 2. p. 368 b.) *Τί δὲ λέγω περὶ ἡμέρας ὁλοκλήρου; ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐποίησεν ἡ χήρα, τοῦτο ποίησον ἐπὶ τοῦ καιροῦ σὺ τῆς ἡμέρας· καθάπερ ἐκείνη δύο κατέβαλεν ὀβολοὺς, καὶ πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπεσπάσατο τὴν εὔνοιαν· οὕτω καὶ σὺ δύο δάνεισον ὥρας τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ μυρίων ἡμερῶν κέρδος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσάξεις τὴν σήν.*

22. It may be inquired further, Whether all preachers were obliged to deliver their own compositions, or were at liberty to use the compositions of others? To this it has been already answered in some measure, that the homilies of famous preachers, such as Chrysostom, and Ephrem Syrus, were often read instead of other sermons from the pulpit in many churches. And Mabillon[78] says, those of Cæsarius Arelatensis were read in the French Churches; where also deacons were authorized by the Council of Vaison[79], in cases of necessity, when the preaching presbyter was disabled, to read the homilies of the ancient Fathers in country-churches. Neither was this only the practice of deacons, but bishops sometimes also did the same. For Gennadius[80] says, Cyril of Alexandria composed many homilies, which the Grecian bishops committed to memory, in order to preach them. He says the same of Salvian[81], the eloquent presbyter of Marseilles, 'that he *wrote many homilies for bishops, homilias episcopis factas multas:*' which Ferrarius[82] and Dr. Cave[83] understand, not of *homilies made before bishops*, but *for their use:* whence he is also styled by Gennadius, in the same place, *episcoporum magister, the teacher or master of bishops*, because they preached the eloquent homilies which he composed. Ferrarius[84] and Sir-

[78] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 2. p. 5. (p. 99.) In homiliario Sancti-Gallensi, literis majusculis ab annis mille scripto, duo sermones habentur pro die Dominica ante natale Domini, sed inscripti hoc modo: *Dicendum* seu *Dictum ante natale Domini*, sine ulla mentione Adventus per totum illud corpus homiliarum, quæ per annum tunc legebantur, pleræque ex Cæsario episcopo Arelatensi.

[79] Vasens. 2. [al. 3.] c. 2. (t. 4. p. 1680 b.) Si presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per se ipsum non potuerit prædicare, sanctorum patrum homiliæ a diaconibus recitentur.

[80] De Scriptor. c. 57. (int. Oper. Hieron. t. 2. p. 973.) Cyrillus, Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ episcopus, ... homilias composuit plurimas, quæ ad declamandum a Græcis episcopis memoriæ commendantur.

[81] Ibid. c. 67. (p. 977.) ... Scripsit scholastico et aperto sermone multa .... Composuit .... homilias episcopis factas multas, &c.

[82] De Ritu Concion. l. 2. c. 7. [al. 14.] (p. 191.) .... Aliquos consuevisse aliquando ut suas pronuntiare aliorum homilias, facile credet, quicunque eorum meminerit, quæ et de Cyrillo Alexandrino episcopo et de Salviano Massiliensi prodidit Gennadius; ... *Salvianus ... scripsit ..... multa, ex quibus legi ..... homilias episcopis factas.*

[83] Hist. Liter. (v. 1. p. 346.) Homiliæ multæ, coram episcopis vel in usum episcoporum, factæ.—Du Pin, Cent. 5. p. 146. (Ed. Par. 1690. t. 3. p. 215.) Il a aussi composé plusieurs homelies pour quelques évêques.

[84] Ibid. ubi supr. n. 82. (p. 192.) Ennodius, (id quod ab eruditissimo viro Jacobo Sirmondo (t. 1. pp.

mondus [85] observe the same of the *Dictiones Sacræ*, or Sermons of Ennodius, which are said to be written by him, and spoken by others: Honoratus, bishop of Novaria, is named for one. St. Austin more particularly considers this question, and makes a case of conscience of it. For having laid down all the rules of Christian oratory for those who had ability to compose, he at last confesses [86], 'there were some, who though they could speak well, were not able to invent and compose an handsome discourse of their own:' and he does not severely condemn them, or with a magisterial air debar them from preaching, but with a great deal of tenderness says favourably in their case, 'that if they take that which was elegantly and wisely written by others, and commit it to memory, and preach it to the people, if they are called to that office, they are not to be blamed as doing an ill thing. For by this means there are many preachers of truth, which is very useful, and not many masters, whilst they all speak things of the one true Master, and there are no schisms among them. Neither ought such men to be deterred by the words of the prophet Jeremiah, (23, 30.) by whom God rebukes those who steal his words every one from his neighbour. For they which steal take away that which they have no right or property in:

1734, 1736.) annotatum fuit) Sacram secundam scripsit ipse quidem, sed ut gratiam iniret ab Honorato, Novariæ episcopo, qui eam pronuntiavit ut suam. Tertia etiam ab Ennodio composita est, sed a Stephano Vicario recitata. Ipsamet autem earundem Sacrarum inscriptio hoc idem haud obscure indicat: etenim secundæ titulus is est, *Dictio missa Honorato episcopo Novariensi in dedicatione Basilicæ Apostolorum, ubi templum fuit idolorum.* Tertia vero ita inscribitur, *Dictio data Stephano V. S. Vicario, dicenda Maximo episcopo.* Verba enim illa, *missa, data, dicenda,* satis revincunt, scriptas quidem illas ab Ennodio, sed ab aliis deinde dictas. Exstant aliæ id genus nonnullæ dictiones apud eundem Ennodium; quas qui leget, fatebitur procul dubio, ab ipso fuisse certe elucubratas, sed ab aliis omnino pronuntiatas.

[85] Not. in Ennodium, Dictio 2. See the preceding note.

[86] De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. 29. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 91 a.) Sunt sane quidam, qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumunt eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriæque commendent, atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non improbe faciunt. Sic enim, quod profecto utile est, multi prædicatores veritatis fiunt, nec multi magistri, si unius veri magistri id ipsum dicant omnes, et non sint in eis schismata. Nec deterrendi sunt isti voce Jeremiæ prophetæ, per quem Deus arguit eos, qui *furantur verba ejus, unusquisque a proximo suo.* Quo enim furantur, alienum auferunt: verbum autem Dei non est ab eis alienum, qui obtemperant ei: potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui cum dicat bene, vivit male.

which cannot be said of those who obey the word of God, but rather belongs to those who speak well, and live ill.' From whence he concludes; 'It is very lawful for a man to preach the composition of other more eloquent men, provided he compose his own life answerable to God's word, and earnestly pray to God that he would make his word in his mouth edifying to others.'

Their sermons always concluded with a doxology to the Holy Trinity.

23. I must note also, that they always concluded their sermons, as we now do, with a doxology to the Holy Trinity, as may be seen not only in the Sermons of St. Austin, Chrysostom, Basil, Leo, Fulgentius, and others who lived after Arius broached his heresy against the divinity of our Saviour; but also in those of Origen, and others who lived before, such as Dionysius of Alexandria, and the rest that are mentioned by St. Basil [87], who had seen their Homilies, out of which he wrote a vindication of that ancient form against some who pretended to charge him with innovation for using a form, which he says the Ancients had always used before him.

Sermons delivered by the preacher sitting, for the most part.

24. There are some other incidental things taken notice of by Ferrarius, which are either very minute in themselves, or are more proper to be spoken of in other places; such as the deacon's causing silence to be made before sermons, and the preacher's reading his text over again after the readers; and his appointing lessons to be read agreeable to his subject; and giving notice of them the week before to the people; as also the reading of the Acts of the Martyrs before sermon upon their proper festivals; the giving notice of Easter and Lent on the day of Epiphany in their sermons; the notification of vigils, and fasts, and festivals; and appointing collections for the poor; preaching covertly of the mysteries of religion before the catechumens; complimenting the bishops that were present in their sermons; the distinction of places for the hearers; the usual appellations of love and respect that were given them; the usual place of the sermon, some eminency in the church, the *ambo* or *reading desk*, or else the bishop's throne, or the steps of the altar; the usual days of preaching, the Lord's-day, the Saturday or Sabbath, the vigils and festivals, the anniversaries of bishops' consecrations, and dedication of

[87] De Spirit. Sanct. c. 29. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 84 e. n. 72.) Εἰρηναῖος ἐκεῖνος, κ. τ. λ.

churches; with some other things of the like nature, some of which are so minute that they are scarce worth the reader's notice; and others that are more material are accounted for and explained in other parts of this work. I shall therefore speak of one thing more relating to the preachers: which is, of the posture in which their sermons were delivered.

The general received custom now is for the preacher to stand, and the people to sit: but the ancient custom was usually the reverse of this. For the preacher commonly delivered his sermon sitting, and the people heard it standing; though there was no certain rule about this, but the custom varied in several Churches. In Afric the preacher commonly sat, as appears from that of Optatus[88] to the Donatist bishops: 'When God reproves a sinner, and rebukes him that sits, the admonition is specially directed unto you, for the people have not liberty to sit in the church.' He says this upon occasion of those words of the Psalmist, [50, 20.] "Thou sittest and speakest against thine own mother's son." St. Austin[89] in like manner speaks of his own preaching sitting: 'Why do I sit here? Why do I live, but with this intention, that I may live with Christ?' And again[90], 'That I may not detain you, especially considering that I speak sitting, and ye labour standing.' And he intimates[91], that in some Churches sitting was allowed both to the preacher and the people. St. Chrysostom[92] also speaks of his own sitting, when he preached.

[88] L. 4. p. 78. (p. 91.) Dum peccatorem arguit, et sedentem increpat Deus, specialiter ad vos dictum esse constat, non ad populum, qui in ecclesia sedendi non habent licentiam.

[89] Hom. 28. ex 50. t. 10. p. 179. [al. Serm. 17.] (t. 5. p. 95 a.) Quid autem volo? quid desidero? quid cupio? Quare loquor? Quare hic sedeo? Quare vivo, nisi hac intentione, ut cum Christo simul vivamus?

[90] Hom. 49. de Divers. [al. Serm. 355.] (ibid. p. 1380 c.) Ut ergo non vos diu teneam, præsertim quia ego sedens loquor, vos stando laboratis, &c.

[91] De Catechizandis Rudibus, c. 13. t. 4. p. 300. (t. 6. p. 276 f.).... Longeque consultius in quibusdam ecclesiis transmarinis non solum antistites sedentes loquuntur [ad populum], sed ipsi etiam populo sedilia subjacent, ne quisquam infirmior stando lassatus a saluberrima intentione avertatur, aut etiam cogatur abscedere.

[92] Hom. 1. de Pœnitent. t. 1. p. 662. [Ed. Bened. 5. juxt. Savil. 1. de Jejun.] (t. 2. p. 316 c.) Ἐνῆν μὲν οὖν καὶ πλείονα τούτων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι καὶ ταῦτα ἀρκεῖ πρὸς διόρθωσιν· διόπερ ἀνάγκη καταπαῦσαι τὸν λόγον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκοῦσαι. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὰ παιδία τὰ ποιμενικὰ λεπτῷ τῷ καλάμῳ συρίζομεν, ὥσπερ ὑπό τινα δρῦν ἢ λεύκην, τῇ σκιᾷ τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων καθήμενοι· οὗτος δὲ, καθὰ μουσικός τις ἄριστος χρυσῆν ἁρμοσάμενος κιθάραν, τῇ συμφωνίᾳ

And this he did usually in the *ambo* or *reading desk*, where he sat when he preached that famous sermon upon Eutropius [93], when he fled to take sanctuary in the church, and lay trembling before the altar, as all the historians inform us. Gregory Nyssen [94] speaks also of himself as sitting when he preached, and rising up to prayer in the conclusion. Which is also noted by Justin Martyr [95], and Origen [96], and Athanasius [97], and Chrysostom [98], whom Ferrarius cites, and remarks upon them, 'that their rising up in the close of the sermon to prayer, implies that they preached sitting before.' Which is certainly a very just observation. Yet, after all, he pretends to assert, that standing to preach was the more common posture, and that they never used sitting but only in case of infirmity or old age. Which shows us only how far prejudice will carry a man against the clearest evidence in favour of a modern custom.

τῶν κρουσμάτων ὁλόκληρον ἀνίστησι θέατρον.

[93] Vide Socrat. l. 6. c. 5. (v. 2. p. 314. 24.) Ὁ οὖν ἐπίσκοπος, τοῦ Εὐτροπίου ὑπὸ τὸ θυσιαστήριον κειμένου, καὶ ἐκπεπληγότος ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου, καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄμβωνος, ὅθεν εἰώθει καὶ πρότερον ὁμιλεῖν χάριν τοῦ ἐξακούεσθαι, λόγον ἐλεγχτικὸν ἐξέτεινε κατ' αὐτοῦ.—Cassiodor. Hist. Tripart. l. 10. c. 4. (t. 1. p. 329.) Post paucos vero dies, cum ipse Eutropius offendisset imperatorem, inter refugos erat apud ecclesiam: episcopus vero [Chrysostomus], Eutropio sub altari jacente, nimioque percusso timore, residens super ambonem, ubi solebat prius consuete facere sermonem, homiliam increpatoriam fecit adversus eum.—Niceph. Hist. Eccles. l. 13. c. 4. (t. 2. p. 351 c. 3.) Τῶν γὰρ βασιλείων εὐθὺς ἀποδρὰς ἱκέτης τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προσέδρευε· τότε δὴ ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸ ἄτοπον διελέγχων τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως Εὐτροπίου, λαμπρόν τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ λόγον διέξεισιν ἐπ' ἄμβωνος καθεσθείς, ὥσπερ ἦν εἰωθὸς ἐκείνῳ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις ποιεῖν, ἵν' ἅπαντας ἡ φωνὴ ἐπιφθάνοι.

[94] Hom. 5. de Orat. Dom. (t. 1. p. 761 b.) Ἀλλ' εἴπωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀναστάντες τῷ Θεῷ, Ὅτι μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμον.

[95] Apol. 2. (p. 98 d.) Ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν.

[96] Hom. [20.] in Num. (t. 2. p. 352 b.) Et ideo surgentes oremus, ut inveniamus paratum semper istum gladium Spiritus, per quem exterminentur et semina ipsa et conceptacula peccatorum.—Hom. 3. in Esai. (t. 3. p. 111 e.) Revera abstulit opprobrium Jesus: idcirco surgentes oremus Deum, &c.—Hom. 36. in Luc. (ibid. p. 976 d.) Quæ omnia cognoscentes, et quam multa sint genera regnorum, surgamus precemurque Deum, &c.

[97] Hom. de Sement. (t. 2. p. 54 f.).... Αὐτάρκως δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡμῶν προχωρησάντων, ἀναστάντες καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐκτείνωμεν τὰς χεῖρας.

[98] Hom. cont. Hæret. ap. Ferrar. de Ritu Concion. l. 2. c. 9. [al. c. 17.] (p. 212.) Itaque, quia ostendimus regiam dignitatem et divinitatem Spiritus, nos cathedra exsurgentes uno ore et uno corde glorificemus Patrem, et Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum.

The observation made by the Author of the Comments upon St. Paul's Epistles, under the name of St. Ambrose [99], has much more truth and solidity in it, 'that the Christian bishops used to preach sitting, and that this custom was taken from the tradition of the synagogue:' where Ferrarius himself owns, and proves it to have been the more usual custom for the scribes and doctors of the law to expound the Scriptures sitting, though there may be some instances to the contrary. In Matthew, 23, 2, it is said, "That the Scribes and Pharisees sat in Moses's chair." According to Luke 2, 46, our Saviour was "found sitting and disputing among the doctors in the temple." Again, in chapter 4, 20, "After he had stood up to read the prophet Esaias, he sat down to teach the people." And in chapter 5, 3, "He sat down and taught the people out of the ship." In John 8, 2, "He sat down and taught the people in the temple." In Matthew 5, 1, "He sat and taught his disciples in the mountain." And in Matthew 26, 55, "I sat daily with you teaching in the temple." This was according to the custom of the Jewish synagogue, which was generally followed by the Christian Church. And the instances, which Ferrarius brings out of St. Chrysostom's [1] and St. Austin's [2] Homilies to the contrary, are rather exceptions to a general rule, than proper evidences for his own assertion. The matter is not indeed great in itself, it being a very indifferent thing, whether a preacher delivers his sermon standing or sitting: but when men are representing ancient practices, they ought not to make

[99] In 1 Cor. 14, 31. (t. 2. append. p. 159 b.) Hæc traditio synagogæ est, quam nos vult sectari,.... ut sedentes disputent seniores dignitate in cathedris, &c.

[1] Hom. 16. ad Pop. Antioch. (t. 2. p. 161. lin. ult. et p. 162 a.).... *Εἰ μὴ πολλὴν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὑπέστην ἀνάγκην, οὐδ' ἂν ἀνέστην, οὐδ' ἂν διελέχθην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀθυμίας σκοτωθεὶς τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ μικροψυχίᾳ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ.*—Hom. 33. in Matth. [Ed. Bened. 32. al. 33.] (t. 7. p. 373 b.) *...Διά σε ἕστηκεν ὁ διάκονος πονῶν καὶ ταλαιπωρούμενος· τίνα οὖν ἕξεις ἀπολογίαν, μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀκροάσεως αὐτῷ παρέχων ὑποδοχήν;*

[2] Serm. 122. de Divers. [al. Serm. 23. c. 1.] (t. 5. p. 122 c.) Quanquam propter commoditatem depromendæ vocis altiore loco stare videamur, tamen in ipso altiore loco vos judicatis, et nos judicamur.—In Ps. 32. Serm. 2. [al. Enarrat. 3.] (t. 4. p. 206 e.) Adhuc quidem spectatores in amphitheatro forte insaniunt, et in sole sedent: et nos si stamus, tamen in umbraculo sumus, et utiliora et pulcriora sunt, quæ spectamus.—Tract. 19. in Ioan. (t. 3. part 2. p. 446 e.) Nostis, fratres, quia ad panem ventris cum labore pervenitur, quanto magis ad panem mentis? Cum labore statis et auditis; sed nos cum majore stamus et loquimur.

every thing conform to the customs and model of the present age, but represent things nakedly as they find them.

25. We have hitherto considered what relates to the preachers, and a few things must be added concerning the hearers. Of whom it has been already observed in the last paragraph out of Optatus and St. Austin, that in the African Churches the people had no license to sit down, but were generally obliged to stand to hear the sermon. Ferrarius[3] has collected a multitude of testimonies more out of St. Austin to the same purpose, which it is needless to relate here. But we may observe, that the same custom prevailed also in many other Churches. Sidonius Apollinaris[4] speaks of it as the usage of the Gallican Church in those lines to Faustus, bishop of Riez, where he speaks of his preaching from the steps of the altar, the people standing about him:

Seu te conspicuis gradibus venerabilis aræ
Concionaturum plebs sedula circumsistit.

Which is further confirmed by an homily that used to go under the name of St. Austin[5], but is now more certainly de-

[3] De Ritu Concion. l. 2. c. 15. [al. 21.] (pp. 251, seqq.) ex August. Tract. 19. in Ioan. (see the preceding note) et Tract. 112. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 783 f.) Quomodo autem inter se omnes [scil. evangelistæ] conveniant, nec veritati, quæ per alium promitur, ab alio repugnetur, quisquis nosse desiderat, non in his sermonibus, sed in aliis laboriosis literis quærat; nec stando, et audiendo, sed potius sedendo et legendo, vel legenti aurem mentemque intentissimam præbendo, illa condiscat.—Hom. 28. ex 50. [al. Serm. 17. c. 4.] (t. 5. p. 96 a.) Audi ergo psalmum: te admonuit, te, quicunque es, qui forte hic hodie stas, et nocte aliquid fecisti; te admonuit, &c.—Serm. 49. de Divers. (see p. 163. n. 90.)—Serm. 122. de Divers. (see n. 2, preceding.)—In Ps. 32. Serm. 2. (see ibid.)—In Ps. 147. (t. 4. p. 1666 c.) Gaudeo, tantam esse voluntatem et voluptatem in veritate verbi Dei, ut studium vestrum bonum in bono et de bono vincat studium insanorum currentium in amphitheatrum [al. qui sunt in amphitheatro]. Numquid illi, si tam diu starent, adhuc spectarent? —Serm. 20. [corrige, Serm. 27. de Verb. Dom. (Ed. Paris. 1571. t. 10. fol. 25 e.) juxt. Ed. Bened. Serm. 104. c. 4. (t. 5. p. 541 e.) Nam et modo inde aliquid agimus remoti a negotiis, sepositis familioribus curis, convenistis, statis, auditis. Ed.]

[4] Carm. 16. ad Faust. Reiens. (pp. 161, 125.)

[5] Hom. 26. ex 50. [al. Serm. 300. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 504 b.) Ante aliquot dies propter eos, qui aut pedibus [al. pedes] dolent, aut aliqua corporis inæqualitate laborant, paterna pietate solicitus consilium dedi, et quodam modo supplicavi, ut quando aut Passiones prolixæ, aut certe aliquæ lectiones longiores leguntur, qui stare non possunt, humiliter et cum silentio sedentes attentis auribus audiant, quæ leguntur. Nunc vero aliquæ de filiabus nostris putant, quod hoc aut omnes, aut certe plures, quæ sanæ sunt corpore, frequenter debeant facere. Nam ubi verbum Dei cœperit recitari, quasi in lectulis suis ita jacere volunt....

termined by Mabillon and the Benedictins, in their new edition of St. Austin's works, to belong to Cæsarius, bishop of Arles, where he grants an indulgence to such as were diseased or infirm in their feet, that they should have liberty to sit, when the Passions of the Martyrs, or long lessons were read, or the sermon was preached: but to all others, women as well as men, this privilege is utterly denied. Which implies, that standing was then the usual posture of the hearers in the French Churches. And that it was usual also in some of the Greek Churches, may be inferred from that famous story, which Eusebius reports of Constantine[6], 'that when he made a discourse before him in his own palace, he stood all the time with the rest of the hearers; and when Eusebius requested him to sit down in the throne that was prepared for him, he refused, saying, it was fit that men should stand to hear discourses of divine things.' But in the Churches of Italy, the contrary custom prevailed: for St. Austin[7] says, 'In the transmarine Churches,'(by which he certainly means those of Italy,) it was prudently ordered, that not only the bishops sat, when they preached to the people, but that the people also had seats to sit upon, lest any weak person through weariness grow remiss in his attention, or be forced to leave the assembly.' And he thinks it more advisable, that the same indulgence should be granted, where it could prudently be done, in the African Churches. That it was so in Rome in the time of Justin Martyr, seems pretty plain from his Second Apology[8], where he says, that as soon as the bishop's sermon was ended, they all rose up to prayer together. And the same thing being noted by Origen[9] and Athanasius[10], makes it probable that the same custom prevailed in many of the Eastern Churches. Cyril of Jerusalem[11] says expressly, that the

Unde rogo vos, venerabiles filiæ, et solicitudine paterna commoneo, ut quando aut lectiones leguntur, aut verbum Dei prædicatur, nulla se in terram projiciat: nisi forte quam nimium gravis infirmitas cogit.

[6] L. 4. c. 33. (v. 1. p. 644. 10.) *Πλήθους δ' ἀκροατῶν περιεστῶτος, ἔνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς βασιλείοις ὄρθιος ἑστὼς, ἅμα τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐπηκροᾶτο· ἡμῶν δ' ἀντιβολούντων ἐπὶ παρακειμένῳ τῷ βασιλικῷ θρόνῳ διαναπαύεσθαι, ἐπείθετο μὲν οὐδαμῶς... ἑστῶτας γὰρ ὑπακούειν τῶν θείων, ὅσιον.*

[7] De Catechizandis Rudibus, c. 13. See before, s. 24. p. 163. n. 91.

[8] Apol. 2. See b. 13. ch. 9. s. 1. v. 4. p. 524. n. 13.

[9] Hom. 3. in Esai. [Hom. 36. in Luc.] See before, s. 24. p. 164. n. 96.

[10] Hom. de Sement. See before, s. 24. ibid. n. 97.

[11] Catech. 16. n. 11. [al. 22.] (p. 255 d.) *Λόγισαι, πόσοι καθίζεσθε νῦν*

people heard his discourses sitting. 'Consider,' says he, 'how many sit here now, how many souls are present; and yet the Spirit works conveniently in them all. He is in the midst of us, and sees our behaviour, and discerns our hearts and consciences, and what we speak, and what we think.' And the Author of the Constitutions[12], who chiefly relates the customs of the Eastern Churches, represents the people as sitting also to hear the sermon. And so Cassian[13] and St. Jerom[14] say, it was in all the monasteries of Egypt, where they sat not only at sermon, but at the reading of the Psalms and other lessons out of Scripture. So that this must be reckoned among those indifferent rites and customs, about which there was no general rule of the Universal Church; but every one followed the custom of the place where he lived, and every Church appointed what she judged most proper for the edification of the people.

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26. It was a peculiar custom in the African Church, when the preacher chanced to cite some remarkable text of Scripture in the middle of his sermon, for the people to join with him in repeating the close of it. St. Austin takes notice of this in one of his sermons[15], where having begun those words of St. Paul, [1 Tim. 1, 5.] "The end of the commandment is," before he would proceed any further, he called to the people

πόσαι ψυχαὶ πάρεσμεν· ἑκάστῳ προσφόρως [Πνεῦμα] ἐνεργεῖ· καὶ μέσον παρὸν βλέπει ἑκάστου τὸν τρόπον· βλέπει καὶ τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν, καὶ τί λαλοῦμεν, καὶ τί νοοῦμεν.

[12] L. 2. c. 58. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 266.) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ καθέζεσθαι ἕτερός τις ἐπέλθοι εὐσχήμων καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν τῷ βίῳ, ἢ ξένος, ἢ ἐγχώριος . . . οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ διὰ τῶν διακόνων παραδεχέσθωσαν αὐτόν· εἰ δὲ τόπος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ διάκονος τὸν μᾶλλον νεώτερον ἐγείρας, μετὰ λόγου, ἀλλὰ μὴ μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐκεῖνον καθισάτω.

[13] Instit. l. 2. c. 12. See before, ch. 3. s. 10. p. 69. n. 86.

[14] Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 408. n. 56.

[15] Serm. 36. ex 40. a Sirmond. editis. t. 10. p. 837. [al. Serm. 358.] (t. 5. p. 1397 b.) *Finis* enim *præcepti est*, jam vos dicite mecum: a populo acclamatum est, *Caritas de corde puro*. Omnes dixistis, quod non infructuose semper audistis. [Vid. Serm. 13. de Verb. Dom. [al. Serm. 76. c. 4.] (t. 5. p. 417 d.)... Quid præceditis, qui quod dicturus sum nostis? Temperetur velocitas, ut sequatur tarditas.—It would seem that the hearers had caught up and finished the words of the Psalm, (67, 10.) which the preacher had commenced citing.—Serm. 2. de Verb. Apost. [al. Serm. 131. c. 5.] (ibid. p. 642 g.) Video quid clamando prævenitis. Quid enim dicturus sum scitis, clamando prævenitis, &c.—Conf. Ep. 210. [al. 213.] Acta in designando Eradio [al. Eraclio] presbytero, c. 1. (t. 2. p. 789 c.) Presbyterum Eradium [al. Eraclium] mihi successorem volo. A populo acclamatum est, Deo gratias! Christo laudes!—Conf. ibid. c. 4. (p. 790 a. et c. 5 c.) ubi eadem verba leguntur. ED.]

to repeat the remainder of the verse with him; upon which they all cried out immediately, "Charity out of a pure heart." By which, he says, they showed that they had not been unprofitable hearers. And this, no doubt, was done to encourage the people to hear, and read, and remember the Scriptures, that they might be able upon occasion to repeat such useful portions of them, having then liberty not only to hear, but to read and repeat them in their mother-tongue. Whether this was a custom in any other place, I cannot say, having met with it only in St. Austin: for which reason I have spoken of it only as a particular custom of the African Church, designed to quicken the attention of the hearers, and show that they read and remembered the Holy Scriptures.

How the people were used to give public applauses and acclamations to the preacher in the church.

27. It was a much more general custom for the people to testify their esteem for the preacher, and express their admiration of his eloquence, or approbation of his doctrine by public applauses and acclamations in the church. This was done sometimes in express words, and sometimes by other signs and indications of their consent and approbation. The Greeks commonly call it κρότος, which denotes both kinds of approbation, as well by clapping of hands, as by vocal and verbal acclamations. The first use of it, as Suicerus[16] observes out of Casaubon[17] was only in the theatres. From thence it came into the senate; and, in process of time, into the acts of the Councils, and the ordinary assemblies of the Church. We are not concerned at present to inquire after synodical acclamations, but only such as were used toward the preachers in the church.

This was sometimes done in words of commendation, as we find in one of the Homilies of Paulus Emisenus, spoken in the presence of Cyril at Alexandria, where, when Paul had used this expression, agreeing with Cyril's doctrine that had been preached before, 'Mary, the mother of God, brought forth

[16] Thes. Eccles. voce, Κρότος. (t. 2. p. 173.) Mos acclamandi, &c.

[17] Not. in Vulcat. Gallican. Vit. Avidii Cassii, p. 89. [Int. August. Hist. Scriptor. (ad calc. p. 258. n. 2.) Mos acclamandi, qui e theatris in fora primum penetravit, deinde in senatum, &c. . . . Igitur semel receptus mos auxit in dies: neque solum in senatu aut aliis civilibus cœtibus id servatum; sed et in omnibus ecclesiasticis conventibus idem olim factitatum, &c. Ed.]

Emmanuel;' the people immediately cried out[18], 'O orthodox Cyril, the gift of God, the faith is the same: this is what we desired to hear; if any man speak otherwise, let him be *anathema.*'

Sometimes they added other indications of their applause, as clapping of their hands, &c. Thus St. Jerom[19] tells Vigilantius, 'the time was when he himself had applauded him with his hands and feet, leaping by his side, and crying out, Orthodox! for his sermon upon the resurrection.' And so George of Alexandria[20] tells us, 'the people applauded the sermons of St. Chrysostom, some by tossing their thin garments, others moving their plumes, others laying their hands upon their swords, and others waving their handkerchiefs, and crying out, Thou art worthy of the priesthood! Thou art the thirteenth Apostle! Christ hath sent thee to save our souls! &c.' In like manner Gregory[21] represents in his dream how the people were used to applaud him when he preached, 'some by their praises, and others by their silent admiration, some in their words, and some in their minds, and others moving their bodies as the waves of the sea raised by the wind.' St. Jerom[22] refers to this, when he tells us how Gregory Nazianzen, his master,

[18] Hom. de Incarnat. in Actis C. Ephes. part. 3. c. 31. (t. 3. p. 1095 d.) Ἐβόησεν ὁ λαός· Ἡ πίστις ἰδοὺ αὐτή ἐστι, Θεοῦ δῶρον, Κύριλλε ὀρθόδοξε· τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι ἐζητοῦμεν· ὁ τοῦτο μὴ λέγων ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

[19] Ep. 75. [al. 61.] ad Vigilant. (t. 1. p. 348 a.) Recordare, quæso, illius diei, quando, me de resurrectione et veritate corporis prædicante, ex latere subsultabas, et plaudebas manu, et applodebas pede, et orthodoxum conclamabas.

[20] Vit. Chrysost. ap. Ferrar. de Rit. Concion. l. 2. c. 26. (p. 284.) Omnes mirabantur eum ob sapientiam, ipsi a Deo datam, et quomodo ipsis dissolvebat, quæ in divinis Scripturis interpretatu atque intellectu difficilia sunt: nec non ipsi plaudebant, alii quidem chlamydes suas attollentes; alii fimbrias cutzulon; alii vero manualia; alii denique fasciolas seu oraria; et clamantes, 'Revera dignus es hoc sacerdotio, o apostolorum tertie decime; Christus te ad nos misit, ut salvas faceres animas nostras, et potares de fontibus salutis, quod ipse tibi dedit, &c.'

[21] De Templ. Anastas. (t. 2. p. 78 c.)

Καί ῥ' οἱ μὲν πάλλοντο, καὶ ἤνεον, οἱ δὲ σιωπῇ
Θάμβεον· οἱ δὲ λόγῳ τρύζον ἔθ', οἱ δὲ νόῳ
Θνησκούσης ὠδῖνος ἀνανδέος· οἱ δὲ μάχοντο,
Οἷα καθισταμένου κύματος ἐξ ἀνέμων.

[22] Ep. 2. [al. 52.] ad Nepotian. (t. 1. p. 261 c.) Præceptor quondam meus Gregorius Nazianzenus rogatus a me, ut exponeret, quid sibi vellet in Luca *Sabbatum* δευτερόπρωτον, eleganter lusit, 'Docebo te,' inquiens, 'super hac re in ecclesia; in qua, mihi omni populo acclamante, cogeris invitus scire quod nescis; aut certe, si solus tacueris, solus ab omnibus stultitiæ condemnaberis.'

answered a difficult question, which he put to him con-
ıg the *Sabbatum* δευτερόπρωτον, *the second Sunday after rst*, mentioned Luke 6, 'I will inform you,' says he, 'of atter in the church, where, when all the people are apng me, you shall be forced to confess you understand you do not; or, if you alone be silent, you shall be cond of folly by all the rest.' The same custom is often l by Sidonius Apollinaris[23], and Isidore of Pelusium[24], abundance of places of St. Austin[25] and St. Chrysostom[26],

. 9. Ep. 3. (p. 563.) Licet ırædicationes tuas, nunc reıs, nunc, cum ratio poposcisıcubratas, raucus plausor au-, &c.

. 3. Ep. 343. (p. 391 a.) Οὐ συνετὸς ἀκροατὴς, ὁ μὴ μόνον ı διακόπτων τοῦ λόγου τὸν , ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπινοῶν τὰ δυσθεώκαί τι παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰσφέρειν νος.—Ep. 382. (ibid. p. 403 a.) , ὡς γέγραφας, ὁ λόγος τὸν ἐγέννησεν· ἀλλ' οὖν γε καὶ ὁ τὸν λόγον ἐπέρρωσεν, ἔρεισμα ὄντι φανείς.

erm. 5. de Verb. Dom. [al. 61. c. 12.] (t. 5. p. 356 f.) is, laudastis: Deo gratias. accepistis, verba reddidistis. ı istæ vestræ gravant nos po-: in periculum mittunt: tolerillas, et tremimus inter illas: fratres mei, istæ laudes vesılia sunt arborum: fructus ur.—Serm. 19. de Verb. Aal. Serm. 178. c. 6.] (ibid. p.) Ecce Christianus es, ecclequentas, verbum Dei audis, ione verbi Dei lætissime comıs. 'Tu laudas tractantem, ego facientem. — Serm. 28. de Apost. [al. Serm. 180. c. 12.] p. 865 f.) Quasi vero parvus ictus sudoris hujus mei, si , qui mihi acclamaverunt, clat contra se, ne falsum jurent um se.—Hom. 25. ex I. (see ards n. 36, following.)—Serm. Temp. [al. Serm. 151. c. 8.] p. 721 g.) Unde omnes accla-, nisi quia omnes agnovistis? tat. 57. in Ioan. (t. 3. part. 2. b.) Hæc vobis hodie satis sint, dilectissimi: si quid secus, quam oportuit, dicentes fortassis offendimus, vel laudibus vestris immoderatius, quam oportuit, elevati sumus, impetrate mundationem pedibus nostris.—Ps. 147. (t. 4. p. 1660 a.) Quomodo vos delectavit? Nihil dixeram, nihil exposueram: versum pronuntiavi, et exclamastis. Quid de vobis clamavit? dilectio pacis. Quid ostendit oculis vestris? Unde clamatis, si non amatis? .... neque enim acclamaretur, nisi amaretur.—De Catechizandis Rudibus, c. 13. (t. 6. p. 276 e.) Sæpe etiam fit, ut qui primo libenter audiebat, vel audiendo vel stando fatigatus, non jam laudans, sed oscitans labia diducat, et se abire velle etiam invitus ostendat.—Serm. 27. de Divers. [al. Serm. 179. c. 6.] (t. 5. p. 857 e.) Quando enim sic laudaretis, si non amaretis? quando amaretis, si nihil videretis? Me itaque non ostendente formam corporis, lineamenta, colorem, pulchros motus, me non ostendente, vos tamen videtis, amatis, laudatis.—De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. 26. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 89 b.) ... Et nonnulla, non jactanticula, sed quasi necessaria, atque, ut ita dicam, ipsis rebus extorta numerositas clausularum tantas acclamationes excitat, aut vix intelligatur esse submissa.

[26] Hom. 1. in Gen. p. 2. (t. 4. p. 2 b.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἁπλῶς καὶ εἰκῇ ἐνταῦθα συνῆμεν, ἵνα ὁ μὲν εἴπῃ, ὁ δὲ κροτήσῃ ἁπλῶς τὰ λεγόμενα.—Hom. 4. (ibid. p. 23 b.) ... Ἡ τῶν κρότων συνέχεια μεγίστη ἀπόδειξις ἐγίνετο, τοῦ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὑμᾶς δέχεσθαι τὰ λεγόμενα.—Hom. 54. (ibid. p. 523 d.) Μὴ γὰρ ἁπλῶς καὶ εἰκῇ λέγειν βου-

cited at length by Ferrarius[27]; which, after what has been said, I think it needless to recite in this place. The curious reader may either consult Ferrarius, or the passages referred to in their authors. To which he may add many other passages of Chrysostom[28], and Socrates[29], and Prosper[30], not mentioned by that diligent writer, though he spends four whole chapters upon this subject.

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28. I think it more material to observe out of the chief of those passages, that though the Ancients did not utterly refuse or disallow those sorts of applauses, but received them with humility and thankfulness to God, as good indications of a towardly disposition in their hearers; yet forasmuch as they were often but fallacious signs, they neither much commended those that gave them, nor those preachers that barely by their eloquence obtained them; much less those that, out of a worldly

λόμεθα, ὥστε τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν ἔπαινον καρπώσασθαι, καὶ ἵνα κροτήσαντες ὑμεῖς ἀναχωρήσητε; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὠφέλειαν τὴν ὑμετέραν.—Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. (t. 2. p. 25 a.) Τί μοι τῶν κρότων ὄφελος τούτων; τί δὲ τῶν ἐπαίνων καὶ τῶν θορύβων; ἔπαινος ἐμὸς τὸ διὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑμᾶς ἐπιδεῖξαι τὰ λεγόμενα ἅπαντα.—Hom. 5. (ibid. p. 72 d.) Νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν βραχείᾳ καιροῦ ῥοπῇ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐπαινεῖτε· ἐὰν δὲ κατορθώσητε, διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινέσεσθε. —Hom. 2. in Laz. (t. 1. p. 730 a.) Σιγᾶτε, ταῦτα ἀκούοντες· πολλὴν ὑμῖν ἔχω χάριν τῆς σιγῆς ταύτης μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κρότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ κρότοι καὶ οἱ ἔπαινοι λαμπρότερον ἐμὲ ποιοῦσιν, ἡ σιγὴ δὲ αὕτη σωφρονεστέρους ὑμᾶς ἐργάζεται.—Hom. 3. de Incomprehens. (ibid. p. 471 a.) Ἐπηνέσατε τὰ εἰρημένα· μετὰ πολλοῦ θορύβου καὶ κρότου τὴν παραίνεσιν ἐδέξασθε· ἀλλ' ὅπως ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείξησθε τοὺς ἐπαίνους. — [Conf. Hom. 1. (ibid. p. 452 a.) Ἐπηνέσατε τὰ λεγόμενα, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]—Hom. 5. (ibid. p. 491 b.) Ταῦτα λέγω, οὐχ ἵνα ἐπαινῆτε μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων ἐπιδείκνυσθε. — Hom. 30. in Act. Apost. See afterwards n. 40, following.—Hom. 16. In illud, Si esurierit, &c. t. 5. p. 220. See afterwards n. 39, following.—Hom. 56. Quod not sit desperandum, &c. p. 742. See also n. 38, following.

[27] Ubi supr. l. 2. c. 18. (p. 213.)

[28] Hom. 1. de Verb. Esai. t. 3. p. 910. (t. 6. p. 100 d.) Οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς αἰνέσεως, ἀλλὰ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς ἀταξίας, τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλονεικίας, τὰς εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην ἐπαιρομένας χεῖρας ἐν τῷ ἀέρι, τοὺς ἐπικροτοῦντας πόδας, κ. τ. λ.—Hom. 6. in Gen. p. 918. (t. 4. p. 40 d.) Μὴ γὰρ διὰ τοῦτο λέγειν σπουδάζομεν, ὥστε ἁπλῶς τέρψαι ὑμῶν τὴν ἀκοήν, ἢ ὡς τοῦ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπαίνου ἐφιέμενοι;— Hom. 27. ibid. p. 358 c. (ibid. p. 268 b.) Χαίρω καὶ εὐφραίνομαι ὑμᾶς ὁρῶν μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀκούοντας τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ διὰ τοῦ κρότου δεικνύντας, ὅτι ἕτοιμοι γενέσθαι σπουδάζετε, καὶ εἰς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν Δεσποτικὴν ταύτην παραίνεσιν.

[29] L. 7. c. 13. (v. 2. p. 358. 10.) Ἦν δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὶς ἀνὴρ, ὀνόματι Ἱέραξ, ὃς γραμμάτων μὲν τῶν πεζῶν διδάσκαλος ἦν· διάπυρος δὲ ἀκροατὴς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κυρίλλου καθεστὼς, καὶ περὶ τὸ κρότους ἐν ταῖς διδασκαλίαις αὐτοῦ ἐγείρειν ἦν σπουδαιότατος.

[30] De Vit. Contemplat. l. 1. c. 23. See n. 33, following.

spirit, and a popular and vain ambition, laboured at nothing else but to court and affect them: but what they chiefly desired to effect by their grand eloquence, was to warm their hearts and to melt them into tears, to work them into groans, and sorrow, and compunction for sin, to bring them to resolutions of obedience and compliance with the holy rules they preached to them, to work in them a contempt of earthly things, and raise their souls, by all the arts of moving the affections, to a longing desire and aspiration after the things of another world. This was their grand aim in all their elaborate and all their free and fluent discourses, and this they valued far above all the popular applauses that could be given them. This they reckoned their grand eloquence, and rejoiced in nothing more than when they could triumph in the conviction and conversion of their hearers. To this purpose St. Jerom[31], in his directions to Nepotian, lays it down as a rule, 'that in preaching, he should labour to excite the groans of the people, rather than their applauses; and let the tears of the hearers be the commendation of the preacher.' And so, he observes[32], it was in fact among the fathers of Egypt; 'when they discoursed of the kingdom of Christ and the glories of the world to come, then one might behold every one, with a gentle sigh, and eyes lift up to heaven, say within himself, *Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then I would flee away, and be at rest!*' In like manner, Prosper[33] bids the preacher 'not place his confidence in the splendour of his words, but in the power of their operation; nor be delighted with the acclamations of the people,

[31] Ep. 2. [al. 52.] ad Nepotian. (t. 1. p. 261 b.) Docente te in ecclesia, non clamor populi, sed gemitus suscitetur; lacrimæ auditorum laudes tuæ sint.

[32] Ep. 22. ad Eustoch. c. 15. (ibid. p. 117 c.)...Et completis orationibus, cunctisque residentibus, medius, quem *patrem* vocant, incipit disputare: quo loquente, tantum silentium fit, ut nemo alium respicere, nemo audeat excreare. Dicentis laus in fletu est audientium. Tacite volvuntur per ora lacrimæ, et ne in singultus quidem erumpit dolor. Quum vero de regno Christi, et de futura beatitudine, et de gloria cœperit annuntiare ventura, videas cunctos moderato suspirio, et oculis ad cœlum levatis, intra se dicere, *Quis dabit mihi pennas sicut columbæ, et volabo, et requiescam?*

[33] De Vit. Contemplat. l. 1. c. 23. (append. p. 20. b. 3.) Non igitur in verborum splendore, sed in operum virtute totam prædicandi fiduciam ponat; non vocibus delectetur populi acclamantis sibi, sed fletibus: nec plausum a populo studeat expectare, sed gemitum.

but their tears; nor study to obtain their applauses, but their groans.'

St. Austin did not refuse these acclamations of the people, yet he always takes care to remind them rather to repay him with the fruit of their lives and actions. 'You praise the preacher of the word,' says he[34], 'but I desire the doer of it. Those praises[35] are but the leaves of the tree, I desire the fruit of it. I would not be praised by ill livers[36], I abhor it, I detest it; it is a grief to me, and not a pleasure. But if I say, I would not be praised by good livers, I should tell a lie; if I should say, I desire it, I am afraid of seeming desirous more of vanity than solidity. Therefore what shall I say? I neither perfectly desire it, nor perfectly refuse it. I do not desire it absolutely, for fear I should be ensnared by human praise; I do not utterly refuse it, for fear I should be ungrateful to those to whom I preach.' In his book of Christian Doctrine[37], where

[34] Serm. 19. de Verb. Apost. [al. Serm. 178. c. 6.] (t. 5. p. 852 b.) Tu laudas tractantem: ego quæro facientem.

[35] Serm. 5. de Verb. Dom. [al. Serm. 61. c. 12.] (ibid. p. 356 f.) Laudes istæ folia sunt arborum, fructus quæritur.

[36] Hom. 25. ex 50. [al. Serm. 339. c. 1.] (ibid. p. 1308 g.) Ille autem novit, sub cujus oculis loquor, immo sub cujus oculis cogito, non me tam delectari laudibus popularibus, quam stimulari et angi, quomodo vivant qui me laudant. Laudari autem a male viventibus nolo, abhorreo, detestor: dolori mihi est, non voluptati. Laudari autem a bene viventibus si dicam nolo, mentior: si dicam volo, timeo ne sim inanitatis appetentior quam solidi‡atis. Ergo quid dicam? Nec plene volo, nec plene nolo. Non plene volo, ne in laude humana pericliter: non plene nolo, ne ingrati sint quibus prædico.

[37] L. 4. c. 24. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 87 d.) Non sane, si dicenti crebrius et vehementius acclametur, ideo granditer putandus est dicere:.... grande autem genus plerumque pondere suo voces premit, sed lacrimas exprimit. Denique cum apud Cæsaream Mauritaniæ populo dissuaderem pugnam civilem, vel potius plusquam civilem, quam *catervas* vocabant: neque enim cives tantummodo, verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii, lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi, per aliquot dies continuos, certo tempore anni solemniter dimicabant, et quisque, ut quemque poterat, occidebat. Egi quidem granditer, quantum valui, ut tam crudele atque inveteratum malum de cordibus et moribus eorum avellerem pelleremque dicendo: non tamen egisse aliquid me putavi, cum eos audirem acclamantes, sed cum flentes viderem. Acclamationibus quippe se doceri et delectari, flecti autem lacrimis indicabant. Quas ubi adspexi, immanem illam consuetudinem a patribus et avis, longeque a majoribus traditam, quæ pectora eorum hostiliter obsidebat, vel potius possidebat, devictam, antequam reipsa id ostenderent, credidi. Moxque sermone finito ad agendas Deo gratias corda atque ora converti. Et ecce jam ferme octo vel amplius anni sunt, propitio Christo, ex quo illic nihil tale tentatum est.

he speaks of that sort of ecclesiastical rhetoric which is called grand eloquence, he says, 'A man should not think he had attained to it, because he frequently received the loud acclamations of the people: for those were often gained by the acumens and ornaments of the submiss and moderate style; and the grand eloquence did often suppress those acclamations by its weight, and extort tears in their room.' He gives there a remarkable instance of his own preaching once an occasional sermon, with such effect, to the people of Cæsarea, in Mauritania. It seems, in that place a very barbarous and unnatural custom had for a long time prevailed, that at a certain season of the year, for some whole days together, the whole city, dividing themselves into two parties, were used to maintain a bloody fight by throwing stones at one another; and this without any regard to kindred or relation: for sometimes a man slew his brother, or a father his son, or a son his father. 'Now,' says St. Austin, 'I set myself with all the force of grand eloquence to root out and expel this cruel and inveterate evil out of their hearts and practice: yet I did not take myself to have made any impression to the purpose upon them, whilst I heard their acclamations, but when I saw their tears. For they showed indeed, by their acclamations, that they were instructed and pleased; but by their tears, that they were sensibly affected, and really converted. Which when I perceived, I then began to think I had got the victory over that barbarous custom, which had so long by tradition from their ancestors possessed their souls; before I saw any more visible proof in their actions. Whereupon, as soon as the sermon was ended, I turned both their mouths and hearts to give God thanks for it. And so, by the help of Christ, there are now almost eight years passed since any thing of this kind was ever attempted among them.' He adds, 'that he had made many other experiments of the like nature, by which he had learned that men ordinarily showed what impressions the force of wise and powerful rhetoric made upon them, not so much by their acclamations as by their groans, and sometimes by their tears, and finally by their real change of life and sincere conversion.' So that in the judgment of this pious Father, the best praise of a sermon, and its rhetoric, is the compunction of its hearers, and melting them into tears, and subduing their minds by bending them

to obedience, which far exceeds the honour of the greatest acclamations and applauses.

After the same manner the great orator of the East, St. Chrysostom, often tells his hearers, 'he rejoiced not in their applauses, but in the effects which his discourses had on their minds, in making them become new men.' He says in one place[38], 'they had made him happy in receiving his discourses about prayer with a ready mind. For happy is the man that speaks to an obedient ear.' And he judged of their obedience, not so much from their acclamations and praises, as from what he had observed in their actions. For when he had used this argument, why they should not pray against their enemies, because it was a provocation to God, and setting up a new law in opposition to his law: (for God says, Pray for your enemies! [Matth. 5, 44. Luke 6, 27 and 28.] but they that pray against them do in effect pray God to disannul his own law:) he says upon his mentioning this and the like arguments, 'he had observed many of them to smite upon their face and breast, and mourn bitterly, and lift up their hands to heaven, and ask God pardon for such unlawful prayers. Which made him at the same time lift up his own eyes to heaven, and give God thanks that the word of his doctrine had so quickly produced fruit in them.' In another place[39], says he, 'What do your

[38] Hom. 56. Quod non sit desperandum. t. 5. p. 742. (t. 3. p. 354 d.) *Πολλὰς ὑμῖν ἔχω χάριτας, ὅτι μετὰ προθυμίας τοὺς περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐδέξασθε λόγους, ὅτι με μακάριον ἐποιησατε. Μακάριος γὰρ ὁ λέγων εἰς ὦτα ἀκουόντων· οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν κρότων καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ποιοῦντας εἶδον, ἐπείσθην· ὅτε γὰρ ὑμῖν παρῄνουν μὴ κατεύχεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὸν Θεὸν παροξύνομεν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἀντινομοθετοῦμεν αὐτῷ· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶπεν, Εὔχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατευχόμενοι τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ἀξιοῦμεν αὐτὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λῦσαι νόμον· ὅτε οὖν ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον, πολλοὺς ἐν ὑμῖν εἶδον πρόσωπα τύπτοντας καὶ στήθη, στενάζοντας πικρῶς, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντας, συγγνώμην αἰτοῦντας περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐχῶν. Τότε δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνας, ηὐχαχίστησα τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι οὕτω ταχέως ὁ λόγος τῆς διδασκαλίας τὸν καρπὸν ἡμῖν ἤνεγκε.*

[39] Hom. 16. In illud, Si esurierit, &c. t. 5. p. 220. (ibid. 157 c.) *Τί γάρ μοι τῶν ἐπαίνων ὄφελος, ὅταν ὑμᾶς μὴ θεάσωμαι προκόπτοντας κατ' ἀρετήν; τί δέ μοι βλάβος ἐκ τῆς σιγῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων, ὅταν αὐξομένην ὑμῶν ἴδω τὴν εὐλάβειαν; ἔπαινος γὰρ τοῦ λέγοντος οὐχ ὁ κρότος, ἀλλ' ὁ περὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ζῆλος τῶν ἀκουόντων· οὐχ ὁ θόρυβος κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀκροάσεως, ἀλλ' ἡ σπουδὴ ἡ διαπαντὸς τοῦ χρόνου. Ὁ κρότος ἐξῆλθεν ὁμοῦ τε τοῦ στόματος, καὶ εἰς ἀέρα διαχυθεὶς ἀπώλετο· τὸ δὲ βελτίονας γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἀγήρω καὶ ἀθάνατον φέρει τὸν μισθὸν, καὶ τῷ λέγοντι, καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις. Ὁ τῆς βοῆς ὑμῶν ἔπαινος ἐνταῦθα τὸν λέγοντα ποιεῖ λαμπρὸν, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν εὐλάβεια πολλὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ δίδωσι*

praises advantage me, when I see not your progress in virtue? Or what harm shall I receive from the silence of my auditors, when I behold the increase of their piety? The praise of the speaker is not the *κρότος*, the *acclamations*, of his hearers, but their zeal for piety and religion; not their making a great stir in time of hearing, but showing diligence at all other times. Applause, as soon as it is out of the mouth, is dispersed into the air and vanishes; but when the hearers grow better, this brings an incorruptible and immortal reward both to the speaker and the hearers. The praise of your acclamations may render the orator more illustrious here, but the piety of your souls will give him great confidence before the tribunal of Christ. Therefore if any one love the preacher, or if any preacher love his people, let him not be enamoured with applause, but with the benefit of the hearers.'

It were easy to transcribe many other such passages out of Chrysostom, where he shows a great contempt of such popular applauses in comparison of their obedience. I will only relate one passage more[40], where he gives a severe rebuke to all preachers who made this the only aim of their discourses. 'Many,' says he, 'appear in public, and labour hard, and make long sermons, to gain the applause of the people, in

παρρησίαν τῷ διδάξαντι· ὥστε εἴ τις τῶν λεγόντων ἐρᾷ, μὴ τῶν κρότων, ἀλλὰ τῆς ὠφελείας τῶν ἀκουόντων ἐράτω.

[40] Hom. 30. in Act. (t. 9. p. 238 c.) *Πολλὰ πολλοὶ πράττουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ εἰς μέσον στάντες μακρὸν ἀποτείνειν λόγον· κἂν μὲν κρότων τύχωσι τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους, γέγονεν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο βασιλείας ἴσον· ἂν δὲ μετὰ σιγῆς τὸν λόγον καταπαύσωσι, γεέννης δή που μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς χαλεπωτέρα κατέστη τῆς σιγῆς ἡ ἀθυμία. Τοῦτο τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀνέτρεψεν, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐ ζητεῖτε λόγον ἀκοῦσαι κατανυκτικὸν, ἀλλὰ τέρψαι δυνάμενον· καὶ τῷ ψόφῳ, καὶ τῇ συνθέσει τῶν ῥημάτων, καθάπερ μελῳδῶν καὶ κιθαριστῶν ἀκούοντες, καὶ ἡμᾶς ψυχρῶς καὶ ταλαιπώρως ποιοῦντες, ὅτι ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἐπιθυμίαις ἐπόμεθα, δέον ἐκκόπτειν ταύτας.... Τοῦτο πάσχομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, κάλλη λέξεων περιεργαζόμενοι καὶ συνθήκας καὶ ἁρμονίας, ὅπως ἤσωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως ὠφελήσωμεν· ὅπως θαυμασθῶμεν, οὐχ ὅπως διδάξωμεν· ὅπως τέρψωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως κατανύξωμεν· ὅπως κροτηθῶμεν, καὶ ἐπαίνου τυχόντες ἀπέλθωμεν, οὐχ ὅπως τὰ ἤθη ῥυθμίσωμεν. Πιστεύσατέ μοι, οὐκ ἄλλως λέγω· ἐπειδὰν λέγων κροτῶμαι, παρ' αὐτὸν μὲν καιρὸν ἀνθρώπινόν τι πάσχω· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις εἴποι τὸ ἀληθές; καὶ γάννυμαι, καὶ διαχέομαι· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀπελθὼν οἴκαδε ἐννοήσω τοὺς κροτήσαντας οὐδὲν ὠφεληθέντας, ἀλλ' εἴ τις καὶ ὠφεληθῆναι ἔδει, ὑπὸ τοῦ κρότου καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀπολωλεκότας, ὀδυνῶμαι, καὶ στένω, καὶ δακρύω· καὶ, ὡς εἰκῇ πάντα εἰρηκὼς, οὕτω διάκειμαι, καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν λέγω, τί μοι τὸ ὄφελος τῶν ἰδρώτων, τῶν ἀκουόντων οὐκ ἐθελόντων καρποῦσθαί τι παρὰ τῶν λόγων τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν; καὶ πολλάκις ἐνενόησα θεῖναι νόμον τὸν κωλύοντα τοὺς κρότους, καὶ πείθοντα μετὰ σιγῆς ὑμᾶς ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας.*

which they rejoice as much as if they had gained a kingdom; but if their sermon ends in silence, they are more tormented about that silence than about the pains of hell. This is the ruin of the Church, that ye seek to hear such sermons as are apt, not to move compunction, but pleasure, hearing them as you would hear a musician or singer, with a tinkling sound and composition of words. And we act miserably and coldly, whilst we indulge our own affections, which we ought to discard. . . . We curiously seek after flowers of rhetoric, and composition, and harmony, that we may sing to men and not profit them; that we may be had in admiration by them, and not teach them; that we may raise delight, and not godly sorrow; that we may go off with applause and praise, and no ways edify them in their morals. Believe me, for I would not otherwise say it, when I raise applause in preaching, I am then subject to human infirmity, for why should not a man confess the truth? I am then ravished and highly pleased. But when I go home and consider that my applauders are gone away without fruit, though they might have done otherwise, I weep, and wail, and lament that they perish in their acclamations and praises, and that I have preached all in vain: and I reason thus with myself, What profit is there in all my labours, if my hearers reap no fruit from my words? I have often thought of making it a law to forbid such acclamations, and to persuade you to hear in silence.' By this it appears, that St. Chrysostom could rather have wished to have had this custom wholly banished out of the church, because it was so frequently abused by vain and ambitious spirits, who regarded nothing else but to gain the applause of their hearers: to which purpose they sometimes suborned men to applaud them in the church, as is complained of Paulus Samosatensis by the Council of Antioch[41]: and sometimes affected to preach in such a manner upon abstruse subjects, as neither the people nor

[41] Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 30. (v. 1. p. 361. 21.).... Καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπαινοῦσι, μηδὲ ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις κατασείουσι ταῖς ὀθόναις, μηδ' ἐκβοῶσί τε καὶ ἀναπηδῶσι κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στασιώταις ἀνδράσι τε καὶ γυναίοις, ἀκόσμως οὕτως ἀκροωμένοις· τοῖς δ' οὖν ὡς ἐν οἴκῳ Θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως ἀκούουσιν, ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ ἐνυβρίζων.... Οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν ψάλλοντες, καὶ ἐγκωμιάζοντες ἐν τῷ λαῷ, ἄγγελον τὸν ἀσεβῆ διδάσκαλον ἑαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι λέγουσι· καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγομένοις πάρεστιν ὁ ὑπερήφανος.

themselves understood, only to be admired by the ignorant multitude, who, as St. Jerom[42] complains in this very case, are commonly most prone to admire what they do not understand. For which reason, it was the care of all pious preachers to show a tender regard to the understandings of men; and, whether it gained applause or not, to speak usefully, and as far as might be, to the capacities and apprehensions of their hearers; and by all the powers of divine eloquence, and proper arts of edification and persuasion, incline them to obedience and an heavenly temper. Without which they imagined the success and event of their preaching, however eloquent and pleasing to the ear, was not better received than that of which the Prophet complained, (Ezek. 33, 32.) "Thou art unto them as a very lovely song of one that hath a very pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not."

Sermons anciently penned by the hearers.

29. There is one thing more must be taken notice of with relation to the hearers, because it expressed a great deal of zeal and diligence in their attention: which is, that many of them learned the art of notaries, the Greeks call them ὀξυγράφοι and ταχυγράφοι, *ready writers*, that they might be able to take down in writing the sermons of famous preachers, word for word as they delivered them. By this means some of their extempore discourses were handed down to posterity, which otherwise must have died with the speaking. As has been observed before out of Eusebius[43], concerning some of Origen's, which he preached in his latter years. St. Austin[44] makes the same observation concerning his own sermons upon the Psalms, that it pleased the brethren not only to receive them with their ears and heart, but with their pens likewise: so that he was to have regard, not only to his auditors, but to his readers also. Socrates[45] says the same of Chrysostom's sermons, that some

[42] Ep. 2. [al. 52.] at Nepotian. (t. 1. p. 261 b.) Verba volvere, et celeritate dicendi apud imperitum vulgus admirationem sui facere, indoctorum hominum est. Attrita frons interpretatur sæpe quod nescit: et quum aliis persuaserit, sibi quoque usurpat scientiam.

[43] L. 6. c. 36. et Pamphil. Apol. pro Origen., cited before s. 11. p. 126. nn. 81, 82.

[44] In Ps. 51. p. 201. (t. 4. p. 475 b.)... Placuit fratribus, non tantum aure et corde, sed et stilo excipienda quæ dicimus: ut non auditorem tantum, sed et lectorem etiam cogitare debeamus.

[45] L. 6. c. 4. (v. 2. p. 313. 36.)

of them were published by himself, and others by notaries, who took them from his mouth as he spake them. But they did not thus honour all preachers, but only those that were most celebrated and renowned. For Sozomen[46] observes of the sermons of Atticus, 'that they were so mean, after he gave himself to preach extempore, when he was bishop of Constantinople, that the notaries did not think fit to write them.'

These notaries were some of them allowed by the preacher himself, and were therefore a sort of public notaries appointed for this purpose: but others did it privately, according to their inclination and discretion. This difference is hinted by Eusebius, when he says[47], Origen allowed no notaries to take his sermons till he was sixty years old; and by Gregory Nazianzen in his Farewell Sermon[48], where he thus takes his leave of his Church, 'Farewell ye lovers of my sermons, and ye pens both public and private.' In which he plainly alludes to the two sorts of notaries that wrote his sermons in the church. The public notaries were generally allowed by the author's consent to publish what they wrote: in which case it was usual for the preacher to review his own dictates, and correct such mistakes and supply such deficiencies as might be occasioned by the haste of the scribe, or some things not so accurately spoken by themselves in sudden and extempore discourses. This is evident from what Gregory the Great[49] says in his Preface to his Homilies upon Ezekiel, 'that those homilies were first taken from his mouth as he spake them to the people, and after eight years he collected them from the papers of the notaries, and reviewed, and corrected, and amended them.' So again in his Preface upon Job[50], he says, 'that some of his

'Οποῖοι δέ εἰσιν οἵ τε ἐκδοθέντες παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι, καὶ οἱ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀξυγράφων ἐκληφθέντες, ὅπως τε λαμπροὶ, καὶ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ἔχοντες, τί δεῖ νῦν λέγειν;

[46] L. 8. c. 27. See before, s. 11. p. 129. n. 91.

[47] See before, ibid. p. 126. n. 81.

[48] Orat. 32. (t. 1. p. 528 a.) Χαίρετε τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων ἐρασταὶ, καὶ δρόμοι καὶ συνδρομαὶ, καὶ γραφίδες φανεραὶ καὶ λανθάνουσαι.

[49] Præf. in Ezek. (t. 1. p. 1173 a.) Homilias, quæ in Beatum Ezekielem Prophetam, ut coram populo loquebar, exceptæ sunt, multis curis irruentibus in abolitione reliqueram. Sed post annos octo, petentibus fratribus, notariorum schedulas [al. schedas] requirere studui, easque favente Domino trancurrens, in quantum, ab angustiis tribulationem licuit, emendavi, &c.

[50] Præf. in Job. (ibid. p. 4 a.)... Quamvis eorum, quibus exponere compellebar, longe me vita transcenderet; injuriosum tamen esse non credidi, si fluenta usibus homi-

homilies were composed by himself, and others taken by the notaries, and those which were taken by the notaries, when he had time, he reviewed, adding some things and rejecting others, and leaving many things as he found them, and with such emendations he composed them into books, and published them.' But many times the notaries published what they had written, without the author's knowledge and consent. In which case we sometimes find them remonstrating against this as a clandestine practice. Thus Gaudentius[50] says, 'he did not own those homilies which were first taken by the notaries latently and by stealth, and then published by others imperfectly, and only by halves, with great chasms and interruptions in them. He would not acknowledge them for his discourses which the notaries had written in extreme haste, and published without giving him any opportunity to supervise and correct them.' And probably there may be reason for the same complaint in other writers. However it shows a great diligence and attention in the hearers of those days, and a great respect and honour paid to their teachers, that they would be at so much pains to treasure up and preserve their pious instructions.

Two reflections made by the Ancients upon some of their corrupt auditors. First the negligent and profane hearers.

30. These things may be justly spoken to their honour, and it is no reflection on them, or diminution of their good character, that there were some others in those times, as there will be in all times, who deserved a contrary character, either for their deficiency and want of zeal in this matter, or for their indiscreet and intemperate zeal, in placing all religion in a sermon, and speaking contemptuously of prayer, or other parts of divine service without it. The two errors in the contrary extremes, the one in excess, the other in defect, the Ancients had

num plumbi fistula ministraret. Unde mox eisdem coram positis fratribus, priora libri sub oculis dixi: et quia tempus paullo vacantius reperi, posteriora tractando dictavi. Quumque mihi spatia largiora suppeterent, multa augens, pauca subtrahens, atque ita ut inventa sunt nonnulla derelinquens, ea, quæ me loquente excepta sub oculis fuerant, per libros emendando composui: quia et quum postrema dictarem, quo stylo prima dixeram, sollicite attendi.

[50] Præf. ad Benevol. ap. Bibl. Patr. t. 2. p. 3. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 5. p. 943 a. 14.) De illis vero Tractatibus, quos, notariis, ut comperi, latenter appositis, proculdubio interruptos et semiplenos otiosa quorundam studia colligere præsumpserunt, nihil ad me attinet. Mea jam non sunt, quæ constat præcipiti excipientium festinatione esse conscripta.

sometimes occasion to rebuke, and they did it with a becoming sharpness. Though St. Chrysostom was so much admired, that the people generally said, when he was sent into banishment[51], 'that it was better the sun should withdraw his rays, than his mouth be shut up in silence;' yet he was often forced with grief to complain of some[52] for their abstaining from religious assemblies, where they were scarce seen once a year; of others[53], that they spent their time there in nothing but idle discourse, or laughing and jesting, or transacting worldly business, laying themselves open to the assaults of the wicked Spirit, who found their house fit for his reception, empty, swept, and garnished; of others[54], that they turned the church into a theatre, and sought for nothing there, but to please their ears without any other advantage; and finally, of others[55], who extolled his discourses by great applause in words, but disgraced them by the disobedience of their lives and actions, of whom we have heard so much before. In one place[56] he more

[51] Ep. 125. ad Cyriacum. (t. 3. p. 671 a.) .... Καὶ ἔκλαιον θεωροῦντες ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐξορίᾳ ἀπερχομένους· καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, Συνέφερεν, ἵνα ὁ ἥλιος συνέστειλε τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ, ἢ ἵνα τὸ στόμα Ἰωάννου ἐσιώπησε.

[52] Hom. 46. in Lucian. Mart. t. 1. p. 597. (t. 2. p. 524 a.) Ὅπερ χθὲς ἐδεδοίκειν ἐξέβη, καὶ τέλος ἔλαβε νῦν, καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀπελθούσης, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἡμῖν συναπεδήμησε, καὶ ἐλάττων ἡμῖν ὁ σύλλογος γέγονε· καὶ ᾔδειν μὲν τοῦτο συμβησόμενον πάντως· οὐ μὴν δὲ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς παραινέσεως ἀπέστην· εἰ γὰρ καὶ μὴ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν οἱ χθὲς ἀκούσαντες, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πάντες ἠπείθησαν.—Hom. 48. in Inscript. Altar. t. 5. p. 644. (t. 3. p. 50 a.) Τί τοῦτο; ὅσον προῖασιν ἡμῖν αἱ ἑορταὶ, τοσοῦτον καὶ αἱ συνάξεις ἐλάττους γίνονται. Ἀλλὰ μὴ ῥᾳθυμῶμεν ἡμεῖς οἱ παρόντες· ἐλάττους μὲν γίνονται τῷ πλήθει, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῇ προθυμίᾳ· ἐλάττους τῷ ἀριθμῷ, οὐκ ἐλάττους δὲ τῷ πόθῳ· ἐλάττους γίνονται, ἵνα οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν· καὶ μάθωμεν, τίνες μὲν συνηθείᾳ, τίνες δὲ ἐπιθυμίᾳ θείων λογίων παραγίνονται διὰ ἐνιαυσίου ἑορτῆς, τίνες ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀκροάσεως πνευματικῆς, κ. τ. λ.

[53] Hom. 4. de Incomprehens. Dei Natur. t. 1. p. 374. (t. 1. p. 477 e.) Οὐ δέδοικας, μὴ ποτέ σου διαλεγομένου, ῥᾳθυμοῦντος, ὀλιγωροῦντος, δαίμων τις ἐκεῖθεν ἐκπηδήσας σχολάζουσαν καὶ σεσαρωμένην εὑρὼν τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐπεισέλθοι μετὰ ἀδείας, πολλῆς ἀθύρωτον τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρών.

[54] Hom. 2. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 31. (t. 2. p. 25 a.) Οὐκ ἔστι θέατρον ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἵνα πρὸς τέρψιν ἀκούωμεν· ὠφεληθέντας ἐντεῦθεν ἀπιέναι χρὴ, κερδάναντάς τι πλέον καὶ μέγα, οὕτως ἀναχωρεῖν δεῖ. ... Τί μοι τῶν κρότων ὄφελος, κ. τ. λ.

[55] See before, s. 27. n. 26, preceding.

[56] Hom. 48. In Inscript. Altar. t. 5. p. 648. (t. 3. p. 53 a.) Οὐχ ὁρᾶτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, τοὺς θεομάχους, τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, τοὺς σκληροτραχήλους; τούτων οἱ μὴ παραγενόμενοι πάντων χείρους εἰσίν. Ἐκείνοις ἐὰν εἴπωσιν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀργῆσαι, καὶ δέκα, καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ τριάκοντα, οὐκ ἀντιλέγουσι· καί τοι τί τῆς ἀργίας ἐκείνης χαλεπώτερον; τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείουσι, καὶ οὔτε πῦρ καίουσιν, οὐχ ὕδωρ φέρουσιν, οὐκ ἄλλο τι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν τὴν τοιαύτην μεταχειρίζειν ἐφίενται· ἀλλ' ἔστιν ἄλυσις αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀργία, καὶ οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀντιλέγουσιν. Ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν

particularly reproaches them that absented themselves from church with the example of the Jews, who could abstain from work for ten, twenty, or thirty days together without contradiction, at the command of their priests, and neither open their doors, nor light a fire, nor carry in water for any necessary use, which yet they submitted to, though it was an intolerable corporal slavery; whereas Christians were only required to set apart one day in seven, and only two hours of the day for religious assemblies, to obtain the greatest spiritual advantages to the soul; and yet they neglected such opportunities, and chose any meetings rather than the church.

St. Ambrose [57] in like manner upbraids those who spent their time in talking in the church, from the example of the Heathen, who reverenced their idols by their silence, whilst Christians even drowned the voice of the divine oracles, and the declaration of them, by their confused noise and confabulations in the church. This, Cæsarius [58] tells them, was in effect to offer men poison or a sword. For such an one neither heard the word of God himself, nor suffered others to hear it: and such must expect not only to give account of their own, but other men's destruction at the day of judgment. Origen [59] and some others [60] tell these men, their own practice, in

τοιοῦτον λέγω, ὅτι ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἄργησον, οὐδὲ δέκα ἡμέρας· ἀλλὰ δύο μοι δάνεισον ὥρας τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς αὐτὸς ἔχε· καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτό μοι τὸ μέτρον εἰσφέρεις· μᾶλλον δὲ μὴ ἐμοὶ δανείσῃς τὰς δύο ὥρας, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῷ, ἵνα παράκλησίν τινα εὐχῆς δέξῃ πατέρων, ἵνα εὐλογιῶν πεπληρωμένος ἀναχωρήσῃς, ἵνα πανταχόθεν ἀσφαλὴν ἀπέλθῃς, ἵνα τὰ ὅπλα λαβὼν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἀκαταγώνιστος γένῃ καὶ ἀχείρωτος τῷ Διαβόλῳ. Τί ἡδύτερον, εἰπέ μοι, τῆς ἐνταῦθα διαγωγῆς; εἰ γὰρ διημερεύειν ἐνταῦθα ἐχρῆν, τί σεμνότερον; τί ἀσφαλέστερον, ὅπου ἀδελφοὶ τοσοῦτοι, ὅπου τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, ὅπου Ἰησοῦς μέσος, καὶ ὁ τούτου Πατήρ; ποίαν ἑτέραν ζητεῖς συναγωγὴν τοιαύτην; ποῖον ἕτερον βουλευτήριον; ποίαν σύνοδον; τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ, ἐν τῇ ἀκροάσει, ἐν ταῖς εὐλογίαις, ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς, ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις· καὶ σὺ πρὸς ἑτέρας βλέπεις διατριβάς· καὶ ποίαν ἔχεις συγγνώμην;

[57] De Virgin. l. 3. [c. 3. n. 11.] (t. 2. p. 177 a.) An quicquam est indignius, quam oracula divina circumstrepi, ne audiantur, ne credantur, ne revelentur? circumsonare sacramenta confusis vocibus, ... cum Gentiles idolis suis reverentiam tacendo deferant?

[58] Hom. 34. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 853 h. 1.) Qui in ecclesia ineptis et incongruis fabulis occupatur, quasi venenum et gladium reliquis hominibus ingerere vel præbere cognoscitur, dum verbum Dei nec ipse audit, nec alios audire permittit. Qui enim talis est, et pro sua et pro aliorum destructione in die judicii redditurus est rationem.

[59] Hom. 8. in Exod. t. 1. p. 102. (t. 2. p. 176 e.) Nostis, qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuestis, quo-

another case would rise up in judgment against them: for they themselves showed a great reverence to the body of Christ in the eucharist; and yet it was no less a piacular crime to show contempt to the word of God than to his body; and they would be held guilty for a disrespect in the one case as well as the other. Thus they showed men what reverence was due to the preaching of the word of God, by setting before them the sin and danger of those abuses some were apt to run into, by an error in defect and want of a just reverence to it.

And, secondly, the intemperate zealots, who placed all religion in a sermon.

31. On the other hand, they were no less careful to guard men against superstition in the other extreme. For there was an error in excess, as well as in defect of reverence for preaching. Some were so over-run with an indiscreet bigotry and intemperate zeal for preaching, as to reckon all other parts of divine service useless and insignificant, if they were not accompanied with a sermon. These men had their arguments to plead in their own behalf, which are thus proposed and answered by St. Chrysostom [61]. 'Why should I go to church,

modo, quum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid dilabatur. Reos enim vos creditis, et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decidat. Quod si circa corpus ejus conservandum tanta utimini cautela, et merito utimini; quomodo putatis minoris esse piaculi, verbum Dei neglexisse, quam corpus ejus?

[60] Vid. Augustin. Hom. 26. ex 50. [al. Serm. 300. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 504 c.) Interrogo vos, fratres vel sorores, dicite mihi, quid vobis plus esse videtur, verbum Dei an corpus Christi? Si verum vultis respondere, hoc utique dicere debetis, quod non sit minus verbum Dei quam corpus Christi. Et ideo quanta solicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat; tanta solicitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei, quod nobis erogatur, dum aliud aut cogitamus, aut loquimur, de corde nostro depereat. Quia non minus reus erit, qui verbum Dei negligenter audierit, quam ille, qui corpus Christi in terram cadere negligentia sua permiserit.

[61] Hom. 3. in 2 Thess. p. 1502. (t. 11. p. 528 b.) Τί εἰσέρχομαί, φησιν, εἰ οὐκ ἀκούω τινὸς ὁμιλοῦντος; Τοῦτο πάντα ἀπόλωλε καὶ διέφθειρε· τί γὰρ χρεία ὁμιλητοῦ; ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας ῥᾳθυμίας αὕτη ἡ χρεία γέγονε· Διὰ τί γὰρ ὁμιλίας χρεία; πάντα σαφῆ καὶ εὐθέα τὰ παρὰ ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς· πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δῆλα· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τέρψεώς ἐστε ἀκροαταὶ, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῦτα ζητεῖτε. Εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, ποίῳ κόμπῳ λόγου Παῦλος ἔλεγεν; ἀλλ' ὅμως τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπέστρεψε· ποίῳ δὲ Πέτρος ὁ ἀγράμματος; Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδά, φησι, τὰ ἐν ταῖς θείαις Γραφαῖς κείμενα· διὰ τί οὐκ οἶδας; μὴ γὰρ Ἑβραῖστί; μὴ γὰρ Ῥωμαϊστί; μὴ γὰρ ἑτερογλώσσως εἴρηται; οὐχὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ λέγεται; Ἀλλ' ἀσαφῶς, φησι· ποῖον ἀσαφές, εἰπέ μοι; οὐχὶ ἱστορίαι εἰσί; τὰ γὰρ σαφῆ οἶδας, ἵνα περὶ τῶν ἀσαφῶν ἐρωτήσῃς. Μυρίαι ἱστορίαι εἰσὶν ἐν ταῖς Γραφαῖς· εἰπέ μοι μίαν ἐξ ἐκεί-

said they, if I cannot hear a preacher?' 'This one thing,' says St. Chrysostom, 'has ruined and destroyed all religion. For what necessity is there of a preacher? That necessity arises only from our sloth and negligence. For why otherwise should there be any need of an homily? All things are clear and open in the holy Scriptures; all things necessary are plainly revealed. But because ye are hearers that study only to delight your ears and fancy, therefore ye desire these things. Tell me, I pray, with what pomp of words did St. Paul preach? And yet he converted the world. What pomp did the illiterate Peter use? But, say they, we cannot understand the things that are written in Scripture. Why so? Are they spoken in Hebrew, or Latin, or any other strange tongue? Are they not spoken in Greek, to you that understand the Greek tongue? Yea, but then they are spoken darkly. How darkly? What difficulties do the histories contain? You understand the plain places, that you may take pains and inquire about the rest. There are a thousand histories in the Bible: tell me one of them. But you cannot tell one of these. Therefore all this is mere pretence and words. Oh! but, say they, we have the same things read to us every day out of Scripture. And do you not hear the same things every day in the theatre? Have you not the same sight at the horse race? Are not all things the same? Does not the same sun rise every morning? Do you not eat the same meat every day? I would ask you, seeing you say you hear the same things every day, what portion of the Prophets, what Apostle, what Epistle

νων· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐρεῖς· πρόφασις ταῦτα καὶ λόγοι. Καθ' ἡμέραν, φησὶ, τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν ἀκούειν· τί δὲ, εἰπέ μοι, ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀκούεις; ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ ὁρᾷς; τὰ δὲ πράγματα πάντα οὐ τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν; ὁ δὲ ἥλιος οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀεὶ ἀνατέλλει; τροφαῖς δὲ οὐ ταῖς αὐταῖς χρώμεθα; Ἐβουλόμην σου πυθέσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις ἀκούειν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν· εἰπέ μοι, ποίου Προφήτου ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον τὸ ἀναγνωσθὲν, καὶ ποίου Ἀποστόλου, ἢ ποίας Ἐπιστολῆς; ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ δοκεῖς ξένων ἀκούειν. Ὅταν μὲν οὖν ῥᾳθυμῆσαι θέλῃς, τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις εἶναι· ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἀκούσας διάκεισαι· εἰ τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν, ἐχρῆν αὐτὰ εἰδέναι· σὺ δὲ ἀγνοεῖς. Θρήνων ἄξια τὰ παρόντα, θρήνων καὶ ὀδυρμῶν, ὅτι εἰς κενὸν ἀργυροκόπος ἀργυροκοπεῖ. Ταύτῃ μάλιστα ἐχρῆν προσέχειν, ὅτι τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν, ὅτι οὐδένα παρέχομεν ὑμῖν πόνον, οὐδὲ ξένα τινὰ καὶ ἐνηλλαγμένα λέγομεν. Τί οὖν; ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνα τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεις εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἡμέτερα οὐ τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν, ἀεὶ ξένα λέγομεν, τούτοις προσέχετε; οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' ἂν μὲν εἴπωμεν, Διὰ τί οὐδὲ ταῦτα κατέχετε; ἄπαξ, φησὶν, ἀκούομεν, καὶ πῶς ἔνι κατασχεῖν; Ἂν εἴπωμεν, Ἐκείνοις διὰ τί οὐ προσέχετέ; φατε, Ἀεὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λέγεται· καὶ πάντοθεν ῥᾳθυμίας καὶ σκήψεως τὰ ῥήματα.

was read? But you cannot tell: they are perfectly new and strange to you. When therefore you are disposed to be idle, you pretend the same things are read: but when you are asked concerning them, you are as men that never heard them. If they are the same, you should have known them: but you know nothing of them. This is a thing to be lamented, that the workman labours in vain. For this reason you ought to attend, because they are the same, because we bring nothing strange or new to your ears. What then, because ye say the Scriptures are always the same, but what we preach are not so, but always contain something new, do ye attend to them? In no wise. And if we ask you, why do you not remember them? ye answer, how should we, seeing we hear them but once? If we say, why do you not remember the Scriptures? ye answer, they are always the same. These are nothing but pretences for idleness, and mere indications of a sceptical temper.' Thus that holy Father rebukes that intemperate zeal which set up preaching in opposition to reading of the Scriptures, under various pretences of their being obscure, or tedious repetitions of the same things, when in truth a fanatical affectation of novelty, and a fantastical scepticism, and a vicious desire of being freed from all the burden of attending upon religious assemblies, was really at the bottom of all their objections.

How men were treated who thought their sermons too long.

32. There is but one thing more to be observed upon this head: which is, that as there were some who complained that their sermons were not frequent enough, or too short; so there were others that complained they were too long, and were disposed to leave the assembly before sermon was ended. Some canons are pretty severe upon such auditors. The fourth Council of Carthage[61] orders them to be proceeded against with excommunication. But others used a more gentle way, contenting themselves to admonish their auditors of their duty, and sometimes using ingenious stratagems and feigned apologies to detain them; and sometimes ordering the doors of the church to be kept shut till all was ended. Which is particularly remarked of Cæsarius Arelatensis by the author of his

[61] C. 24. (t. 2. p. 1202 a.) Sacerdote verbum faciente in ecclesia, qui egressus de auditorio fuerit, excommunicetur.

Life [62]. St. Chrysostom considers the matter with some distinction. He makes some allowance for the weakness of such as were unable to hold out the whole time at a long sermon: and forasmuch as many were more desirous of long sermons than short ones, he thinks the matter was so to be ordered as to accommodate both. 'Seeing there are some,' says he [63], 'in so great a multitude, who cannot bear a long discourse, my advice to such is, that when they have heard as much as they can contain, and as much as suffices them, they should depart, (for no one hinders them, or compels them to stay longer than their strength is able to bear,) that they may not impose a necessity on us of making an end before the proper time. For thou art satisfied, but thy brother is yet an hungry: thou hast drunk thy fill of what is spoken, but thy brother is yet athirst. Therefore neither let him burden thy weakness by compelling thee to receive more than thy strength will bear; neither be thou injurious to his desire of hearing by hindering him from taking as much as he is able to receive. For so it is at a common table, some are filled sooner, some later, and neither do these accuse those, nor they condemn the other. But there is a commendation to depart quickly; but here to depart quickly is not commendable, but only pardonable. To stay long at a

[62] Cypr. Gall. sive Tolonens., Vit. Cæsar. c. 12. (ap. Surium, t. 4. p. 948.) Sæpissime ostia, lectis Evangeliis, occludi jussit; donec, propitio Deo, ipsi gratularentur, ea coercitione se profecisse, qui solebant esse fugitivi.—Vid. Cæsar. Hom. 12. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. pp. 831, seqq.) cui tit. est, Admonitio per quam suadetur ut omnis populus, donec divina mysteria celebrantur, in ecclesia fideliter exspectent.

[63] Hom. 60. Dæmones non gubernare mundum. t. 5. p. 784. (t. 2. p. 248 b.) Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ συμβαίνει εἶναί τινας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἐν δήμῳ τοσούτῳ, ἀδυνατοῦντας παρακολουθῆσαι τῷ μήκει τοῦ λόγου, ἐκεῖνο αὐτοῖς παραινέσαι βούλομαι· ἀκούσαντας ὅσα δύνανται δέξασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀρκοῦντα λαβόντας, ἀναχωρῆσαι· οὐδεὶς ὁ κωλύων, οὐδὲ βιαζόμενος πέρα τῆς οἰκείας μένειν δυνάμεως. Τὸν μέν τοι λόγον μὴ ἀναγκαζέτωσαν πρὸ τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ὥρας συστέλλεσθαι· ἐνεπλήσθης γὰρ σύ· ἀλλ' ἀδελφός σου ἔτι πεινᾷ· καὶ σὺ μεθύεις τῷ πλήθει τῶν εἰρημένων· ἀλλ' ὁ ἀδελφός σου ἔτι διψᾷ· μήτε ἐκεῖνος συντριβέτω τὴν ἀσθένειαν, ἀναγκάζων πλείω τῆς οἰκείας δέξασθαι δυνάμεως· μήτε σὺ ἐπηρέαζε τῇ ἐκείνου ἐπιθυμίᾳ, κωλύων ἅπαν, ὅσον δύναται δέξασθαι, λαβεῖν. Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν γίνεται τραπεζῶν· οἱ μὲν θᾶττον, οἱ δὲ βραδύτερον ἐμπίπλανται· καὶ οὔτε οὗτοι ἐγκαλοῦσιν ἐκείνοις, οὔτε οὗτοι τούτων καταγινώσκουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἐγκώμιον· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὸ ταχύτερον ἀποστῆναι, οὐχὶ ἐγκώμιον, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης ἄξιον· ἐκεῖ τὸ βραδύτερον παύσασθαι, κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις· ἐνταῦθα τὸ βραδύτερον ἀποστῆναι, ἔπαινος καὶ εὐφημία μεγίστη· τί δήποτε; ὅτι ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐξ ἀδηφαγίας ἡ βραδύτης γίνεται· ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας πνευματικῆς καὶ θείας ὀρέξεως ἡ παραμονὴ καὶ ἡ καρτερία συνίσταται.

carnal feast is a matter worthy of reproof, because it proceeds from an intemperate appetite: but to stay long at a spiritual feast deserves the highest praise and commendation, because it proceeds from a spiritual desire and holy appetite, and argues patience and constancy in giving attention.' Thus that holy Father decides the controversy about long and short sermons, and prudently divides the matter between strong and weak hearers; commending the one without condemning the other, and making some apology for the length of his sermons without offence to either party.

I shall make the same apology to my readers for the length of this chapter. If there be any whose curiosity leads them to know all that relates to the preaching of the Ancients, they may read the whole, and perhaps will not think it too long; but they whose appetite is not so sharp, may shorten it as they please, and accommodate it to their own use, by selecting such parts as are most agreeable to their own taste and proper for their own instruction. And so I end the discourse about preaching in the ancient Church.

CHAP. V.

Of the prayers for the catechumens, energumens, competentes or candidates of baptism, and the penitents.

That prayers in the ancient Church were not before, but after the sermon.

1. As soon as the sermon was ended, the public prayers of the Church began, and not before. For anciently the order of divine service was a little different in its method from what it is usually now in the Church. For anciently the greatest part of the public prayers came after sermon. This is expressly said by Justin Martyr in his Apology [64], where he is giving an account of the Christian worship on the Lord's-day. He says, 'They first read the Scriptures, then the president or bishop made a discourse or exhortation, after which they rose up all together and made their common prayers: and then when these were ended, the bishop prayed again, and gave thanks for the consecration of the bread and wine in the eucharist, the people answering Amen!' And so St. Chrysostom affirms

[64] Apol. 2. (p. 98 e.) Ὁ προεστὼς ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς .... τὴν νουθεσίαν ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα πέμπομεν, κ. τ. λ.

also, saying in one place [65], 'The exhortation comes first, and then immediately prayer:' and in another place [66], 'You need both advice and prayer: therefore we advise you first, meaning in the sermon, and then we make prayers for you. They that are initiated know what I say.' So that when Chrysostom or any others say prayer went before sermon, they are to be understood either of that short salutation which the minister used at the entrance upon every office, The Lord be with you! the people answering, And with thy spirit! or of some short prayer of the preacher; or of the private prayers of people, intermingled with the psalmody; and not of the common prayers of the Church. For many orders of men might be present at the sermon and to hear the Scriptures read, who might not join in prayers with the faithful; and for that reason the sermon and reading of the Scriptures went before, that such persons might have the benefit of them who were to be dismissed when the prayers begun, because they had as yet no title to communicate in them.

Who might or might not be present at these prayers. Infidels and mere hearers obliged to withdraw.

2. These prayers were of *two sorts:* prayers peculiar to the faithful or communicants only, at which neither catechumens, nor penitents, nor energumens, nor any persons yet unbaptized might be present: and prayers made particularly for these several orders, at which therefore they were allowed to be present, and both hear the prayers and pray for themselves. But even from these prayers some were obliged to withdraw, who were allowed to be present at sermons for their instruction. Such were all Jews and infidels and such of the catechumens and penitents as were known by the distinct name of ἀκροώμενοι among the Greeks and *audientes* among the Latins, that is, *hearers only.* Therefore as soon as sermon was ended, before any of these prayers began in the service of the catechumens, a deacon was used to make proclamation from some eminency in the church, *Ne quis audientium, ne quis infi-*

[65] Hom. 28. quæ est 3. de Incomprehens. Dei Natur. t. 1. p. 365. (t. 1. p. 471 a.) Μετὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν εὐθέως εὐχή.

[66] Hom. 11. in 1 Thess. p. 1480. (t. 11. p. 504 a.) Μετὰ τὴν παραίνεσιν καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπάγει, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι· δεῖ γὰρ καὶ συμβουλῆς, καὶ εὐχῆς. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς πρότερον συμβουλεύοντες, τότε τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα· καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι.

delium! Let none of the hearers, let none of the unbelievers be present! as it is worded in the Constitutions[67].

3. This said, and silence being made, the deacon cried again, 'Pray ye, catechumens!' and, 'Let all the faithful with attention pray for them, saying, Lord have mercy upon them!' Then the deacon began a prayer for them, which in the Constitutions is called *προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, a bidding prayer for the catechumens*, because it was both an exhortation and direction how they were to pray for them.

We have two ancient forms of this prayer still remaining, one in St. Chrysostom, and another in the Constitutions. That in the Constitutions[68] is in these words: 'Let us all beseech God for the catechumens; that he who is gracious, and a lover of mankind, would mercifully hearken to their supplications and prayers, and accepting their petitions would help them, and grant them the requests of their souls according to what is expedient for them; that he would reveal the Gospel of Christ to them: that he would enlighten and instruct them, and teach them the knowledge of God and divine things; that he would instruct them in his precepts and judgments; that he would open the ears of their hearts to be occupied in his law day and night; that he would confirm them in religion, that he would unite them to and number them with his holy flock,

[67] L. 8. c. 5. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 392.) ..Καὶ πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον, ἀναστάντων ἁπάντων, ὁ διάκονος, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος ἀνελθὼν, κηρυττέτω, Μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

[68] L. 8. c. 6. (Cotel. ibid. p. 393.) Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων πάντες τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς, φιλάνθρωπος, εὐμενῶς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων, καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν, καὶ δῷ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον· ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς, καὶ συνετίσῃ· παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς τὴν θεογνωσίαν, διδάξῃ αὐτοὺς τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα· ἐγκαταφυτεύσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἁγνὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον φόβον· διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός· βεβαιώσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἑνώσῃ καὶ ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ· καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς τοῦ λουροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντος ζωῆς· ῥύσηται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσεβείας, καὶ μὴ δῷ τόπον τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ κατ' αὐτῶν· καθαρίσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος· ἐνοικήσῃ τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ προκείμενα εἰς τὸ συμφέρον. Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσωμεν, ἵνα, ἀφέσεως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμελημάτων διὰ τῆς μυήσεως, ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων διαμονῆς.

vouchsafing them the laver of regeneration, with the garment of incorruption, and true life; that he would deliver them from all impiety, and give no place to the adversary to get advantage against them; but that he would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and dwell in them, and walk in them by his Christ; that he would bless their going out and their coming in, and direct all their designs and purposes to their advantage. Further yet, let us earnestly pray for them, that they may have remission of sins by the initiation of baptism, and be thought worthy of the holy mysteries, and remain among his saints.'

Then the deacon, addressing himself to the catechumens themselves, said[69], 'Catechumens, arise. Pray for the peace of God, that this day and all the time of your life may pass in quietness and without sin; that you may make a Christian end, and find God propitious and merciful, and obtain remission of your sins. Commend yourselves to the only unbegotten God by his Christ.'

To every petition of this bidding prayer, the people, and especially children, are appointed[70] to subjoin, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon us!*

After this the deacon bids them bow down, and receive the bishop's benediction; which is in the following form of direct invocation[71]:

'O Almighty God, who art without original and inacces-

[69] Ibid. (p. ead.) Ἐγείρεσθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι· τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσασθε, εἰρηνικὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη, ἵλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν Θεὸν, ἄφεσιν πλημμελημάτων· ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε.

[70] Ibid. (p. ead.) Ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων, ὧν ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ, λεγέτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδία.

[71] [Ibid. (p. ead.) Κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογείτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε· Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου καὶ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς εὐσεβείας, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, τοὺς κατηχουμένους τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καρδίαν καινὴν, καὶ πνεῦμα εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ· καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἁγίας μυήσεως, καὶ ἕνωσον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ μετόχους ποίησον τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας, ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω, Προέλθετε, κατηχούμενοι, ἐν εἰρήνῃ. *Grischov.*]

sible, the only true God, thou God and Father of Christ, thy only-begotten Son, God of the Comforter [72], and Lord of all things; who by Christ didst make learners become teachers for the propagation of Christian knowledge; look down now upon these thy servants, who are learning the instructions of the Gospel of thy Christ: and give them a new heart, and renew a right spirit within them, that they may know and do thy will with a perfect heart and a willing mind. Vouchsafe them thy holy baptism, and unite them to thy holy Church, and make them partakers of thy holy mysteries, through Christ our hope, who died for them, by whom be glory and worship unto thee world without end. Amen!' After this, let the deacon say, 'Catechumens, depart in peace!'

St. Chrysostom in one of his Homilies [73] gives us a like form

[72] This phrase, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Παρακλήτου, and a like phrase, which occurs in the prayer of this author in the daily Evening Service, (l. 8. c. 37. Cotel. ibid. p. 416.) where the Father is styled, Ὁ τοῦ Πνεύματος Κύριος, *The Lord of the Spirit*, are harsh expressions, and not very usual in Catholic writers; which makes some suspect this author, as if he were tainted with the Macedonian heresy*, which denies the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and makes him a mere creature. But this seems not to have been the intent of our author, who no where denies the true divinity of the Son or Holy Ghost, but only gives such titles of pre-eminence to the Father as Justin Martyr did before him, in regard to the Father's being the fountain of the Deity, and the origin of existence in the Son and Holy Spirit, not as creatures, but as his Eternal Son and Eternal Holy Spirit, equal to him in all essential perfections, but only deriving those divine perfections from him, as the author and fountain of their being, as God of God, and Light of Light, by eternal generation and procession. In this sense Bishop Bull has observed, that Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Tryphon, p. 358, uses the very same expression, in speaking of the Son, as our author does of the Spirit: for he says, 'The Father is Κυρίου Κύριος, ὡς Πατὴρ καὶ Θεὸς, αἴτιός τε αὐτῷ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ Δυνατῷ, καὶ Κυρίῳ, καὶ Θεῷ,—*The Lord of the Lord as Father and God, and cause of his being, of and from whom he has even this, that he is Omnipotent and Lord and God.*' Where Bishop Bull rightly observes, that God the Father is said to be God and Lord of his Son, not as he is Lord of the creatures, but *quatenus est fons Divinitatis, et causa Filio ut sit,—as he is the fountain of the Deity and cause of his Son's existence.* Which does not make the Son a creature, but the true, consubstantial, and eternal Son of God; or, as our author expresses himself accurately elsewhere, he is hereby Θεὸς μονογενὴς, *God the only-begotten*; that is, the true Son of the Father, who is styled Lord of the Son, not as a Creator, but as a Father.

[73] Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. (t. 10. p. 435 b.) Τοὺς γὰρ πιστοὺς ὁ νόμος διεγείρει πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀμυήτων ἱκετηρίαν· ὅταν γὰρ ὁ διάκονος λέγῃ, Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὸν δῆμον ἅπαντα τῶν πιστῶν διανίστησιν εἰς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων εὐχάς· καίτοι γε ἀλλό-

* [See Cotelerius in loc. (not. 23.) Durissima locutio, Macedonianismum redolens. Ed.]

of the deacons' bidding prayer for the catechumens. 'The law of the Church,' says he, 'moves the faithful to pray for those who are yet unbaptized. For when the deacon says, Let us pray fervently for the catechumens! he does nothing else but excite the whole multitude of the faithful to pray for them. For the catechumens are as yet aliens: they are not yet engrafted into the body of Christ, nor made partakers of the holy mysteries, but remain divided from the spiritual flock, and for that reason he says, Let us pray fervently! that you may not reject them as aliens, that you may not disown them as strangers. For they are not yet allowed to use the prayer that was introduced and established by the law of Christ. (He means the Lord's Prayer.) They have not yet liberty or confidence enough to pray for themselves, but need the help of those that are already initiated, for they stand without the royal gates, and at a distance from the holy rails. And for that reason are sent away when the tremendous prayers are offered at the altar. Upon this account the deacon exhorts you to pray for them, that they may be made members, and

τριοι τέως εἰσιν οἱ κατηχούμενοι· οὐδέπω γὰρ τοῦ σώματός εἰσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω μυστηρίων ἐκοινώνησαν, ἀλλ' ἔτι διῃρημένοι τυγχάνουσι τῆς ἀγέλης τῆς πνευματικῆς.... Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκτενῶς, φησὶ, δεηθῶμεν, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἀλλοτρίους ἀποποιήσῃ, ἵνα μὴ ὡς ξένους ἀγνοήσῃ· οὐδέπω γὰρ εὐχὴν ἔχουσι τὴν νενομισμένην καὶ εἰσενεχθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὐδέπω παρρησίαν κέκτηνται, ἀλλ' ἑτέρων δέονται τῶν μυσταγωγηθέντων· ἔξω γὰρ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἑστήκασι αὐλῶν, πόρρω τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων..... Διὰ τοῦτο καί σε παρακαλεῖ, δεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μέλη γένωνται σὰ, ἵνα μὴ ἔτι ὦσι ξένοι καὶ ἠλλοτριωμένοι· τὸ γὰρ, Δεηθῶμεν, οὐ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι λέγεται μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν λαὸν συντελοῦσιν· ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν, πάντας εἰς τὴν εὐχὴν παρακαλεῖ. Εἶτα ἀρχόμενος τῆς εὐχῆς φησίν· Ἵνα ὁ πανελεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν.... ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν.... ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη.... καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.... ἵνα κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς,... καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν.... ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης·.. ἵνα αὐτοῖς δοίῃ νοῦν ἔνθεον, σώφρονα λογισμὸν, καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν·.. διαπαντὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μελετᾷν·.. ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι.. Ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν,.. Ἵνα ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτόπου πράγματος,.... ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ, καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου·.. ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας·.... ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκετίας·... τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἵνα αὐξήσας εὐλογήσῃ, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ·.... ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

be no longer foreigners and aliens. For that word, *Let us pray!* is not spoken to the priests only, but also to the people. For when he says, Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν, *Let us stand decently, let us pray!* he exhorts all to pray. And then he begins the prayer in these words:'

'That the merciful and gracious God would vouchsafe to hear their prayers; that he would open the ears of their hearts; that they may hear what eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man; that he would instil into them the word of his truth; that he would sow the word of his truth in their hearts; and confirm his faith in their minds, that he would reveal unto them the gospel of righteousness; that he would give them a divine and heavenly mind, pure and holy thoughts, and a virtuous conversation; always to mind, always to regard, and meditate upon the things that belong to him, and to be occupied in his law day and night. Let us pray yet more ardently for them, that he would deliver them from all evil and absurd employments, from all diabolical sin, and all the circumventions of the adversary: that he would vouchsafe to bring them in due time to the laver of regeneration, and grant them remission of sins, and the clothing of incorruption; that he would, during their whole lives, bless their going out and their coming in, their houses and families; that he would increase and bless their children, and bring them to the measure of perfect age with the instruction of wisdom; and that he would direct all their purposes to their advantage.'

After this, the deacon bids them rise up and pray for themselves, dictating what they were to pray for[74]: 'Pray, ye catechumens, for the angel of peace; that all your purposes may be peaceably directed: pray that this present day and all the days of your lives may be spent in peace, and that you may make a Christian end. Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ.'

'This being done,' says Chrysostom[75], 'we bid them bow

[74] Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. (ibid. p. 440 a.) Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε, οἱ κατηχούμενοι· εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε· Χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη· ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι.

[75] Ibid. (d.) Εἶτα κλῖναι τὰς κεφαλὰς κελεύομεν, τεκμήριον τοῦ τὰς εὐχὰς ἀκουσθῆναι, ποιούμενοι τὸ τὸν Θεὸν εὐλογεῖν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἄνθρωπός

their heads, and receive the benediction of God, as a sign that their prayers are heard. For it is not man that blesses them: but by his hands and tongue we present their heads, as they stand there, to the Heavenly King; and then all the congregation with a loud voice cry out, Amen!'

Here is a plain account of the second prayer, that was made for the catechumens by the bishop; which is styled here, as it is also in the Constitutions, *the bishop's commendation* or *benediction.* Learned men[75] think this homily was preached by Chrysostom, when he was bishop of Constantinople. And if so, we must conclude that these prayers were the forms that were used then in the Liturgy of Constantinople.

4. And I the rather incline to this opinion, because there is some little difference between this form of Chrysostom's and that in the Constitutions. For in this of Chrysostom's, the catechumens are bid to pray for the angel of peace, which is not mentioned in the form of the Constitutions; though it be in another place[76], where directions are given for the ordinary morning and evening service. St. Chrysostom often mentions this same petition for the angel of peace in his other homilies. As in his third Homily upon the Colossians[77], where he says, 'Every man has angels attending him, and also the Devil very busy about him: therefore we pray and make our supplications for the angel of peace.' And so in his Sermon upon the Ascension[78]: speaking of the air being filled with good and bad angels, the one always raising war and discord in the world, and the other inclining men to peace, he tells his audi-

What meant by their praying for the angel of peace, in this form of prayer.

ἐστιν ὁ εὐλογῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς, καὶ γλώττης, αὐτῷ προσάγομεν τῷ Βασιλεῖ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν παρεστώτων, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν ἅπαντες τὸ, Ἀμήν. *Grischov.*]

[75] [Sir H. Savil, following Photius, whom he seems partly to have misunderstood, for which he is blamed by the Benedictines. See the third section of the Preface to their tenth volume, nn. 2 and 3. Ed.]

[76] L. 8. c. 36. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 416.) Ἀναστάντες αἰτησώμεθα τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς αὐτοῦ· τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ.— C. 37. (Cotel. ibid. p. 417.) Αἰτησώμεθα παρὰ Κυρίου τὰ ἐλέη αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς, τὸν ὄρθρον τοῦτον καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν, εἰρηνικὴν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον, καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς παρεπιδημίας ἡμῶν, τὸν ἄγγελον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, Χριστιανὰ τὰ τέλη, ἵλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν Θεόν.

[77] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1338. (t. 11. p. 347 d.) Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχόμεθα, καὶ λέγομεν αἰτοῦντες τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης.

[78] Hom. 35. in Ascens. Dom. t. 5. p. 335. (t. 2. p. 448 d.) Καὶ ἵνα μάθῃς ὅτι ἄγγελοι εἰρήνης εἰσὶν, ἄκουσον ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀεὶ λεγόντων τῶν διακόνων, Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε.

tory, 'they might know there were angels of peace, by hearing the deacons always in the prayers bidding men pray for the angel of peace.' This undoubtedly refers to the forementioned form of prayer, wherein the catechumens are directed to ask of God the protection of the angel of peace. In like manner in another place[79]: 'When the deacon bids men pray with others, he enjoins them this among the rest of their petitions, to pray for the angel of peace, and that all their purposes may be peaceably directed.' Which are the very words of the catechumens' prayer aforesaid.

The design of all which was, not to teach their catechumens to pray to their guardian angels, according to the modern way[80] of instructing in the Romish Church, (though this had been a very proper season to have admonished the catechumens of it, had there been any such practice in the ancient Church,) but it was to teach them to pray to the God of angels: that he, who makes his angels to encamp about his servants, would by their ministry defend them from the incursions of wicked spirits, those fomenters of war and division and enmity among men, and so keep them and all their purposes in a course of perpetual and uninterrupted peace, that they might finally make a Christian and a peaceable end.

dren ome ches inted ay this ver with rest of people.

5. Another thing, wherein the form in the Constitutions differs from that in St. Chrysostom, is, that it appoints the children of the church particularly and more especially to join in this common-prayer for the catechumens; whereas the form used in St. Chrysostom's church mentions no such thing: and Chrysostom himself in another place[81] says plainly, that children were not called upon to join in the prayers for the energumens and penitents, which were of the same sort with these

[79] Hom. 3. In eos, qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. p. 713. (t. 1. p. 614 c.) Ὁ διάκονος δὲ κελεύων εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιτάττει κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, αἰτεῖν τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα πάντα εἰρηνικά.

[80] Vide Drexelium de Cultu Cœlitum, l. 2. c. 3. s. 5. (p. 238.) Guilielmus Baldesanus, scriptor insigniter eruditus et pius, hoc ipsum diserte docet, ante cœlites alios omnes, beatissimam matrem Virginem, et secundum hanc, purissimos illos genios, nobilissimos cœli ephebos, angelos, veneratione singulari afficiendos. Multum debemus angelis, multum supra omnem modum, et præsertim suo quisque tutelari angelo, &c.

[81] Hom. 71. [al. 72.] in Matth. t. 7. p. 624. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 7. v. 4. p. 464. n. 98.

for the catechumens, but only in the prayers for the communicants at the altar. As these differences prove the two forms not to belong to the liturgy of one and the same Church; so they make it probable that St. Chrysostom gives us the form used in the Church of Constantinople, and the Author of the Constitutions the form that was used at Antioch, or some other eminent Church, whose rituals he transcribed and put together.

What notice we have of this prayer in other ancient writings.

6. Now, by having fixed this prayer in its proper place, we may interpret all other passages in the ancient writers, which speak of praying over the catechumens, or praying with them. As that of the Council of Nice[83], which orders, 'that if any of those, who were catechumens properly so called, that is, of that rank who had these prayers said over them, became lapsers, then they should for three years be thrust down to the rank of hearers only, and after that be admitted to pray with the catechumens again.' And that canon of the Council of Neocæsarea[84] which orders, 'that if any such catechumens as were called *γόνυ κλίνοντες*, that is, *prostrators*, or *kneelers*, who bowed down to have these prayers said over them, should fall into any scandalous sin, then they should be excluded from the prayers, and be ranked among the hearers only: and if they fell again when they were hearers, they should be excluded from the very entrance of the church.'

Of the prayers for the energumens, or persons possessed by evil spirits. The forms of these prayers.

7. The next sort of persons for whom prayers were now made were the energumens, that is, such persons as were seized or possessed by an evil spirit. For though these were under the peculiar care of the exorcists, an order set apart particularly to attend them, and pray over them in private, as has been shown more fully in a former Book[85]; yet, their case being pitiable and deplorable, it was thought an act of becoming mercy and charity to let them have the public prayers of the Church, and grant them liberty to be present at such

[83] C. 14. (t. 2. p. 36 c.) *Περὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων καὶ παραπεσόντων, ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ συνόδῳ, ὥστε τριῶν ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἀκροωμένους μόνον, μετὰ ταῦτα εὔχεσθαι μετὰ τῶν κατηχουμένων.*

[84] C. 6. (t. 1. p. 1481 c.) *Κατηχούμενος ἐὰν εἰσερχόμενος εἰς κυριακὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων τάξει στήκῃ, οὗτος δὲ ἁμαρτάνων· ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων, ἀκροάσθω μηκέτι ἁμαρτάνων· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἀκροώμενος ἔτι ἁμαρτάνῃ, ἐξωθείσθω.*

[85] B. 3. ch. 4. ss. 6, 7. v. 1. pp. 321, 322.

prayers as immediately respected their condition. Therefore as soon as the deacon had dismissed the catechumens with the usual form, 'Catechumens, depart in peace!' he said again, 'Pray ye energumens, who are vexed with unclean spirits.' And exhorting the congregation also, he said, 'Let us ardently pray for them!' as the form of this bidding-prayer runs in the Constitutions[86], 'that the merciful God, through Christ, would rebuke the unclean and evil spirits, and deliver his supplicants from the oppression and tyranny of the adversary; that he who rebuked the legion of devils, and the prince of devils, the fountain of evil, would now rebuke these apostates from piety, and deliver the works of his own hands from the molestations and agitations of Satan, and cleanse them which he hath created in great wisdom. Let us further most ardently pray for them. Save them, and raise them up, O God, by thy power.'

Then he bids them bow down their heads, and receive the bishop's benediction, which is in the following form of words[87], immediately addressed to Christ:

'O thou only begotten God, the Son of the great Father: thou that bindest the Strong One, and spoilest his goods; that givest power unto us to tread on serpents, scorpions, and over

[86] L. 8. c. 6. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 394.) *Μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω· Προελθέτε οἱ κατηχούμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς, λεγέτω· Εὔξασθε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων. Ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι· καὶ ῥύσηται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱκέτας ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας· ὁ ἐπιτιμήσας τῷ λεγεῶνι τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῷ ἀρχεκάκῳ Διαβόλῳ, ἐπιτιμήσῃ αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ ῥύσηται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ· καὶ καθαρίσῃ αὐτὰ, ἃ μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας ἐποίησεν. Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διηθῶμεν· Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς, ὁ Θεὸς, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου.*

[87] [Ibid. c. 7. (p. ead.) *Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δείσας* [leg. *δήσας,*] *καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας· ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ὁ τὸν ἀνθρωποκτόνον Ὄφιν δεσμώτην παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, ὡς στρουθίον παιδίοις, δν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει, ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν, οὐ τοπικῷ ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἑκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακόνοιαν· οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβύσσους, καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν αἰνεῖ τὰ νήπια, καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὰ θηλάζοντα· ὃν ὑμνοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων, καὶ καπνίζονται· ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν, καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐξερημῶν· οὗ νεφέλαι κονιορτὸς τῶν ποδῶν· ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης, ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους· Μονογενὴς Θεὲ, μεγάλου Πατρὸς Υἱὲ, ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας· ὅτι σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ διά σου τῷ Πατρὶ, ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Grischor.]*

all the power of the enemy; that hast delivered up the murdering serpent unto us a prisoner, as a sparrow unto children: thou, before whom all things shake and tremble at the presence of thy power; that makest Satan to fall from heaven to the earth as lightning, not by a local fall, but by a fall from honour to disgrace, because of his voluntary malice: thou, whose looks dry up the deep, and threatenings make the mountains melt, whose truth endures for ever; whom infants praise, and sucklings bless, and angels celebrate and adore; that lookest upon the earth, and makest it tremble; that touchest the mountains, and they smoke; that rebukest the sea, and driest it up, and turnest the rivers into a wilderness; that makest the clouds to be the dust of thy feet, and walkest upon the sea as upon a pavement: rebuke the evil spirits, and deliver the works of thy hands from the vexation of the adverse Spirit: for to thee belongs glory, honour, and adoration, and by thee to thy Father in the Holy Spirit, world without end. Amen!'

An accou of these prayers of St. Ch sostom a others.

8. St. Chrysostom has not this whole form, but he often refers to it[88] as one of the public prayers of the Church. 'Common prayers,' says he, 'are made by the priests and people together for the energumens, and for the penitents; we all say one and the same prayers, the prayer that is so full of mercy.' And again[89]: 'For this reason the deacon, at this time, brings those that are vexed with evil spirits, and commands them to bow down their heads only, and in that posture of body make their supplications. For they may not pray with the whole congregation of the brethren. And for this reason he presents them before you, that you having mercy on them, both in regard of their vexation, and their disability to speak for themselves, may by your freedom of access give them patronage and assistance.' In another place[90] he more

[88] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. (t. 10. p. 568 c.) Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ ἀπὸ [Edd. Savid. et Bened. παρὰ] τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται εὐχαί· καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν.

[89] Hom. 3. de Incomprehens. Dei Natura. t. 1. p. 365. (t. 1. p. 470 e.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἵστησιν τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλῖναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἱκετηρίας· εὔχεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ συλλόγου τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐ θέμις. Διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ἵστησιν, ἵνα κατελεήσας αὐτοὺς, καὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀφωνίας, τῇ οἰκείᾳ παρρησίᾳ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποχρήσῃ προστασίαν.

[90] Hom. 4. ubi supr. (ibid. p. 477 b.) Ἄλυσις πονηρὰ καὶ χαλεπὴ τῶν

fully explains the reason why this prayer for the demoniacs came before the oblation of the eucharist, and why at that time the deacon commanded them to be brought forth and bow their heads. 'Their being possessed of the Devil,' says he, 'is a cruel and grievous chain, a chain harder than any iron. As therefore, when a judge is about to come forth, and sit upon the judgment-seat, the keepers of the prison bring forth all the prisoners, and place them before the rails and curtains of the tribunal, in all their filth and nastiness, with their hair undressed, and clothed in rags: so our forefathers appointed, that when Christ was in a little time about to sit as it were upon his high throne, and shortly to appear in the holy mysteries, then the demoniacs should be brought forth as so many prisoners in chains, not to be condemned or suffer punishment for their sins, as other prisoners, but that, when the people and whole city are present together in the church, common prayer might be made for them, whilst they all with one consent besought the common Lord for them, and with loud voices entreated him to show mercy on them.' Here, though he does not specify the whole form, yet he plainly intimates both the time and subject-matter of the prayer, and also the manner of the address; that it was a prayer sent up by the common voice of the people, some time before the appearance of Christ in the eucharist, and that as an address to God to implore his mercy on those pitiable objects that lay in that forlorn condition before him. In which respect he elsewhere[91] styles it *the first prayer of mercy*, saying, 'The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens. The second also, wherein we pray for the penitents, sues equally for mercy.

δαιμόνων ἐστιν ἡ ἐνέργεια, ἄλυσις παντὸς σιδήρου δυνατωτέρα. Καθάπερ οὖν δικαστοῦ πρόοδον ἔχοντος, καὶ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ βήματος καθέζεσθαι μέλλοντος, οἱ δεσμοφύλακες, τοὺς τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἰκοῦντας ἅπαντας ἐξαγαγόντες τοῦ οἰκήματος, πρὸ τῶν κιγκλίδων καὶ τῶν τοῦ δικαστηρίου παραπετασμάτων καθίζουσιν αὐχμῶντας, ῥυπῶντας, κομῶντας, ῥάκια περιβεβλημένους· οὕτω δὴ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἐνομοθέτησαν, τοῦ Χριστοῦ μέλλοντος ὥσπερ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ προκαθέζεσθαι βήματος, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι τῶν μυστηρίων, τοὺς δαιμονῶντας καθάπερ δεσμώτας τινὰς εἰσάγεσθαι, οὐχ ἵνα εὐθύνας ὑπόσχωσι τῶν πεπλημμεληκότων, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δεδεμένοι, οὐδ' ἵνα κόλασιν ὑπομείνωσι καὶ τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἁπάσης ἔνδον παρούσης κοιναὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκετηρίαι γίνωνται, πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν κοινὸν Δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων, καὶ ἐλεῆσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς.

[91] Hom. 71. [al. 72.] in Matth. p. 624. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 7. v. 4. p. 464. n. 98.

And the third, when we pray for ourselves, presents the children of the people before God, crying out to him for mercy.' Where by *the first prayer* he does not absolutely mean the first prayer that was made in this part of divine service; for it is plain the prayer for the catechumens came before it; but because the energumens were in a more miserable condition than the catechumens, and greater objects of pity than they were, he therefore styles the prayer for them the first prayer of mercy, as he does the prayer for the penitents the second prayer for mercy, though it was in order the fourth; and the prayer for the faithful, the third prayer for mercy, though it belonged to another part of the service, of which we shall speak more particularly in the first chapter of the next book.

Of the third sort of prayers for the *competentes*, or candidates of baptism.

9. The third prayer that came in the ordinary course of this part of the service was the prayer for the *competentes*, or candidates of baptism, that is, such as had now given in their names, and expressed their desire of receiving baptism at the next approaching festival. This, I conceive, was but an occasional prayer, appropriated to certain seasons, as the time between Mid-Lent and Easter-day, or other solemn times of baptism, when men were more than ordinarily intent in preparing themselves for the reception of that sacred mystery. The forms of these kind of prayers we have also in the Constitutions[92], where, as soon as the deacon has dismissed the energumens, he is appointed to cry out, 'Pray, ye candidates of baptism: and we that are already believers, let us ardently pray for them; that the Lord would make them worthy to be baptized into the death of Christ, and to rise again with him, and to be made members of his kingdom, and partakers of his mysteries; that he would unite them to his holy Church, and number them with those that shall be saved thercin. Save them, and raise them up by thy grace.'

Then they are ordered to bow down their heads, and

[92] L. 8. c. 7. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 394.) *Εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι. Ἐκτενῶς οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς μηθέντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον συναναστῆναι αὐτῷ, καὶ μετόχους γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ· ἑνώσῃ καὶ συγκαταλέξῃ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σῇ χάριτι.*

receive the bishop's benediction, which is expressed in the following words [93]:

'O God, who didst by the prediction of thy holy Prophets say to them that are to be initiated, Wash ye, make you clean; and by Christ didst appoint a spiritual regeneration: look down now upon these persons who are to be baptized; bless and sanctify them; fit and prepare them, that they may be worthy of thy spiritual gift, and the true adoption of sons, and thy spiritual mysteries, and be deservedly numbered among those that are saved by Christ our Saviour; through whom be all glory, honour, and adoration unto thee, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!'

I have nothing further to remark concerning these prayers, because neither Chrysostom nor any other ancient writer, as far as I know, has said any thing particularly about them. Only this author in another place [94] makes them part of the daily morning and evening service, as has been noted before in speaking of that under a former head. It is probable in many Churches they were included in the forms for the catechumens in general. For the Council of Laodicea [95], which settles the order of divine service in the Church, and appoints in what method it should proceed, speaks of the prayers of the catechumens as immediately following the sermon, and then the prayers for the penitents, and after those the prayers for the faithful, which began the communion-service; but makes no mention of any prayers for the candidates of baptism, as dis-

[93] [Ibid. c. 8. (Cotel. ibid. p. 395.) Ὁ προειπὼν διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου Προφητῶν τοῖς μυουμένοις· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ νομοθετήσας τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς βαπτιζομένους, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἁγίασον, καὶ παρασκεύασον ἀξίους γενέσθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς σου δωρεᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς υἱοθεσίας, τῶν πνευματικῶν σου μυστηρίων, τῆς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐπισυναγωγῆς, διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, καὶ σέβας, ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. *Grischov.*]

[94] Ibid. c. 35. (p. 410 d.) Μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ἐπιλύχνιον ψαλμὸν, προσφωνήσει ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, καὶ χειμαζομένων, καὶ τῶν φωτιζομένων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.—C. 37. (p. 417.) Ὡσαύτως ὄρθρου ὁ διάκονος, μετὰ τὸ ῥηθῆναι τὸν ὀρθρινὸν, καὶ ἀπολῦσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, καὶ χειμαζομένους, καὶ βαπτιζομένους, καὶ τοὺς ἐν μετανοίᾳ, καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ποιήσασθαι προσφώνησιν, κ. τ. λ.

[95] C. 19. (t. 1. p. 1500 c.) Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι· καὶ τούτων προελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, κ. τ. λ.

tinct from those of the catechumens. And this might be one reason why other writers make no mention of them. In other Churches they were but occasional prayers for the particular times of baptism, and therefore it is a little wonder that other authors pass them over without the least notice taken of them. However, that the Author of the Constitutions found them distinct in the rituals of some Churches, is not at all unlikely, because such forms for the candidates of baptism are now in use in the Greek Church, as may be seen in Goar[96]; and Cardinal Bona[97] has observed the like in a very ancient *Ordo Sacramentorum*, lately in the possession of the Queen of Sweden[98], where, in the office for the third Sunday in Lent, there is a special prayer inserted for those who were then examined and elected to receive baptism at Easter. But I proceed with the service of the ancient Church.

Of the last sort of prayers for the penitents.

10. The last sort of prayers in this part of the service were those which were made for the penitents, who were under the discipline and censures of the Church. Some of these, called *hearers* only, were sent away with that order of catechumens, which were distinguished by the same denomination of *hearers:* but others of them, called *kneelers* or *prostrators*, were permitted to stay longer, to receive the prayers of the Church and the bishop's benediction. Therefore as soon as the candidates of baptism were dismissed, the deacon cried out[99], 'Ye

[96] Euchologium, (p. 339.) Δέσποτα, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, προσκάλεσαι τὸν δοῦλόν σου, τόνδε, πρὸς τὸ ἅγιόν σου φώτισμα· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης χάριτος, τοῦ ἁγίου σου βαπτίσματος· ἀπόδυσον αὐτοῦ τὴν παλαιότητα, καὶ ἀνακαίνισον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον· καὶ πλήρωσον αὐτὸν τῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος δυνάμεως εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα μηκέτι τέκνον σώματος ᾖ, ἀλλὰ τέκνον τῆς σῆς βασιλείας· εὐδοκίᾳ καὶ χάριτι τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ· μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου Πνεύματι· νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

[97] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 12. n. 4. (p. 307.) Hanc igitur oblationem, Domine, ut propitius suscipias deprecamur, quam tibi offerimus pro famulis et famulabus tuis, quos ad æternam vitam et beatam gratiæ tuæ ... dinumerare, eligere, atque vocare dignatus es.

[98] [See a further reference to this celebrated manuscript in the first section of the first chapter of the next Book, p. 213. n. 6. Ed.]

[99] Constit. Apost. l. 8. c. 8. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 395.) Εὔξασθε οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ ἐκτενῶς. Πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν παρακαλέσωμεν· ὅπως ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεὸς ὑποδείξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας· προσδέξηται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινῳδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν· καὶ συντρίψῃ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, καὶ λυτρώσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ Διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων· καὶ ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθεμίτου λόγου, καὶ πάσης

that are under penance. make your prayers: and let us ardently pray for our brethren that are doing penance: that the God of mercy would show them the way of repentance; that he would admit their recantation and confession; that he would shortly bruise Satan under their feet, and deliver them from the snare of the Devil, and the incursion of evil spirits, and preserve them from all evil words, all absurd practices, and all impure thoughts: that he would grant them pardon of all their sins, voluntary and involuntary, and blot out the handwriting that is against them. and write them in the book of life; that he would cleanse them from all pollution of flesh and spirit, and unite and restore them to his holy flock; for he knows our frame; for who can glory that he has a clean heart? or who can say that he is pure from sin? for we are all liable to punishment. Let us still pray more ardently for them, because there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth; that they may turn from every evil work. and accustom themselves to all that is good; that the merciful God receiving them kindly may restore to them the joy of his salvation, and confirm them with his principal Spirit, that they may never fall or be shaken again; that they may communicate in his holy solemnities, and be partakers of his sacred mysteries; that, being made worthy of the adoption of sons, they may obtain eternal life. Let us all further say for them, Lord, have mercy upon them: save them. O God, and raise them up by thy mercy.'

This said, the deacon bids them rise up, and bow their heads to receive the bishop's benediction, which is styled also *imposi-*

ἀτόπου πράξεως, καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐννοίας· συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, τά τε ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια· καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν χειρόγραφον, καὶ ἐγγράψηται αὐτοὺς ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς· καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος· καὶ ἑνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ποίμνην· ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσκει τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν· ὅτι τίς καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν; ἢ τίς παρρησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας; πάντες γάρ ἐσμεν ἐν ἐπιτιμίοις. Ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν, ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι· ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθέμιτον προσοικειωθῶσι πάσῃ πράξει ἀγαθῇ· ἵνα ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ᾖ τάχος εὐμενῶς προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πνευματικῷ ἡγεμονικῷ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν, καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἵνα ἄξιοι ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἱοθεσίας, τύχωσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς. Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἴπωμεν, Κύριε, ἐλέησον· σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἀνάστησον τῷ ἐλέει σου.

tion of hands and *prayer for the penitents*, and is conceived in the following words[99]:

'O Almighty and Eternal God, the Lord of the whole world, the Maker and Governor of all things, who hast made man to be an ornament of the world, through Christ, and hast given him both a natural and a written law, that he might live by the rules thereof, as a rational creature; that hast also, when he hath sinned, given him a motive and encouragement to repent, even thy own goodness: look down now upon those men, who bow the necks of their souls and bodies unto thee; for thou desirest not the death of a sinner, but his repentance, that he should turn from his evil way and live. Thou that acceptedst the repentance of the Ninevites; that wouldest have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth; that receivedst again the prodigal son, who had spent his substance in riotous living, with the compassionate bowels of a father, because of his repentance; accept now the repentance of these thy supplicants; for there is no man that sinneth not against thee. If thou, Lord, wilt mark what is done amiss, O Lord, who may abide it? for there is mercy and propitiation with thee. Restore them to thy holy Church, in their former dignity and honour, through Christ our God and Saviour; by whom be glory and adoration unto thee, in the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen!'

What notice we have of these

11. St. Chrysostom does no where give us these prayers entire, but he frequently refers to them as then used in the Church in this part of divine service. We have heard him say

[99] Ibid. c. 9. (p. 395.) *Παντοκράτορ Θεὲ αἰώνιε, Δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, Κτίστα καὶ Πρύτανι τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμου κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δοὺς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτὸν, πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐνθέσμως, ὡς λογικόν· καὶ ἁμαρτόντι ὑποθήκην δοὺς πρὸς μετάνοιαν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα· ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλικότας σοι αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, καὶ ζῆν· ὁ Νινευῖτῶν προσδεξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι, καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν· ὁ τὸν Υἱὸν προσδεξάμενος, τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀσώτως, πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις, διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πρόσδεξαι τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τὴν μετάγνωσιν· ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεταί σοι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ, Κύριε, Κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται; ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμός ἐστι· καὶ ἀποκατάστησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις, ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.*

prayers in Chrysostom and other writers.

before[1], 'that common prayers were made by the priest and the people jointly together, as well for the penitents as the energumens; and that they all said one and the same prayer, the prayer full of mercy.' In another place[2]: 'The first prayer is full of mercy, when we pray for the energumens: the second prayer likewise, wherein we pray for the penitents, makes intercession for mercy.' I have given the reason already[3] why both these prayers were styled *prayers for mercy* by Chrysostom, and I need here only observe, that they were used before the prayers for the faithful or communicants, as Chrysostom says expressly in the same place; and that they were by a certain form, because they were offered by the common voice both of minister and people. The Council of Laodicea[4] also mentions this prayer for the penitents, as coming after the sermon next to the prayers for the faithful. And in all ancient canons[5], wherever we meet with the names of *γόνυ κλίνοντες*, *ὑποπίπτοντες*, and *prostrati*, *kneelers* or *prostrators*, we are to understand this order of penitents, who in this part of the service *bowed down* to receive the Church's prayers and the bishop's benediction.

In what part of the church these prayers were made.

12. As to the Greek Church then, it is demonstrated beyond all contradiction that there was a particular service of prayers for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents, distinct from the communion-service, in which they were again prayed for, though absent, among all other states and conditions of men. But there remain two questions, which have a little more difficulty in them. First, in what part of the church these prayers were made? Secondly, whether there were any such prayers at all in use in the Latin Church? As to the first question, some learned persons[6] are of opinion that not only the obla-

[1] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. See before, s. 8. p. 199. n. 88.

[2] Hom. 71. [al. 72.] in Matt. p. 624. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 7. v. 4. p. 464. n. 98.

[3] See s. 8. p. 199. n. 90.

[4] C. 19. See before, s. 9. p. 202. n. 95.

[5] C. Nicæn. c. 11. (t. 1. p. 33 d.) *Ὅσοι γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται.*—C. Ancyr. c. 4. (ibid. p. 1457 c.) *Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων... ἔδοξε ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη.*—C. 5. (ibid. d.) *Εἰ ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετῆ χρόνον.*—Vid. ibid. cann. 6, 9, 25. [Conf. C. Neocæsar. 5. (ibid. p. 1481 c.) *Ἐὰν μὲν γόνυ κλίνων ἀκροάσθω, κ. τ. λ.*—Basil. Can. 75. (CC. t. 2. p. 1753 c.) .... *Διδόσθω αὐτῷ ὑπόπτωσις ἐν ἀλλοῖς τρισὶν ἔτεσι.* ED.]

[6] Stillingfleet, Unreasonableness of Separation, part 3. s. 9. p. 250.

tions were made at the altar, and the communion received there, but that all the prayers of the Church were made at the altar likewise. Which is certainly true of all the prayers in the communion-service, but not so certain of these prayers in the service of the catechumens. For, first, the several orders for whom these prayers were made, and over whom they were made with imposition of hands also, had their station in a different part of the church; and we do not read that they were ever called up to the altar to receive their benediction; but in some canons[6] they are expressly ordered to receive imposition of hands even in absolution before the *apsis*, or *reading-desk*, in case of scandalous offences; though absolution was usually given in ordinary cases at the altar. Now, if the prayer of absolution, which was their reconcilement to the altar, was sometimes made before the reading-desk, there is little question but that the other prayers, which were but the introduction to their reconcilement, were made there also. Secondly, this service of the catechumens and penitents was altogether a distinct service from that of the *fideles*, or *communicants*, and a final dismission of them was always made before the latter service began. Thirdly, there is an express order in the third Council of Carthage[7], that all prayers made at the altar should be directed to the Father only, and not to the Son: and yet it is evident that the prayer for the energumens was directed to the Son, as we have seen before[8] in the form cited out of the Constitutions. So that either the discipline of the Eastern Churches differed very much from those of the West; or else we must necessarily conclude that these prayers, some of which are directed to the Son, were not made at the altar.

(v. 2. p. 582.). . And that there were altars in all their churches, appears from hence, that not only the oblations were made there, and the communion received, but all the prayers of the Church were made at them: as not only appears from the African Code and St. Augustin, (which I have mentioned elsewhere,) but from Optatus, who, upbraiding the Donatists for breaking down the altars of churches, he tells them, *that hereby they did what they could to hinder the Church's prayer, for,* saith he, *Illuc ad aures Dei ascendere solebat populi oratio.*

[6] C. Carth. 3. c. 32. (t. 2. p. 1171 e.) Cujuscunque autem pœnitentis publicum et vulgatissimum crimen est, quod universam ecclesiam commoverit, [al. universa ecclesia noverit], ante apsidem manus ei imponatur.

[7] C. 23. (ibid. p. 1170 d.) Ut nemo in precibus vel Patrem pro Filio, vel Filium pro Patre, nominet: et cum ad altare assistitur, semper ad Patrem dirigatur oratio.

[8] See s. 7. n. 87, preceding.

Whether there were any such distinct prayers for the catechumens and penitents in the Latin Church.

13. But it may be said, the prayers in the Latin Church were never directed to the Son: or perhaps they had no such prayers for the catechumens and penitents in particular, as they had in the Oriental liturgies, distinct from those which were made for all orders of men, both before and after consecration in the communion-service. The matter indeed is not so clear, I confess, in the Latin Church, as I have showed it to be in the Eastern: and that which increases the difficulty is, that some authors seem to intimate that as soon as the sermon was ended, the catechumens were dismissed, and then the communicants betook themselves to prayers at the altar. 'Behold,' says St. Austin[9], 'after the sermon the catechumens have their dismission: but the faithful abide still, and come to the place of prayer:' meaning the altar, where the Lord's Prayer was, according to custom, to be repeated by the communicants only. And St. Ambrose[10], speaking of the same matter, says, 'when the sermon was done, he dismissed the catechumens, and rehearsed the Creed to some candidates of baptism in the baptistery of the church.' But these do not amount to a proof that the communion-service succeeded immediately after the sermon, and that no other prayers or business came between them. For this very place of St. Ambrose shows, that at least sometimes the repetition of the Creed to the candidates of baptism was in the interval. And one of the forecited canons of the Council of Carthage makes it evident that at other times the prayer for the absolution and reconcilement of a scandalous offender was made in the *apsis*, or *reading-desk*, before the communion-service likewise. And the other canon as plainly intimates that some prayers were directed to the Son as well as the Father, by the prohibition that is made of not changing the name of the Son for the Father, or the Father for the Son. Which prohibition had been needless, had there been no prayers directed to the Son.

[9] Serm. 237. de Temp. t. 10. p. 385. [al. Serm. 50. c. 8.] t. 5. p. 275 a.) Ecce post sermonem fit missa catechumenis. Manebunt fideles, venietur ad locum orationis. Scitis quo accessuri sumus, quid prius Deo dicturi sumus? *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.*

[10] Ep. 33. [al. 20.] ad Marcellin. Soror. (t. 2. p. 853 b. n. 4.) Post lectiones et tractatum, dimissis catechumenis, Symbolum aliquibus competentibus in baptisteriis tradebam ecclesiæ.

Now, admitting there were some prayers directed to the Son, these must be made before the communion-service, since at that time by the same canon all prayers are ordered to be directed to the Father only.

For these reasons I conclude that the practice of the Greek and Latin Churches was the same, and that there were prayers in both for the catechumens, energumens, and penitents in their presence, distinct from those which were afterwards made for them in their absence at the altar. And so I have done with the first part of divine worship, which the ancient Church called her *missa catechumenorum*, or *ante-communion-service*.

BOOK XV.

OF THE MISSA FIDELIUM, OR COMMUNION-SERVICE.

CHAP. I.

Of the prayers preceding the oblation.

f the ayer lled διὰ ωπῆς, or ent ayer.

1. WHEN the several orders of the catechumens, penitents, and energumens were dismissed, which was the completion of the *missa catechumenorum*, then immediately began that part of the service which is properly called *missa fidelium*, or *communion-service*, because none but communicants, or at least such of the penitents as had gone through all the stages of repentance, and were now waiting for absolution, called therefore συνιστάμενοι, or *co-standers*, might be present at it. The entrance on this service was made by a mental or silent prayer, made by the people in private, and thence called εὐχὴ διὰ σιωπῆς, *the silent prayer*, and εὐχὴ κατὰ διάνοιαν, *the mental prayer*. This we learn from a canon of Laodicea, which gives a summary account of the whole order of the service of the Church; and therefore for our clearer proceeding in this matter, I think it not improper to put it down entire in this place, as being one of the most remarkable canons in the whole Code, and that which will give great light to the subsequent discourse. The words of the canon[1] are these: 'That after the

[1] C. 19. (t. 1. p. 1500 c.) Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον, μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων [καὶ τῶν] κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ τὴν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτων προσελθόντων ὑπὸ χεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων· οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην διὰ σιωπῆς, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῦσθαι· εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην δίδοσθαι. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε

homily of the bishop, first the prayer of the catechumens is to be made; and after the catechumens are gone forth, then the prayer for the penitents: and when they have received their benediction by imposition of hands, and are withdrawn, then the three prayers of the faithful are to be made; the first of which is to be performed in silence, the second and third by the bidding and direction (of the deacon.) After these the kiss of peace is to be given; presbyters saluting the bishop, and laymen one another: and then the holy oblation shall be celebrated; those of the clergy only communicating in the chancel.'

Some learned persons take the prayer in silence here to mean no more than prayers made over the communicants by the minister alone, the people not making any responses; and by the prayers called εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, they understand *prayers made by way of responses*, the minister and people mutually answering one another. But this explication does not come up to the sense of this canon. For by *the prayer in silence* we are here to understand such private prayers as each particular person made by himself, and by the prayers διὰ προσφωνήσεως, such prayers as the whole Church made in common *by the call and admonition of the deacon*, who repeated the several forms, directing them what things they were to pray for, to each of which petitions they subjoined their Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy, and grant the petitions we ask!* And then the bishop added the ἐπίκλησις, or *invocation*, which was also called *collecta, the collect*, because it was a *collection* or repetition of all the prayers of the people. That there were these three sorts of prayers in the ancient Church, is evident from the accounts that are given of each of them. And first that there were such private prayers of every particular person by himself, appears not only from this canon, but from several ancient writers. St. Chrysostom [2] takes

τοὺς λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι· καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι· καὶ μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν.

[2] Hom. 57. de non Evulgand. Peccat. t. 5. p. 762. (t. 3. p. 352 b.) Πολλοὶ γὰρ πρηνεῖς ἑαυτοὺς ῥιπτοῦντες, καὶ τῷ μετώπῳ τὴν γῆν τύπτοντες, καὶ θερμὰ προχέοντες δάκρυα, καὶ πικρὸν κάτωθεν στενάζοντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντες, καὶ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, τῇ θερμότητι ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ κατὰ τῆς οἰκείας κέχρηνται σωτηρίας. Οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων παρα-

notice that some in these private prayers spent their time in nothing else but praying for revenge upon their enemies. 'Many men,' says he, 'fall prostrate upon the ground, and beat the earth with their foreheads, and shed abundance of tears, and groan bitterly within themselves, stretching forth their hands and showing great zeal, and yet use all this fervour and earnestness only against their own salvation. For they pray to God not for their own offences, they do not beseech him to pardon their own sins, but they spend all this labour against their enemies. Which is the same thing as if a man should whet his sword, and then not use it against his adversaries, but thrust it into his own throat. For so these men use their prayers, not to obtain pardon of their own sins, but to accelerate the punishment of their enemies: which in effect is to run the sword into their own bowels.' A little after[3] he tells us the very words of their prayers, which were these: 'Revenge me of my enemies, O Lord, and show them that I have a God.' By all which it appears, that these were the private prayers of the people, which they might abuse, and not the public prayers of the Church: for the Church never taught her children to curse their enemies, but to bless and pray for them. But in these private prayers which were designed for confession of sins and deprecation of God's judgments, evil men took liberty to transgress all rules, and gratify their passions by asking revenge upon their enemies. Now though this was a grand abuse of these private prayers, yet it serves to show us both what the custom was in the Church's allowance of such prayers, and what in her designation was the true use of them. St. Basil[1], speaking of their vigils or

καλοῦσι τὸν Θεὸν, οὐδὲ συγγνώμην αἰτοῦσι τῶν πλημμεληθέντων αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ τὴν σπουδὴν ταύτην κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κενοῦσιν ἅπασαν· ταὐτὸν ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸ ξίφος ἀκονήσας, μὴ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων χρῷτο τῷ ὅπλῳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτὸ δέρης ὠθοῖ. Οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτημάτων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς κέχρηνται· ὅπερ ἐστὶ καθ' ἑαυτῶν τὸ ξίφος ὠθεῖν.

[3] Ibid. (ibid. p. 353 a.) Ἐκδίκησόν με ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου· δεῖξον αὐτοῖς, ὅτι Θεὸν ἔχω κἀγώ.

[4] Ep. 63. [al. 207.] ad Neocæsr. t. 1. p. 96. (t. 3. part 2. p. 450 c. n. 3.) Ἔπειτα πάλιν, ἐπιτρέψαντες ἐνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι· καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας τὴν νύκτα διενέγκοντες, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τὰ ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι.

night-assemblies, intimates as plainly that they were spent in such private prayers intermingled with divers sorts of psalmody. And Cassian gives the same account of them both in the Eastern and Western Churches, as I have showed at large in speaking of the daily morning and evening service, which began with private confession in the Eastern Churches mentioned by St. Basil, and ended with public confession made in the words of the fifty-first Psalm, which was thence called the Psalm of Confession, or the Penitential Psalm [5] for the morning service.

But as to the private confessions we are now speaking of, with which the communion-service here began, we are to note further, that they were not only made by the people in silence by themselves, but by the minister in private also. And the footsteps of this practice remain in some of the oldest Liturgies of several Churches, quite different from the present confessions in the Roman Missal: for whereas now in the Roman Missal the confession of sins is made to saints and angels as well as to God, all the offices for at least a thousand years after Christ had their confessions only to God. Thus it is in the forms of confession in Gregory's Sacramentarium, and others published by Menardus. And this is that MS. which Cardinal Bona so much magnifies in the Queen of Sweden's library [6], as

[5] See b. 13. ch. 10. s. 13. v. 4. p. 569.

[6] 'Through the assistance of a friend recently connected with the British Legation at Stockholm, I am enabled to give the following information, which I trust will not be thought superfluous in this place.

'The MS. Sacramentary is still extant in the Royal Library at Stockholm, of which it forms one of the chief treasures. It is a thick quarto, and is inscribed, *Missale Perantiquum. 4to. vellum.* 855. Directly after the Calendar (folio 11 verso) follow sixteen forms of private confession, only two of which bear the title of *Apologia*. One of these, *Apologia Cotidiana*, commencing *Mordacis conscientiæ stimulis, &c.*, is given in the folio edition of the works of Gregory the Great, (Paris. 1619. t. 5. col. 253.), where it is intitled *In Festo Sanctorum Variatio*. The other, *Apologia in Festivitate Sanctorum*, commencing *Eripiat nos, quæsumus, Domine, &c.*, is also given in the same collection, where however only three others of the sixteen forms are found.'

In the later edition of Gregory, viz. Paris. 1705. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 230.), the *Apologia Cotidiana* as above, *Mordacis conscientiæ, &c.*, and another formula beginning *Indignum me, Domine, &c.*, are intitled, *Apologiæ quotidianæ Sacerdotis propriæ*. But neither in the ancient MS. itself, nor in any edition of Gregory's works, is any form exstant precisely in the words as given by Bona and cited by Joseph Bingham (see the following note) on the Cardinal's authority.

I subjoin a copy of the form which comes the nearest to Bona's pattern,

containing the offices of the old Gallican Liturgy. To show that these confessions were made only to God, and not to any saints or angels, and withal that they were particular confessions made by the priest only in private, διὰ σιωπῆς, as the Laodicean canon words it, I will here transcribe that which Bona gives us out of that ancient MS. as the confession of the Gallican Office. It is there[7] called *Apologia Sacerdotis, the Apology of the Priest*, or *the Confession of his Sins*, and it runs in these words:—

'O thou most admirable Majesty and great God, Almighty Father, who art of infinite goodness and power, I, who am a most vile sinner, and condemned by the testimony of my own conscience, do approach thee, and present myself in the sight of thy greatness, before the eyes of thine ineffable majesty, before thy holy face, not without due reverence, yet with great

extracted by my friend, when at Stockholm, from folio 11 verso as above. But this form is not published in any edition of Gregory's Sacramentary that I am aware of.

Ante conspectum Divinæ Majestatis tuæ, reus assisto, qui invocare Nomen Sanctum tuum præsumo. Miserere mihi, Domine, homini peccatori. Ignosce indigno sacerdoti, per cujus manus hæc oblatio videtur offerri. Parce peccatorum labe præ cæteris capitalium polluto, et non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, quia non justificabitur, in conspectu tuo omnis vivens. Sed licet vitiis ac voluptatibus carnis aggravatus sum, recordare, Domine, quod caro sum; in tuo conspectu etiam cœli non sunt mundi; quanto magis ego homo terrenus et immundus sicut pannus menstruatæ. Indignus sum, Jesu Christe, ut vivam; sed tu, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, da mihi veniam in carne constituto, ut per pœnitentiæ labores vita æterna perfrui merear in cœlis, per te, Jesu Christe, qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. ED.]

[7] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 1. n. 1. (p. 270.) Ante tuæ immensitatis conspectum, et ante tuæ ineffabilitatis oculos, O Majestas mirabilis, scilicet ante sanctos vultus tuos, magne Deus, et maximæ pietatis et potestatis Omnipotens Pater, quamlibet non sine debita reverentia, attamen nulla officii dignitate, vilis admodum peccator accedo, et reus conscientiæ testis assisto. Accuso me tibi, et non excuso: et coram testibus confiteor injustitiam meam tibi, Domino Deo meo. Confiteor, inquam, confiteor sub testibus injustitiam impietatis meæ, ut remittas impietatem peccati mei. Confiteor, quod nisi remittas, recte me punias. Habes me confitentem reum; sed scio non nisi verbis emendantem. Verbis enim placo, operibus offendo. Culpam sentio, emendationem differo. Subveni ergo, subveni, Pietas ineffabilis. Ignosce, ignosce mihi, Trinitas mirabilis. Parce, parce, supplico, Deitas placabilis. Exaudi, exaudi, exaudi me, rogo, his verbis illius filii tui clamantem, *Pater, æterne Deus, peccavi in cœlum et coram te: jam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus; fac me ut unum de mercenariis tuis.* Et nunc, Pater misericors, unicum misericordiæ tuæ portum, Christo favente, peto, ut quod per me vilescit, per illum acceptum ferre digneris; qui vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

unworthiness and neglect of duty. I do not excuse, but accuse myself unto thee. I confess, I say, I confess the unrighteousness of my impiety, that thou mayest forgive the wickedness of my sin. I confess that if thou dost not forgive, thou mayest punish me. I confess myself a criminal before thee, and yet I know my amendment is only in words. In words I endeavour to appease thee, but in works I offend thee. I am sensible of my faults, and yet I defer the amendment. Assist me therefore, assist me, O thou ineffable Goodness. Pardon me, pardon me, O most adorable Trinity. Spare me, spare me, spare me, I beseech thee, O merciful God. Hear me, hear me, hear me, I beseech thee, when I cry in the words of that prodigal son, O Father, Eternal God, I have sinned against heaven and before thee: I am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants. And now, merciful Father, I fly to the only refuge and haven of thy mercy under the protection of Christ, that what is vile in me thou mayest favourably vouchsafe to accept in him, who livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen!'

It is plain here, that as there is no address to either saint or angel in this prayer, so it is a private prayer of the priest alone for himself, whilst the people were likewise employed in making their private confessions to God: which shows us the meaning of that silent prayer spoken of in the Council of Laodicea, which is called *the first prayer* in the entrance of the communion-service.

All I shall add further here concerning these private prayers is to make an observation upon two ancient forms of speech, which have some relation to this matter, and help to confirm it: that is, the forms *silentium indicere* and *orationem dare*, both which are used to denote the custom of bidding the people fall to their private devotions. Sometimes the bishop was used to give the signal by saying, *Oremus, Let us pray!* and then the people betook themselves to their private devotions, after which the bishop summed up their prayers in a short collect by way of solemn invocation. Thus Uranius describes the rite in the Life of Paulinus [8], bishop of Nola, when

[8] Part. tert. (p. 729.).... Ad ecclesiam processit [Johannes Neapolitanus], et ascenso tribunali populum ex more salutavit, resalutatusque a populo orationem dedit, et collecta oratione spiritum exhalavit.

he tells us how a certain bishop 'went into his throne, and there saluting the people, and being saluted by them again, he then according to custom gave the signal for prayer, and afterward summed up their prayers in a collect, and so breathed out his last.' Sometimes the deacon gave the signal, and this was called *silentium indicere.* Thus it was in the Gallican Churches, as Bishop Stillingfleet[8] has observed out of Gregory of Tours; and the priest did it by the Mozarabic Liturgy. Where he rightly concludes that this phrase, *silentium indicere,* does not barely signify *making the people attentive,* but there was a further meaning in it, that they were for a time there to attend to their own private prayers. Which he thinks not improbable on these considerations:—

1. 'Gregory Turonensis saith, in the place before mentioned, that the king took that time to speak to the people, who immediately brake forth into a prayer for the king; not that any collect was then read for him, for that was not the proper time for it; but it being a time of secret prayers, they were so moved with what the king said, that they all prayed for him.'

2. 'Among the Heathens, when they were bidden *favere linguis,* yet then, Brissonius[9] saith, they made their private prayers; and as the deacon's commanding silence seems to be much of the same nature, it is not probable that the Christians should fall short of their devotions.'

3. 'The great argument,' says he, 'to me, is the small number of collects in the ancient Churches; for the Christians

[8] Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 223. ex Greg. Turon. Hist. Francor. l. 7. c. 8. (Works, v. 3. p. 139.) Gregorius Turonensis saith, that in the Gallican Churches the deacon did *silentium indicere;* and the priest did it by the Mozarabic Liturgy, which Eugenius Roblesius understands only of making the people attentive; which I grant was part of the deacon's office and design in commanding silence, as appears by several passages in the ancient Liturgies, both Greek and Latin. But there was a further meaning in it; and that the people were for a time there to attend to their own private prayers, appears not improbable to me on these considerations: Gregory (p. 337 b. 1.) says, Factum est, ut quadam die Dominica, postquam diaconus silentium populis, ut missæ auscultarentur, indixit, rex conversus ad populum diceret, *Adjuro vos, o viri cum mulieribus, ut mihi fidem inviolatam servare dignemini; nec me, ut fratres meos nuper fecistis, interimatis, &c.*... Hæc eo dicente, omnis populus orationem pro rege fudit ad Dominum.

[9] De Formulis, (pp. 8, seqq.) Sed quæ sit horum verborum vis ac potestas, &c.

spent a great deal of time in the public service on the Lord's-day and the stationary days.' I add also their vigils; but all other offices could not take up that time, there being no long extemporary prayers, nor such a multitude of tedious ceremonies in all parts, as the Roman Breviary and Missal introduced; and the collects of greatest antiquity being very few and short, it seems most probable that a competent part of the time was spent in private devotions. A remainder whereof is still preserved in the office of ordination of priests in our Church, whereby silence is commanded to be kept for a time for the people's secret prayers. And the same custom was observed at the bidding of prayers[10], which was a direction for the people what to pray for in their private devotions.

Of the prayers called διὰ προσφωνήσεως, or *bidding-prayers.*

2. And this leads us in the next place to consider the second sort of prayers mentioned in the Laodicean canon, which are there styled εὐχαὶ διὰ προσφωνήσεως, which we may English *bidding-prayers.* For they were not only a call to the people to pray, but a direction what particulars they were to pray for. We have a form of this sort of prayer in the Apostolical Constitutions, immediately after the dismission of catechumens and penitents, where it is called προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν, *a direction* or *bidding-prayer for the communicants,* or *believers.* It is there[11] ushered in with these words: 'Let no one of those,

[10] Vid. Matth. Parker, Concion. in Obit. Buceri. [ap. Hist. Ver. de Vita, Obitu, Sepultura, &c., Tract. 4: which is Parker's Funeral Sermon translated into Latin, with other pieces chiefly contributed to the publisher Hubert by Archbishop Grindal, (see his Life, b. 2. ch. 5.), and printed (place not named) anno 1562. See the *Adhortatio ad Preces,* p. 64., at the end of which are the words, (f. 65 vers.), *Hic factæ sunt tacitæ preces.* ED.]

[11] L. 8. c. 9. (Cotel. v. 1. pp. 396, 397.) Μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων προελθέτω· ὅσοι πιστοὶ, κλίνωμεν γόνυ· δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ πάντες, συντόνως τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παρακαλέσωμεν.— C. 10. (p. ead.) Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς εὐσταθείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀναφαίρετον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν παράσχοιτο, ἵνα ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀρετῆς διατελοῦντας ἡμᾶς συντηρήσῃ· ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος ἄσειστον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον διαφυλάξῃ καὶ διατηρήσῃ, μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, τεθεμελιωμένην ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἁγίας παροικίας δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως καταξιώσῃ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων Κύριος ἀνενδότως τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα μεταδιώκειν, καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον αὐτῷ τῆς δεήσεως ἀποδιδόναι τὴν ὀφειλήν· ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ

that are not allowed, come near. As many as are believers, let us fall upon our knees. Let us pray to God through his Christ. Let us all intensely beseech God through his Christ.' Then follow the several petitions in this order :—

'Let us pray for the peace and tranquillity of the world and the holy Churches; that the God of the whole world would grant us his perpetual and lasting peace; and keep us persevering to the end, in all the fulness of piety and virtue. Let us pray for the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church from one end of the earth to the other; that the Lord would keep it unshaken and undisturbed with storms and tempests, founded on a rock to the end of the world. Let us pray for the holy Church (*παροικίας*) in this place; that the Lord of all would grant us grace to pursue his heavenly hope without ceasing;

ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Εὐοδίου καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς χαρίσηται αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαις σώους, ἐντίμους, μακροημερεύοντας, καὶ τίμιον αὐτοῖς τὸ γῆρας παράσχηται ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος ῥύσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀτόπου καὶ πονηροῦ πράγματος, καὶ σῶον καὶ ἔντιμον τὸ πρεσβυτέριον αὐτοῖς παράσχοι· ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος ἄμεμπτον τὴν διακονίαν αὐτοῖς παράσχηται· ὑπὲρ ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν τε καὶ ὀρφανῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν συζυγίαις καὶ τεκνογονίαις δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος τοὺς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσῃ· ὑπὲρ εὐνούχων ὁσίως πορευομένων δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ, καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ ποιούντων τοῖς πένησι τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας δεηθῶμεν. Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφερόντων Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ πανάγαθος Θεὸς ἀμείψηται αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς, καὶ δῷ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἑκατονταπλασίονα, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ χαρίσηται αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια, ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια· ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοφωτίστων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ βεβαιώσῃ· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀρρωστίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος ῥύσηται αὐτοὺς πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης μαλακίας, καὶ σώους ἀποκαταστήσῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ὑπὲρ πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις, καὶ ἐξορίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ δεσμοῖς ὄντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου, δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ καταπονουμένων δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ ἐχθρῶν καὶ μισούντων ἡμᾶς δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος πραΰνας τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν διασκεδάσῃ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὀργήν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω ὄντων καὶ πεπλανημένων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέψῃ· τῶν νηπίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας μνημονεύωμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος τελειώσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγάγῃ· ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ Κύριος τηρήσῃ ἡμᾶς καὶ φυλάξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι εἰς τέλος, καὶ ῥύσηται ἡμᾶς τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ σώσῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον· ὑπὲρ πάσης ψυχῆς Χριστιανῆς δεηθῶμεν. Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἐλέει σου. —It. l. 2. c. 57. (Cotel. ibid. p. 265.) *Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσευχέσθω ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μερῶν, καὶ ἐκφοριῶν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς καθόλου εἰρήνης.*

and that we may render him the continual debt and tribute of our prayers. Let us pray for the whole episcopate or company of bishops under heaven, that rightly divide the word of truth. And let us pray for James, our bishop, and his Churches. Let us pray for Clemens, our bishop, and his Churches. Let us pray for Euodius, our bishop, and his Churches: that the merciful God would preserve them in safety, honour, and length of days for the benefit of his holy Churches; and grant them a venerable old age in all piety and righteousness. Let us likewise pray for our presbyters, that God would deliver them from every absurd and wicked thing, and preserve them safe and honourable in their presbytery. Let us pray for the whole order of deacons and subdeacons in Christ; that the Lord would keep them unblameable in their ministry. Let us pray for the readers, singers, widows, and orphans. Let us pray for those that live in matrimony and procreation or education of children, that God would have mercy upon them all. Let us pray for the eunuchs that walk in holiness. Let us pray for those that live in continency or virginity, and lead a pious life. Let us pray for those, that make oblations in the holy Church, and give alms to the poor. Let us pray for those that offer their sacrifices and first-fruits to the Lord our God; that the most gracious God would reward them with heavenly gifts, and restore them an hundred fold in this world, and grant them everlasting life in the world to come; giving them heavenly things for their earthly, and for their temporal things those that are eternal. Let us pray for our brethren that are newly baptized; that the Lord would confirm and establish them. Let us pray for our brethren that are afflicted with sickness; that the Lord would deliver them from all their distempers and infirmities, and restore them again in health to his holy Church. Let us pray for all those that travel by sea or by land. Let us pray for those that are in the mines, and in banishment, and in prison and in bonds for the name of the Lord. Let us pray for our enemies and those that hate us. Let us pray for those that persecute us for the name of the Lord: that the Lord would mitigate their fury, and dissipate their anger conceived against us. Let us pray for those that are without, and led away with error, that the Lord would convert them. Let us remember the in-

fants of the Church; that the Lord would perfect them in his fear, and bring them to the measure of adult age. Let us pray mutually for one another; that the Lord would keep and preserve us by his grace unto the end, and deliver us from the evil one, and from all the scandals of those that work iniquity, and conduct us safe to his heavenly kingdom. Let us pray for every Christian soul. Save us, O God, and raise us up by thy mercy!'

It is here to be supposed, that as in the former prayers for the catechumens and penitents[12], so here at the end of every petition, the people answered, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon them!* or, as it is in the close of this prayer, *Save them, O God, and raise them up by thy mercy!*

Any one that will compare either our Litany, or the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church in the beginning of our communion-service, will readily perceive that there is a near affinity between them and this general form of the ancient Church. We have not so complete a form either in Chrysostom's genuine works, or any other ancient writer, to compare this with, as we did before in considering the form for the catechumens: but there are two very ancient forms of such a prayer without any addition of invocation of saints still preserved, one in the Ambrosian Liturgy, and the other in an ancient office, transcribed by Wicelius out of the library of Fulda, which, because they come near this ancient form in the Constitutions, I will here insert in the margin for the use of the learned reader, out of Pamelius's Liturgics, tom. 3. p. 307, and Cardinal Bona's *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. 2. cap. 4. n. 3,[13]

[12] See b. 14. ch. 6, preceding.

[13] [Juxt. Ed. Venet. 1764. (p. 208. col. dextr.) Auctor Antiquitatum Liturgicarum, tom. 3. pag. 307.* harum

* [My learned ancestor, who makes his statement upon the authority of Bona, from whom both these *formulæ* are taken, was in error in supposing, (as he seems to have done in saying, *out of Pamelius's Liturgics*, tom. 3. p. 307,) that the Cardinal derived his information from that source; for there is no third volume of that work, neither is the first of these *formulæ* to be found in Pamelius at all. The truth is Bona referred to the *Liturgicarum Antiquitatum Arcana*, &c. which was published anonymously, (Duaci, ex typographia Baltasar. Belleri, 1605, 3 voll. 8vo.) but has since been attributed to *Vanderhaer*. See Barbier's Dictionnaire des Anonymes. This book is at the Bodleian and at the British Museum; and at p. 307. of v. 3. exactly as cited by Bona, the first of the *formulæ* occurs, being introduced thus .... *Cujusmodi sunt illa, quæ ex Litania vetustissima Bibliothecæ Fuldensis transcripsit Wicelius*,—Dicamus omnes, &c. At the end he adds,—*Atque hæc Wicelius transcripsit ut partem litaniarum, in quibus explicandis nunc versamur, quamvis mihi magis probetur hanc litaniam esse litaniam missalem, cujusmodi sunt nonnullæ in Quadragesima in Officio*

and then see what remains of this ancient prayer we meet with in the undoubted writings of the Fathers. For, though none

precum hanc formulam affert, quam Missalem Litaniam vocat, ex antiquo codice Bibliothecæ Fuldensis a Wicelio transcriptam.

1. In Codice Fuldensi Litania Missalis.

Dicamus omnes ex toto corde totaque mente, *Domine miserere.*

Qui respicis terram, et facis eam tremere, *Oramus te, Domine, exaudi et miserere.*

Pro altissimâ pace et tranquillitate temporum nostrorum, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro Sancta Ecclesia Catholica, quæ est a finibus usque ad terminos orbis terrarum, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro patre nostro episcopo, pro omnibus episcopis ac presbyteris et diaconis, omnique clero, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro hoc loco et habitantibus in eo, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro piissimo imperatore et toto Romano exercitu, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro omnibus, qui in sublimitate constituti sunt, pro virginibus, viduis, et orphanis, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro pœnitentibus et catechumenis, *Oramus te, Domine,* &c.

Pro his, qui in Sancta Ecclesia fructus misericordiæ largiuntur. Domine Deus virtutum, exaudi preces nostras. *Oramus te, Domine.*

Sanctorum Apostolorum et Martyrum memores sumus, ut orantibus eis pro nobis veniam mereamur. *Oramus te, Domine.*

Christianum ac pacificum nobis finem concedi a Domino comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Et divinum in nobis permanere vinculum caritatis Dominum comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Conservare sanctitatem ac puritatem Catholicæ fidei, Sanctum Deum comprecemur. *Præsta, Domine, præsta.*

Dicamus omnes, *Domine, exaudi et miserere.*

2. Altera formula ex Ritu Ambrosiano in Dominica prima Quadragesimæ, incipiente diacono, et choro respondente.

Divinæ pacis et indulgentiæ munere supplicantes ex toto corde et ex tota mente precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro Ecclesia Sancta Catholica, quæ hic et per universum orbem diffusa est, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro papa nostro N. et pontifice nostro N. et omni clero eorum, omnibusque sacerdotibus ac ministris precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro famulis tuis, N. imperatore et N. rege, duce nostro, et omni exercitu eorum precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro pace ecclesiarum, vocatione gentium, et quiete populorum, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro civitate hac et conservatione ejus, omnibusque habitantibus in ea precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro aëris temperie, ac fructu et fœcunditate terrarum precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro virginibus, viduis, orphanis, captivis, ac pœnitentibus, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro navigantibus, iter agentibus, in carceribus, in vinculis, in metallis, in exsiliis constitutis, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro iis, qui diversis infirmitatibus detinentur, quique spiritibus vexantur immundis, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.*

Pro iis, qui in Sancta Ecclesia tua fructus misericordiæ largiuntur,

Ambrosiano et plurimæ in omnibus Missis Græcorum. The second *formula*, with some slight variations, does occur in Pamelius, whence Bona probably took it, (t. 1. p. 328.) under the title of *Ambrosianæ Missæ Ritus et Ordo Dom. Quadrag. dicta Samaritana.* Ed.]

of them give us the same form entire, yet one may easily perceive by the near alliance of the fragments that remain, that they all refer to the same original. For there are, both in Chrysostom and other writers, several fragments of such a prayer, and plain intimations that either this or a like form was in use in many Churches. And therefore it will not be amiss to collect these references and fragments before we proceed any further.

3. St. Chrysostom, in one of his sermons spoken to the people of Antioch[14], plainly shows that they had such a form of bidding-prayer in use in that Church: for he relates some of the petitions of it, which are so like the form in the Constitutions, that he will not judge amiss that thinks the Author of the Constitutions had his form from the same original, whence we are sure St. Chrysostom had his, viz. the Liturgy of the Church of Antioch: 'For,' says he, 'when you all in common hear the deacon bidding this prayer, and saying, Let us pray for the bishop and for his old age, and for grace to assist him, that he may rightly divide the word of truth, and for those that are here, and those that are in all the world! you refuse not to do what is commanded you, but offer your prayers with all fervency, as knowing what power there is in common prayer. They that are initiated know what I say. For this is not yet allowed in the prayer of the catechumens: for they are not yet arrived to this boldness and liberty of speech. But the deacon, who ministers in this office, exhorts you to make prayers for the whole world, and for the Church extended from one end of the earth to the other, and for all the bishops

precamur te. *Domine, miserere.* Exaudi nos in omni oratione atque deprecatione nostra, precamur te. *Domine, miserere.* Dicamus omnes. *Domine, miserere.*

[14] Hom. 2. de Obscurit. Prophetiarum. t. 3. p. 946. (t. 6. p. 188 a.) *Κοινῇ δὲ πάντες ἀκούοντες τοῦ διακόνου τοῦτο κελεύοντος, καὶ λέγοντος, δεηθῶμεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τοῦ γήρως, καὶ τῆς ἀντιλήψεως, καὶ ἵνα ὀρθοτομῇ τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ, οὐ παραιτεῖσθε ποιεῖν τὸ ἐπίταγμα· ἀλλὰ μετ' ἐκτενείας ἀναφέρετε τὴν εὐχὴν, εἰδότες τῆς ὑμετέρας συνόδου τὴν δύναμιν· ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι τὰ λεγόμενα· τῇ γὰρ εὐχῇ τῶν κατηχουμένων οὐδέπω τοῦτο ἐπιτέτραπται· ἐπειδὴ οὐδέπω πρὸς τὴν παρρησίαν ἔφθασαν ταύτην· ὑμῖν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς μέχρι περάτων τῆς γῆς ἐκτεταμένης, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν διοικούντων αὐτὴν ἐπισκόπων ἁπάντων παρακελεύεται ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δεήσεις ὁ ταύταις διακονῶν, καὶ ὑπακούετε μετὰ προθυμίας, ἔργῳ μαρτυροῦντες, ὅτι μεγάλη τῆς εὐχῆς ἡ δύναμις, τῆς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου συμφώνως ἀναφερομένης, ἐστίν.*

that rule and govern it; and ye obey with readiness, testifying by your actions that great is the power of prayer, when it is offered up by the people with one voice in the church.' Here we may observe, that this was the bidding prayer: for it was done by the *celeusma*[15], or *call* and *admonition* of the deacon, telling them what they were to pray for. Then again, that it was a prayer peculiar to the communicants, and used only in the communion-service: for the catechumens were not allowed to join in it. And further, that the petitions for the whole world, for the Church over all the earth, for all bishops wheresoever governing the Church, and particularly for the bishop of the place, that he might live to a good old age, and have the help of God's grace to enable him rightly to divide the word of truth, are the same petitions that occur in the Constitutions: which makes it evident that these forms of bidding prayer were then commonly used in the Catholic Church. Chrysostom, in another place[16], speaks of this same prayer as performed in common, both by ministers and people; and by both of them in the posture of kneeling or prostration. For giving an account of the several prayers of the Church, in which the people bear a part with the minister, he says, 'they prayed in common for persons possessed with evil spirits, and for the penitents; and then, after they were excluded who could not partake of the holy table, they made another prayer, in which they all fell prostrate upon the earth together, and all in like manner rose up together.' This is a plain reference to that bidding prayer, before which the deacon commanded all to fall down upon the ground, and make those several petitions in that posture, and then gave the signal to rise again, by saying, Ἀναστῶμεν, *Let us rise!* as it is worded in the Constitutions. Chrysostom has many other passages, which speak of prayers for the whole state of the Church, for bishops, for the universe, and the public peace; but because these refer more peculiarly to the prayer immediately following the consecration and obla-

[15] Compare b. 14. ch. 2. s. 4. p. 39. n. 60., where some appropriate remarks are made on this word. Ed.]

[16] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. (t. 10. p. 568 b.) Πάλιν ἐπειδὰν εἴρξωμεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέραν δεῖ γενέσθαι εὐχήν· καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα.—See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 9. v. 4. p. 472. n. 27.

tion where a more solemn commemoration of all states was again made, I will refer the notice of them to the discourse upon that prayer in its proper place.

However, I cannot omit mentioning one remarkable thing more out of St. Chrysostom, relating to this prayer; which is, that this prayer was esteemed so much the common-prayer of the people, that the children of the Church were particularly enjoined to bear a part in it. For, in one of his Homilies upon St. Matthew[17], speaking first of the prayer for the demoniacs, secondly of the prayer for the penitents, thirdly of this prayer for the communicants, he observes, 'that the two former were offered by the people alone, as intercessors for mercy for others; but this prayer, which was for themselves, was presented also by the innocent children of the people, crying to God for mercy:' it being supposed that their innocency and humility, the imitation of which qualifies men for the kingdom of heaven, were good recommendations of their prayers, when they solemnly implored the divine mercy. Which plainly shows that this was a general prayer of all degrees of persons in the Church. We may note further out of St. Austin, that the Universal Church, or the greatest part of it, had such prayers preceding the consecration of the eucharist, which were properly called *precationes*, or *deprecationes, supplications for themselves and others;* and *communis oratio, common prayer*, because they were performed by the *common* voice of the deacon and the people. In one of his Epistles[18], he divides the whole service of the Church into these five parts: 1. Singing of psalms; 2. Reading of the Scriptures; 3. Preaching; 4. The prayers of the bishops and presbyters; 5. The common prayers indited by the voice or direction of the deacons: which were the bidding-prayers we are now discoursing of. Whence we learn the meaning of the deacon's being said *indicere communem orationem;* that it means not

[17] Hom. 71. al. 72. in Matth. p. 624. (t. 7. p. 699 e.) .... Καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ παιδία [τὰ ἄμωμα] τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα. See v. 4. p. 464. n. 98.

[18] Ep. 119. [al. 55.] ad Januar. c. 18. (t. 2. p. 142 b, c.) Quando autem non est tempus, cum in ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut disputatur, aut antistites clara voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur?

barely his commanding them to pray, but *his going before them in a form of words, to which they might join their common responses.*

In another Epistle[19], he divides the communion-service into four parts, according to that division of St. Paul, (1 Tim. 2, 1.) "I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men;" taking *supplications* for these common prayers made for all men before the consecration of the elements; and *prayers*, in the Greek called εὐχαὶ, for the prayers of consecration, of which the Lord's Prayer was one, because the people did then solemnly dedicate themselves to Christ, which is the most common notation of the word εὐχὴ, *a vow.* By *intercessions*, he understands the benedictions of the people by imposition of hands, used at that time by the bishops and other chief ministers, recommending them to the mercy of God; and by *thanksgiving*, the doxologies and returns of praise after the participation was over. So that here we have a plain account of the Church's service; and particularly, that the prayers before the consecration were those solemn addresses which were made chiefly by the deacon and people, and therefore were called *communis oratio voce diaconi indictâ,—the common prayers of the people, enjoined and ordered by the bidding of the deacon.* In another place he mentions some of the particulars then prayed for. For, writing to one Vitalis of Carthage[20], who maintained that infidels were not to be prayed for, he

[19] Id. Ep. 59. [al. 149.] ad Paulin. quæst. 5. (t. 2. p. 509 c.) Sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut *precationes* accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici: *orationes*, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit..... *Interpellationes* autem, sive, ut vestri codices habent, *postulationes*, fiunt cum populos benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.

[20] Ep. 107. [al. 217.] ad Vital. p. 187. (t. 2. p. 799 f.) Exerce [exsere, Ed. Bened. secund. MSS. præstantiores] contra orationes ecclesiæ disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret; et pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic te non facere quod hortatur; id est, Deum pro infidelibus, ut eos fideles faciat, non rogare.

urges him with the known practice of the Church. 'Dispute then,' says he, 'against the prayers of the Church; and when you hear the priest of God exhorting the people of God at the altar to pray for infidels, that God would convert them to the faith; and for catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration; and for the faithful, that they may persevere by his grace in that wherein they have begun; mock at these pious words, and say you do not do what he exhorts you to do; that is, that you do not pray to God for infidels, that he would make them believers.' Here we see the prayers for the conversion of infidels, and the perseverance of believers, are the same with those that occur in the Constitutions, and in both places are said to be done at the bidding or exhortation of the minister.

St. Basil also speaks of these prayers under the name of *κηρύγματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ*, which is not to be understood of preaching in the church, but of these prayers, which the deacon, as the common *κήρυξ* or *proclaimer* and *director* of the service, appointed the people to make for all orders of men in the Church. And so St. Basil himself explains his own meaning. For writing to a friend[21] in a foreign country, he tells him it was impossible he should forget him in his prayers, unless he should forget the work to which the Lord had appointed him. 'For you,' says he, 'who are by the grace of God a believer, remember very well the bidding-prayers of the Church; how we there pray for all our brethren that travel in foreign countries, and for all those that are mustered in the camp, and for those that undertake any brave and bold thing for the name of the Lord, and for all such as show forth any fruits of the Spirit; for all these we make prayers in the holy Church.' And he tells his friend, that he being a person singularly eminent, and in all those capacities, as a traveller, as a warrior, as a confessor, as a virtuous man, was always re-

[21] Ep. 241. [al. 155.] (t. 3. part. 2. p. 353 c.) *Ἐπιλαθέσθαι δέ σου ἐν προσευχαῖς ἀδύνατον· εἰ μὴ πρότερον τοῦ ἔργου ἡμῶν ἐπιλαθώμεθα, εἰς ὃ ἔταξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος. Μέμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατίαις ἐξεταζομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ [τῶν] παρρησιαζομένων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένων, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα· ὧν πάντως ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν [al. χρόνοις] ἢ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πᾶσι νομίζομεν καὶ τὴν σὴν ἐμπεριλαμβάνεσθαι τιμιότητα.*

membered in the public prayers of the Church. He mentions no other particulars, because he had no occasion to specify any more but what related to this particular man's case; but we need not doubt but that there were many other such petitions in the liturgy of the Church of Cæsarea as there were in those of Antioch and the African Churches. Cæsarius Arelatensis also speaks of these bidding-prayers as used in the Gallican Churches. For in one of his Homilies[22] to the people he exhorts them, 'that as often as the clergy prayed at the altar, or prayer was enjoined by the bidding of the deacon, they should bow not only their hearts, but their bodies also. For it was a very irregular thing, and unbecoming Christians, that when the deacon cried out, Let us bend the knee! the greatest part of the people should stand erect like pillars, as he had observed them to do in their devotions.' Here, though we have none of the particular petitions, yet there is a plain reference to them, and two of the circumstances mentioned, that is, that they were to be made kneeling, and by the indiction or direction of the deacon.

Of the invocation or collect following the prayers of the people.

4. And in these circumstances they differed from the following prayer, made by the bishop or chief minister, which the Greeks called ἐπίκλησις, *the invocation*, and the Latins *collecta*, *the collect*, because it was the *recollection* or *recapitulation* of the preceding prayers of the people. As the former prayer was said by the deacon and people kneeling, so this was presented by the bishop standing. And therefore the deacon was used to say immediately after the former prayer, 'Ἐγειρώμεθα, *Let us rise up*, and praying earnestly, let us recommend ourselves and one another to the living God by his Christ.' After which, the bishop makes this prayer, as the form runs in the Constitutions[23]:—

[22] Hom. 34. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 853 b.) Rogo vos et admoneo, fratres carissimi, ut quotiescunque juxta altare a clericis oratur, aut oratio diacono clamante indicitur, non solum corda, sed etiam corpora inclinetis. Nam dum frequenter, sicut oportet, et diligenter attendo, diacono clamante, Flectamus genua! maximam partem populi velut columnas erectas stare conspicio, quod Christianis omnino nec licet nec expedit.

[23] L. 8. c. 11. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 397.) Κύριε παντοκράτορ, ὕψιστε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενε, ἄναρχε, μόναρχε· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα γνώσεως δοὺς ἡμῖν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, οὗ ἐφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν εἰς κατάληψιν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου τοῦτο· καὶ

'O Lord Almighty and Most High, thou that dwellest in the highest, thou Holy One that restest in thy saints, (or holy places,) that art without original, the great Monarch of the world; who by thy Christ hast caused thy knowledge to be preached unto us, to the acknowledgment of thy glory and name, which he hath manifested to our understandings: look down now by him upon this thy flock, and deliver it from all ignorance and wicked works. Grant that it may fear thee, and love thee, and tremble before the face of thy glory. Be merciful and propitious unto them, and hearken to their prayers; and keep them unchangeable, unblameable, and without rebuke; that they may be holy both in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing; but that they may be perfect, and none among them deficient or wanting in any respect. O thou, their Defender, thou Almighty, that regardedst not persons, be thou the help of this thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with the precious blood of thy Christ. Be thou their defence and succour, their refuge and keeper, their impregnable wall, their bulwark and safety. For no one can pluck them out of thy hand. There is no other God like thee: in thee is our hope and strong consolation. Sanctify them by thy truth: for thy word is truth. Thou that dost nothing out of partiality and favour; thou that canst not be deceived, deliver them from sickness and infirmity, from sin, from all injury and fraud, and from the fear of the enemy, from the arrow that flieth by day, and the danger that walketh in darkness;

λύτρωσαι αὐτὸ πάσης ἀγνοίας, καὶ πονηρᾶς πράξεως· καὶ δὸς φόβῳ φοβεῖσθαί σε, καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀγαπᾶν σε, καὶ στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ προσώπου δόξης σου. Εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς γενοῦ, καὶ ἵλεως, καὶ ἐπήκοος ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτῶν· καὶ φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ἀτρέπτους, ἀμέμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους· ἵνα ὦσιν ἅγιοι σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, μὴ ἔχοντες σπίλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ἀλλ' ἵνα ὦσιν ἄρτιοι, καὶ μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ᾖ κολοβὸς ἢ ἀτελής. Ἄρωγὲ, δυνατὲ, ἀπροσωπόληπτε, γενοῦ ἀντιλήπτωρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου τούτου, ὃν ἐξηγόρασας τῷ τιμίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου αἵματι· προστάτης, ἐπίκουρος, ταμίας, φύλαξ, τεῖχος ἐρυμνότατον, φραγμὸς, ἀσφάλεια· ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σῆς χειρὸς οὐδεὶς ἁρπάσαι δύναται· οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι Θεὸς ὥσπερ σὺ ἕτερος· ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστιν. Ἀπροσχάριστε, ἀπαραλόγιστε, ῥῦσαι αὐτοὺς πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης μαλακίας, παντὸς παραπτώματος, πάσης ἐπηρείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ἀπὸ φόβου ἐχθροῦ, ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Υἱῷ σου τῷ μονογενεῖ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ σέβας, ἐν Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

and vouchsafe to bring them to eternal life, which is in Christ, thy only-begotten Son, our God and Saviour; by whom be glory and worship unto thee in the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, world without end. Amen!'

This, I conceive, is of the same nature with that prayer mentioned by the Council of Laodicea[24], as the second of those that are said to be made διὰ προσφωνήσεως: for though the Author of the Constitutions distinguishes between the deacon's bidding-prayer and the bishop's invocation, calling the former προσφώνησις, and the latter ἐπίκλησις; yet they both agreed in several things to distinguish them from the silent prayer that went before. For, first, they were both pronounced audibly by the minister, so as the whole congregation might join with them, either by making responses to every particular petition of the deacon's prayer, or by saying Amen! at the conclusion of the bishop's prayer: whereas the silent prayers of the people were such as every man said privately by himself, and might be very different from one another, and sometimes were such as were not fit to be heard, because some men abused this opportunity to pray to God for revenge upon their enemies. Secondly, both these prayers were made at the call or admonition of the deacon, and so might have the name of προσφώνησις. For he said before the one, Let us fall down upon our knees and pray to God! and before the other, Let us rise and *commend ourselves to God*,—παραθώμεθα ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ! Whence also this and all such prayers of the bishop had the name of παραθέσεις, *commendations*, because they *recommended* the people to the mercy and protection of God. As we find in one of the canons of the African Code[25], which made an injunction that no prayers should be used in the Church but such as were authorized by a synod, whether they were prefaces, or commendations, or imposition of hands, lest any prayers contrary to the faith should surreptitiously creep into

[24] C. 19. See before, s. 1. n. 1, preceding.

[25] C. 106. [al. 103.] (t. 2. p. 1118 e.) Ἤρεσε καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε οἴμια [al. προοίμια], εἴτε παραθέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, κ.τ.λ. [Conf. C. Tolet. 4. c. 12. [al. 13.] (t. 5. p. 1710 b.) Componuntur ergo hymni, sicut componuntur missæ, sive preces, vel orationes, sive commendationes, sive manus impositiones, &c. Ed.]

the Church. Where, as by *prefaces* are meant certain proper prayers used at the eucharist; and by *imposition of hands*, prayers made over the penitents or people by way of benediction; so by *commendations* are to be understood partly prayers for the catechumens, and partly these prayers of the bishop for the people, recommending their persons and prayers and concerns to the favour of God. This canon was first made in the Council of Milevis[26], where what the Greeks call παραθέσεις is by the Latins called *commendationes*. But the more usual name in the Latin Church was *collectæ*, *collects*, because these prayers of the bishop, which in any part of the service followed the joint prayers of the deacon and congregation, were both a recollection and recommendation of the prayers of the people. In this sense Cassian takes the phrase *colligere orationem*, when, speaking of the service in the Egyptian monasteries and Eastern Churches, he says, 'After the psalms they had private prayers, which they said partly standing and partly kneeling. Which being ended, he that *collected the prayer*[27] rose up, and then they all rose up together with him; none presuming to continue longer upon the ground, lest he should seem rather to pursue his own prayers than go along with him who collected the prayers, or closed up all with his concluding collect.' Where we may observe, that a collect is taken for the chief minister's prayer at the close of some part of divine service, collecting and concluding the people's preceding devotions. As here in Cassian it is the close of the ordinary or daily morning service, which was the same as the close of that part of the communion-service which immediately comes before the consecration, as has been shown before, in speaking of the daily morning service, more fully in another place[28].

Parallel to this passage in Cassian is that of Uranius[29], where, speaking of one John, bishop of Naples, who died in

[26] C. 12. (t. 2. p. 1540 e.) Placuit etiam et illud ut preces, vel orationes, seu missæ, ... sive præfationes, sive commendationes, &c.

[27] Vid. Cassian. Instit. l. 2. c. 7. (p. 19.) Cum autem is, qui orationem collecturus est, e terra surrexerit, omnes pariter eriguntur [al. surgunt], ita ut nullus .... remorari præsumat, ne non tam secutus fuisse illius conclusionem, qui precem colligit, quam suam celebrasse credatur.

[28] B. 13. ch. 10. v. 4. p. 554.

[29] Vit. Paulin. (part. 3. p. 729.)... Populo orationem dedit, et collecta oratione spiritum exhalavit. See before, s. 1. n. 8. preceding.

the celebration of divine service, he says, 'he gave the signal to the people to pray, and then, having summed up their prayers in a collect, he yielded up the ghost.' The Council of Agde[30] in France made it a standing rule for the Gallican Churches, 'that after all other things were performed in the daily course of morning and evening service, the bishop should conclude the whole office *collecta oratione, with his collect,* and dismiss the people with his benediction.' From which it appears, that these collects among the Latins were the same sort of prayers which the Greeks called ἐπικλήσεις and παραθέσεις, *invocations* and *commendations,* with which the bishop concluded the prayers of the deacon and people in each distinct part of divine service. As we have seen it in the service of the catechumens and penitents, and in the offices for the daily morning and evening prayer, and here now in this part of the communion-service which goes before the consecration.

Of which I have nothing more to add, but only a short passage of St. Austin[31], who in his Book of the Gift of Perseverance seems plainly to intimate, that it was one petition in this prayer, of common use in the African Churches, to pray for God's grace to enable believers to persevere to the end of their lives. For, writing of the necessity of grace, to guard men against the error of the Pelagians, he puts them in mind of the common prayer of the Church, wherein the priest makes invocation for the faithful or communicants in these words, 'Grant them grace, O Lord, to persevere in thee unto the end.' 'And who is there,' says he, 'that, hearing the priest thus praying, dares either in word or thought reprehend him, and is not rather ready, both with a believing heart and a confessing mouth, to answer *Amen!* to such a benediction?' It is observable here, first, that this prayer has the same name which the Greeks gave it in the Eastern Church, *The invocation of*

[30] C. 30. (t. 4. p. 1388 b.) Et in conclusione matutinarum vel vespertinarum missarum, post hymnos capitella de Psalmis dici [al. dicantur], et plebem [al. plebs] collecta oratione ad vesperam ab episcopo cum benedictione dimitti [al. dimittatur].

[31] De Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 23. t. 6. (t. 10. p. 855 g.) An quis sacerdotem super fideles Dominum invocantem, si quando dixit, *Da illis, Domine, in te perseverare usque in finem!* non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, *Amen!*

the bishop or priest over the faithful. And therefore, secondly, that it was a part of the communion-service, where such prayers were only made. Thirdly, that it was not the deacon's bidding-prayer, which had the people's responses to every particular petition, but a prayer to which, in the end, they only answered *Amen!* Fourthly, that it was a direct invocation of God, by way of benediction, such as the bishop used to make, and not an exhortation to pray, which was the office of the deacon. Fifthly, that the petition in substance is the same with that of the bishop's prayer in the Constitutions[32], 'Keep them unchangeable, unblameable, and without rebuke; that they may be perfect both in body and soul, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that they may be perfect, and none among them be found wanting in any respect.' All which circumstances make it highly probable that this prayer, referred to by St. Austin, was the very prayer we are speaking of as used in the close of the first part of the communion-service in the African Churches. These are the footsteps by which we are to trace the practice of the ancient Church in that part of her devotions which was appropriated to the communicants or believers only, in the entrance of the communion-service, and which answers to 'the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here upon earth,' in the beginning of our communion-service.

CHAP. II.

Of the oblations of the people, and other things introductory to the consecration of the eucharist.

Of the customary oblations which the people made at the altar.

1. The next part of this service was the great thanksgiving and the consecration of the elements of bread and wine for the eucharist. With respect to which, because they were generally taken out of the oblations which the people made at the altar, it will be necessary to give some account of them, and of the elements of bread and wine taken out of them.

It was an ancient custom, derived from apostolical practice, for all communicants, that were of ability, to make their oblations of bread and wine, and sometimes other things, at the altar; out of

[32] See n. 23, preceding.

which both the elements were taken, and a common feast was made for the poor. This the Apostle plainly refers to in that reproof which he gives the Corinthians for their excess: (1 Cor. 11, 21.) "In eating every one taketh before others his own supper, and one is hungry, and another is drunken." Justin Martyr[33] takes notice of these oblations, saying, 'They that are wealthy, and they that are willing, give according as they are disposed; and what is collected is deposited with the bishop, who out of it relieves the orphans and widows, and those that are in sickness, or in want, or in bonds, and strangers, and travellers: in a word, he is the curator of all that are in need.' Tertullian[34] gives the like account of this practice in his time, only he distinguishes between the weekly and the monthly collection. 'Every one,' says he, 'offers a small alms monthly, or when he will, and as he will, and as he can; for no one is compelled, but makes a voluntary collation. This is our bank for piety. For it is not expended in feasting and drinking, and abusive excesses, but in feeding and burying the poor, in providing for orphans that are bereft of their parents, and aged people, and such as suffer shipwreck, or languish in the mines, or in banishment, or in prison. Only one part of it,' he adds, 'was spent upon a sober feast of charity, where the poor had a right to feed as well as the rich.' St. Cyprian[35] also speaks of this when he asks a rich woman, 'How she could think she celebrated the Lord's supper, who had no respect to the corban; or how she could come into the Lord's house without a sacrifice, and eat part of the sacrifice which the poor

[33] Apol. 2. (p. 98. lin. ult.) *Οἱ εὐποροῦντες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὁ βούλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον, ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπομένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις οὖσι ξένοις, καὶ ἁπλῶς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρείᾳ οὖσι κηδεμὼν γίνεται.*

[34] Apol. c. 39. (p. 31 b.) Modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die, vel quum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit, apponit: nam nemo compellitur, sed sponte confert. Hæc quasi deposita pietatis sunt. Nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratis voratrinis dispensatur, sed egenis alendis humandisque, et pueris ac puellis re ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis senibus, item naufragis: et si qui metallis, et si qui in insulis vel in custodiis, dumtaxat ex causa Dei sectæ, alumni confessionis suæ fiunt.

[35] De Oper. et Eleemos. p. 203. (p. 141.) Locuples et dives es, et Dominicum celebrare te credis, quæ corbonam omnino non respicis; quæ in Dominicum sine sacrificio venis; quæ partem de sacrificio, quod pauper obtulit, sumis?

had offered?' Parallel to which is that of St. Austin[34], 'that a man of ability ought to be ashamed to communicate of another man's oblation;' and therefore he exhorts every one to bring their own oblations to be consecrated at the altar.

per- rere d to them, hat

2. There was a very near alliance and great affinity between these oblations and that of the eucharist; and therefore as they had the same common name of *oblation* and *sacrifice*, so in many respects the same rules were observed about them. As, first, that none but actual communicants should have the privilege to offer them. For in those days it was a privilege to be allowed to make their oblations, and a sort of lesser excommunication to be debarred from it. They would not receive the oblations of persons that were at enmity or variance with their brethren[35], neither at the altar, nor into the treasury. And this, as Optatus[36] tells us, was grounded upon that rule of our Saviour, that no men's gifts should be offered at the altar, but those that were seasoned with peace and reconciliation with their brethren. "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift." (Matth. 5, 23.) For the same reason they refused the oblations of noted and known oppressors of the poor, as appears from another canon of the [same] Council of Carthage[37]; with which agrees the rule in the Constitutions[38], that they should not receive the gifts of a thief or an harlot. Which is repeated again[39] with

[34] Serm. 215. de Temp. [al. Serm. 265. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 436 f.) Oblationes, quæ in altario consecrentur, offerte: erubescere debet homo idoneus, si de aliena oblatione communicaverit.

[35] Vid. C. Carth. 4. c. 93. (t. 2. p. 1207 b.) Oblationes dissidentium fratrum, neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.

[36] L. 6. p. 93. (p. 111.) Altaria, in quibus fraternitatis munera non jussit Salvator poni, nisi quæ essent de pace condita.

[37] C. 94. (t. 2. p. 1207 b.) Eorum, qui pauperes opprimunt, dona a sacerdotibus refutanda.

[38] L. 3. c. 8. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 281.) Οὔτε γὰρ οἱ ἱερεῖς τοιαύτης ἐκουσιασμὸν δέξονταί ποτε, οἷον ἅρπαγος, ἢ πόρνης.

[39] L. 4. c. 6. (ibid. p. 294.) Χρὴ δὲ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον εἰδέναι, τίνων ὀφείλει δέχεσθαι καρποφορίας, καὶ τίνων οὐκ ὀφείλει. Φυλακταῖοι γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς δόσιν κάπηλοι, Οὐ δικαιωθήσεται γὰρ κάπηλος περὶ ἁμαρτίας· περὶ αὐτῶν γάρ που καὶ Ἡσαΐας, ὀνειδίζων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ, ἔλεγεν, Οἱ κάπηλοί σου μίσγουσι τὸν οἶνον ὕδατι. Φευκταῖοι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πόρνοι, Οὐ προσοίσεις γὰρ τῷ Κυρίῳ μίσθωμα πόρνης· καὶ ἅρπαγες, καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμηταί, καὶ μοιχοί· βδελυκταὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων θυσίαι παρὰ Θεῷ. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐκθλίβοντες χήραν, καὶ ὀρφανὸν καταδυναστεύοντες, καὶ τὰς φυλακὰς πληροῦντες ἀναιτίων, ἢ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν οἰκέ-

an addition of many other such like criminals. 'A bishop must know whose gifts he ought to receive, and whose not. He shall not receive the gifts of fraudulent *hucksters*, κάπηλοι, for *an huckster*[40] *shall not be freed from sin.* And Esaias[41] speaks of these when he upbraids Israel, saying, *Thy hucksters mix wine with water.*' So the Septuagint[42] reads it. 'Neither shall he receive the oblations of whoremongers: for *Thou shalt not offer to the Lord the hire of a whore.* (Deut. 23, 18.) Nor the oblations of covetous and adulterers: for the sacrifices of such are abomination to the Lord. Nor the oblations of such as afflict the widow and oppress the fatherless by their power, and fill the prisons with innocent persons, and evil intreat their servants with stripes, famine, and hard bondage; and lay waste whole cities: all such are to be rejected, and their offerings are abominable. He shall also refuse all corrupters, and lawyers that plead for injustice, and makers of idols and thieves, and unrighteous publicans, and those that use frauds in weight or measure; all soldiers that are false accusers, and not content with their wages, but oppress the poor; all murderers and hangmen, and unrighteous judges, drunkards, blasphemers, and abusers of themselves with mankind; all usurers, and in a word, every wicked man that lives in rebellion against the will of God.'

St. Chrysostom[43] particularly inveighing against oppressors,

ταις πονηρῶς χρώμενοι, πληγαῖς φημὶ καὶ λιμῷ καὶ κακοδουλίᾳ, ἢ καὶ πόλεις ὅλας λυμαινόμενοι· φευκταῖοι ἔστωσάν σοι, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε, καὶ αἱ τούτων προσφοραὶ μυσαραί. Παραιτήσῃ δὲ καὶ ῥᾳδιουργοὺς, καὶ ῥήτορας ἀδικίᾳ συναγωνιζομένους, καὶ εἰδωλοποιοὺς, καὶ κλέπτας, καὶ τελώνας ἀδίκους, καὶ ζυγοκρούστας, καὶ δολομέτρας· καὶ στρατιώτην συκοφάντην, μὴ ἀρκούμενον τοῖς ὀψωνίοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πένητας διασείοντα· φονέα τε καὶ δήμιον, καὶ δικάστην παράνομον, πραγμάτων ἀνατροπέα, ἀνθρώπων ἐπίβουλον, μιαρῶν ἐργάτην, μέθυσον, βλάσφημον, κίναιδον, τοκογλύφον· καὶ πάντα ὁντινοῦν πονηρὸν, καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαμαχόμενον.

[40] Ecclesiasticus, 26. v. 29. [According to the Authorized Version: *A merchant shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong; and a huckster shall not be freed from sin.* — According to the Septuagint: Μόλις ἐξελεῖται [al. ἐξαιρεῖται] ἔμπορος ἀπὸ πλημμελείας, καὶ οὐ δικαιωθήσεται κάπηλος ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας. ED.]

[41] [Ch. 1. v. 22. According to the Authorized Version: *Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water.* ED.]

[42] [As cited by the Author of the Constitutions. *Thy wine* seems the exact rendering of the Hebrew סָבְאֲךָ, from סָבָא, *ingurgitavit se, mero se obruit.* The Vulgate also reads *Vinum tuum.* ED.]

[43] Hom. 86. al. 87. [Ben. 85. al. 86.] in Matth. p. 722. (t. 7. p. 808 a.) Ἀκούσατε, ὅσοι ἀπὸ φόνων δοκεῖτε

who offered alms out of what they had violently taken from others, says elegantly, 'that God will not have his altar covered with tears: Christ will not be fed with robbery; such sort of sustenance is most ungrateful to him; it is an affront to the Lord to offer unclean things to him. He had rather be neglected and perish by famine, in his poor members, than live by such oblations. The one indeed is cruelty, but the other is both cruelty and an affront. It is better to give nothing than to give that which is the property of others.'

What the Author of the Constitutions observes of idol-makers is confirmed by Tertullian[44], who wrote his whole Book of Idolatry in a manner against them, where among many other things he says, they that followed that trade were not to be admitted into the house of God. And it is very remarkable what St. Ambrose told Valentinian[45], when he was about to restore the Heathen altars at the intercession of Symmachus, that if he so far contributed toward the re-settlement of idolatry, the Church would no longer receive his oblations. 'What will you answer,' says he, 'to the priest, when he shall say unto you, the Church requires not your gifts, because you have adorned the temples of the Heathen with your gifts? The altar of Christ refuses your oblations, because you have erected an altar to the idol-gods.' By which it is plain they rejected

εὐποιΐας ποιεῖν, καὶ τιμὴν λαμβάνοντες ψυχῶν ἀνθρώπων· Ἰουδαϊκαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι, μᾶλλον δὲ Σατανικαί. Εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν, εἰσὶν, οἱ μυρίων ἑτέρων ἁρπάζοντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀπολογεῖσθαι νομίζουσι, ἂν δέκα χρυσίνους, ἢ ἑκατὸν καταβάλωσι· περὶ ὧν καὶ ὁ Προφήτης φησὶν, Ἐκαλύπτετε [ἐκάλυπτον Morel. et quidam MSS.] ἐν δάκρυσι τὸ θυσιαστήριόν μου. Οὐ βούλεται Χριστὸς πλεονεξίᾳ τρέφεσθαι, οὐ δέχεται ταύτην τὴν τροφήν· τί τὸν Δεσπότην ὑβρίζεις ἀκάθαρτα προσάγων αὐτῷ; βέλτιον λιμῷ τηκόμενον περιορᾶν, ἢ τρέφειν ἀπὸ τοιούτων· ἐκεῖνο ὠμοῦ, τοῦτο [καὶ ὠμοῦ] καὶ ὑβριστοῦ· βέλτιον μηδὲν δοῦναι, ἢ τὰ ἄλλων ἑτέροις.—Hom. 72. [Bened. 73. al. 72.] in Ioan. p. 466. (t. 8. p. 432 e.) Ἐλεημοσύναις γάρ φησι, καὶ πίστεσιν ἀποκαθαίρονται ἁμαρτίαι· ἐλεημοσύνην δὲ οὐ τὴν ἐξ ἀδικίας λέγω· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐλεημοσύνη, ἀλλ' ὠμότης καὶ ἀπανθρωπία· τί γὰρ ὄφελος ἐκδύσαι ἕτερον καὶ ἐνδύσαι ἕτερον; ἀπὸ γὰρ οἴκτου τοῦ πράγματος ἄρχεσθαι δεῖ. [Conf. Epiphan. Expos. Fid. n. 24. (t. 1. p. 1107 b.) .... Προσφορὰς λαμβάνει [ἡ ἐκκλησία] παρὰ τῶν οὐκ ἀδικούντων, οὐδὲ παρανομούντων, ἀλλὰ δικαίως βιούντων. Ed.]

[44] De Idolol. c. 5. (p. 87 c.)... Respondebimus ad excusationes hujusmodi artificum, quos nunquam in domum Dei admitti oportet, si quis eam disciplinam norit.

[45] Ep. 30. [al. 17.] ad Valentin. (t. 2. p. 827 a. n. 14.) Quid respondebis sacerdoti dicenti tibi, Munera tua non quærit ecclesia, quia templa Gentilium muneribus adornasti? Ara Christi dona tua respuit, quia [al. quoniam] aram simulacris fecisti.

the oblations not only of professed idolaters, but all such as were abettors of them, or any ways instrumental in giving aid or encouragement to idolatrous practices.

Again, it was a standing rule among them not to admit the oblations of those, who, having a right to communicate, would not stay to participate of the communion. This is expressly ordered by the Council of Eliberis[46]: and the rule extended further to all those that for any crime or heresy were excluded from communion by the discipline of the Church, or were not in full communion with her. Such as all excommunicate persons, all catechumens, penitents, energumens, and strangers that travelled without commendatory letters, and such of the clergy as for some lesser offences were reduced to the communion of strangers. For, as Albaspinæus notes rightly upon that canon, all these were in some measure non-communicants, as not being in the perfect and full communion of the Church.

The energumens are particularly specified in the next canon[47] of that Council, as persons whose oblations should not be received, nor their names mentioned at the altar, whilst they were actually under the agitation of an evil spirit. And all penitents, whilst they were under discipline, were in the same class; only they had this privilege, that if they chanced to die suddenly, whilst they were doing penance, and were desirous to be reconciled, by some canons[48] their oblations were allowed to be received after death, as a testimony of

[46] C. 28. (t. 1. p. 973 e.) Episcopos ab eo placuit, qui non communicat, munera accipere non debere.

[47] C. 29. (ibid.) Energumenus, qui [ab] erratico spiritu exagitatur, hujus nomen neque ad altare cum oblatione recitandum, neque permittendum ut sua manu in ecclesia ministret.

[48] Vid. C. Arelatens. 2. c. 12. (t. 1. p. 1012 d.) De his, qui in pœnitentia positi vita excesserunt, placuit nullum communione vacuum debere limitti; sed pro eo, quod honoravit pœnitentiam, oblatio illius suscipiatur.—C. Vasens. 1. [al. 2.] c. 2. t. 3. p. 1457 b.) Pro his, qui, pœnitentia accepta, in bonæ vitæ cursu satisfactoria compunctione viventes, sine communione inopinato nonnunquam transitu, in agris aut itineribus præveniuntur, oblationem recipiendam, &c.—C. Tolet. 11. c. 12. (t. 6. p. 553.) De his autem, qui accepta pœnitentia, antequam reconcilientur, ab hac vita recesserint; quanquam diversitas præceptorum de hoc capitulo habeatur, illorum tamen nos sententias placuit sequi, qui multiplices numero de hujusmodi humanius decreverunt; ut et memoria talium in ecclesiis commendetur, et oblatio pro eorum dedicata spiritibus accipiatur.

their reconciliation and admission into the communion of the Church again: except they were of that sort of penitents to whom the Church thought fit, in the severity of her discipline, to deny all external communion at the hour of death; of which there are many instances in the Councils of Sardica, Eliberis, and others: for then their oblations were not received either living or dying: or else, when they had been so careless as not to desire reconciliation at the hour of death; in which case, as Pope Leo[49] says, 'their cause was reserved to the judgment of God, in whose hand it was that their life was not prolonged till they could have the remedy of communion.' As to the Church, 'she did not communicate with those after death, with whom she did not communicate when they were alive.'

Nay, sometimes they would not receive the oblations of those that died in their communion, if their last act happened to have any thing irregular in it. As appears from a case in Cyprian[50], who tells us, that it had been determined by an African synod that no one should appoint any of God's ministers a curator or guardian by his will, because they were to give themselves to supplications and prayer, and to attend only upon the sacrifice and service of the altar: and therefore, when one Geminius Victor had made Geminius Faustinus, a presbyter of the Church of Furni, guardian or trustee by his last will and testament, Cyprian wrote to the Church of Furni, 'that they should make no oblation for him, nor name him in the sacrifice of the altar.' But in after-ages this piece of discipline was a little moderated in France: for by a canon of the second Council of Orleans[51] it was ordered, 'that if any one died in the communion of the Church, his oblation should be received, though he happened to be slain in some fault, pro-

[49] Ep. 92. ad Rusticum, c. 6. (t. 3. p. 1407 b.) Horum causa Dei judicio reservanda est, in cujus manu fuit, ut talium obitus non usque ad communionis remedium differretur. Nos autem, quibus viventibus non communicavimus, mortuis communicare non possumus.

[50] Ep. 66. [al. 1.] ad Cler. Furnitan. p. 3. (p. 170.) Ideo Victor cum, contra formam nuper in Concilio a sacerdotibus datam, Geminium Faustinum presbyterum ausus sit tutorem constituere, non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.

[51] C. 14. [al. 15.] (t. 4. p. 1782 a.) Oblationem defunctorum, qui in aliquo crimine fuerint interempti, recipi debere censemus, si tamen non ipsi sibi mortem probentur propriis manibus intulisse.

vided he had not laid violent hands upon himself.' But this privilege was not allowed the catechumens that died without baptism, because they never were perfectly in the communion of the Church. Therefore Chrysostom[52] says, no mention was ever made of them after death in the prayers of the Church, as was usual for believers, in the oblation or sacrifice of the altar: 'the only thing that could be done for such was to give private alms to the poor.' If they had not the benefit of baptism, they were to be buried as persons who laid violent hands upon themselves, or fell by the arm of justice[53], without any solemnity of burial or commemoration at the altar. In short, the oblations of all persons who were not in actual or full communion with the Church were absolutely rejected: and therefore those penitents who had gone through all the stages of discipline, and were now allowed to stay and hear the prayers with the rest of the faithful, were not yet allowed to make any oblations, as being not yet fully reconciled to the communion of the altar. Upon this account the ancient Canons[54] style them *κοινωνοῦντας χωρὶς προσφορᾶς, such as communicated in prayers only, without any oblation.* But this was more precisely observed in the beginning of their censures: for if a great delinquent, an heretic or other excommunicate person, would have given his whole estate to the Church, in such a case they would not accept his oblation.

There goes an Epistle under the name of St. Austin to Count

[52] Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. (t. 11. p. 217 f.) ... Πῶς οὐ δυσωπήσομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλοῦντες; ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει παρελθόντων· οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι οὐδὲ ταύτης καταξιοῦνται τῆς παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπεστέρηνται πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης βοηθείας, πλὴν μιᾶς τινός· ποίας δὲ ταύτης; ἔνεστι πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι.

[53] Vid. C. Bracar. 1. c. 35. [al. Bracar. 2. c. 17.] (t. 5. p. 841 e.) Catechumenis sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo, non oblationis sanctæ commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

[54] Vid. C. Nicæn. c. 11. (t. 2. p. 33 d.) Ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν. —C. Ancyr. c. 4. (t. 1. p. 1457 c.) Περὶ τῶν πρὸς βίαν θυσάντων ... ἔδοξεν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκροᾶσθαι, ὑποπεσεῖν δὲ τρία ἔτη, εὐχῆς δὲ μόνης κοινωνῆσαι ἔτη δύο, καὶ τότε ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ τέλειον. —C. 5. (ibid. d.) Εἰ ἐπλήρωσαν τὸν τῆς ὑποπτώσεως τριετῆ χρόνον, χωρὶς προσφορᾶς δεχθήτωσαν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἔφαγον, δύο ὑποπεσόντες ἔτη, τῷ τρίτῳ κοινωνησάτωσαν χωρὶς προσφορᾶς.— C. 8. (ibid. p. 1460 c.) Οἱ δὲ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον θύσαντες μετὰ βίας, τετραετίαν ὑποπεσέτωσαν, δύο δὲ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνησάτωσαν, καὶ τῷ ἑβδόμῳ τελείως δεχθήτωσαν.

Boniface[55], wherein he tells him, 'he had forbidden all his clergy to accept the oblation of his house, and interdicted him all communion, till he had done penance for a certain bold attempt, and offered to God first the sacrifice of an humble and contrite heart for his error.' The epistle probably is not St. Austin's, but it contains nothing disagreeable to the discipline of those times, when the greatest gift would not be accepted from an emperor, if he were an heretic, or under the censure of excommunication. As it is clear, not only from what has been observed [just] before out of St. Ambrose's Epistle to Valentinian, but from what Gregory Nazianzen[56] says of St. Basil, that he refused the oblations of the Emperor Valens, 'because he was a professed enemy of the divinity of Christ, and a furious defender of the Arian heresy.' So Liberius refused the offering of Eusebius, the Arian statesman under Constantius, as we are told by Athanasius[57] and Theodoret[58], who report the story with all its circumstances in this manner. 'When Constantius drove Liberius into banishment because he would not subscribe the condemnation of Athanasius with the Nicene faith, he sent him five hundred shillings (*ὁλοκοτίνους*) to bear his charges. But Liberius bid the messenger that brought them return them to the emperor, for his

[55] Ep. 6. [al. 187.] ad Bonifac. (t. 2. append. p. 3 c.) Oblatio vero domus tuæ a clericis ne suscipiatur, indixi, communionemque tibi interdico, donec ... pro hoc facto corde contrito et humiliato dignum offeras sacrificium Deo.

[56] Orat. 20. de Laud. Basil. (t. 1. p. 351 c.) *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ δῶρα τῇ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ προσενεγκεῖν ἔδει, ὧν αὐτουργὸς ἦν, συνεπελάβετο δ' οὐδεὶς, ὥσπερ ἦν ἔθος, ἄδηλον ὄν, εἰ προσήσεται, τηνικαῦτα τὸ πάθος γνωρίζεται, κ. τ. λ.*

[57] Ep. ad Solitar. Vit. Agent. p. 832. (t. 1. part. 1. p. 288 d. n. 35.) *Κἀκεῖνος ταχέως προσδοκήσας διὰ Λιβερίου πάντας ἕλκειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, γράφει, καὶ πέμπει σπάδοντα Εὐσέβιόν τινα καλούμενον μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ δώρων, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν δώροις κολακεύσῃ, τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν ἀπειλήσῃ. ... Εἶτα ἐπιδεικνὺς τὰ δῶρα, παρεκάλει, καὶ χειρῶν ἥπτετο λέγων, Πείσθητι βασιλεῖ καὶ ταῦτα δέξαι. Ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος λόγῳ πείθων ἐδίδασκε, κ. τ. λ.*

[58] L. 2. c. 16. (v. 3. p. 95. 15.)... *Ὁ βασιλεὺς ... κληθέντος Λιβερίου καὶ μὴ μετατεθέντος τοῦ λογισμοῦ, εἶπεν ἐξορισθῆναι εἰς τὴν Βέροιαν τῆς Θρᾴκης· ἐκβάντος Λιβερίου, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε πεντακοσίους ὁλοκοτίνους αὐτῷ εἰς δαπάνας· Λιβέριος δὲ εἶπε τῷ κομίσαντι, Ἄπελθε, δὸς αὐτὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ· χρείαν γὰρ ἔχει δοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτοῦ. Ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ βασίλισσα ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτά· Λιβέριος εἶπεν, Ἀπόδος αὐτὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ· χρείαν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχει εἰς τὴν τῶν στρατῶν ἐξοδίασιν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ χρείαν ἔχῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, δότω αὐτὰ τῷ Εὐξεντίῳ καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ· χρείαν γὰρ ἔχουσι τούτων. Ὡς δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλαβεν, Εὐσέβιος ὁ εὐνοῦχος προσφέρει αὐτῷ ἑτέρους· Λιβέριος δὲ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Τὰς ἐκκλησίας τῆς οἰκουμένης ἠρήμωσας, καὶ ὡς καταδίκῳ ἐλεημοσύνην μοι προσφέρεις· ἄπελθε, πρῶτον γενοῦ Χριστιανός.*

soldiers had more need of them. The empress also sent him the same sum, which he returned to the emperor with a like answer, that he might keep them for his own expeditions. Last of all, when he had refused both the former, Eusebius the eunuch was sent to make him another offer. To whom Liberius replied, Thou hast harassed and laid waste the Churches over all the world, and dost thou now offer me an alms as a condemned criminal? But go thou first, and learn to become a Christian.' It is no less remarkable what Tertullian[59] tells us of the Church's treatment of Marcion, the heretic, when he was excommunicated with Valentinus for his heresy: 'They cast him out with his two hundred *sestertia*, which he had brought into the Church.' They were so far from receiving the gifts of such men, that they rejected them with scorn, as St. Peter did Simon Magus: "Thy money perish with thee!" [Acts 8, 20.] or as Abraham rejected the gifts of the king of Sodom, saying, "I will not take from a thread to a shoe-latchet; I will not take any thing that is thine, lest thou shouldest say, I have made Abraham rich." [Gen. 14, 23.]

What oblations might be received at the altar, and what not.

3. And as they thus made a distinction in the persons of whom they received, so, secondly, they made a distinction in the oblations themselves which were to be received. For the most ancient custom was only to offer such things at the altar as were proper for the service of the altar. To this purpose there are several canons among those called the Apostolical Canons. One[60] says, 'No bishop or presbyter under pain of deposition shall offer any thing in the sacrifice on the altar contrary to the Lord's command, as honey, milk, or strong beer instead of wine, or birds, or living creatures, excepting only the first-fruits of corn and grapes in their proper season.' Another[61] forbids any thing to be brought to the altar 'besides oil for the lamps, and incense in the time of the oblation.'

[59] De Præscript. c. 30. (p. 212 c.) ... Semel et iterum ejecti: Marcion quidem cum ducentis sestertiis, quæ ecclesiæ intulerat.

[60] C. 3. (Cotel. [c. 2.] v. 1. p. 437.) *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διατάξιν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἑτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα, ἢ ἐπιτηδευτὰ, ἢ ὄρνεις, ἢ ζῷά τινα, ἢ ὄσπρια, ὡς παρὰ τὴν διάταξιν, καθαιρείσθω.*

[61] C. 4. (Cotel. [c. 2.] ibid.)... [*Τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι,*] *πλὴν νέων χίδρων, ἢ στάχυας σίτου, ἢ σταφυλῆς, μὴ ἐξὸν ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τι πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς θείας ἀναφορᾶς.*

And a third[62] orders 'all other first-fruits to be carried home to the bishop and presbyters, to be divided between them and the deacons and the rest of the clergy.' Some of the African Canons are to the same purpose. The third Council of Carthage[63] orders, 'that in the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, nothing else be offered but what the Lord commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water. Nor in the oblation of first-fruits any thing more be offered but only grapes and corn.' The Collections of African Canons[64], both Greek and Latin, give us this canon a little more at large in these words: 'Nothing shall be offered in the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, but what the Lord himself commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water. But the first-fruits, and honey and milk, which is offered on one most solemn day for the mystery of infants, though they be offered at the altar, shall have their own peculiar benediction, that they may be distinguished from the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Neither shall any first-fruits be offered, but only of grapes and corn.'

Here we see, milk and honey was only to be offered on one solemn day, that is, on the great Sabbath, or Saturday before Easter, which was the most solemn time of baptism; and that

[62] C. 5. (Cotel. [c. 2.] ibid.) Ἡ δὲ ἄλλη πᾶσα ὀπώρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλέσθω ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον· δῆλον δέ, ὡς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς.—Conf. C. Eliber. 49. (t. 1. p. 976 a.) Admoneri placuit possessiones, &c.

[63] C. 24. (t. 2. p. 1170 e.) Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur quam ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aqua mixtum. Nec amplius in sacrificiis [al. in primitiis] offeratur, quam de uvis et frumentis.

[64] C. Afric. c. 4. ap. Crabb. (t. 1. p. 503.) Ut in sacramentis corporis et sanguinis Domini nihil amplius offeratur, quam quod ipse Dominus tradidit, hoc est, panis et vinum aqua mixtum. Primitiæ vero, seu mel et lac, quod uno die solennissimo in infantum mysterio solet offerri, quamvis in altari offerrantur, suam tamen propriam habeant benedictionem, ut a sacramento Dominici corporis et sanguinis distinguantur. Nec amplius in primitiis offeratur, quam de uvis et frumentis.—Conf. Cod. Eccles. Afric. c. 37. ap. Justell. Biblioth. Jur. Canon. [ap. Labb. (CC. t. 2. p. 1067 e.) Ἵνα ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις μηδὲν πλέον τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου προσενεχθείη, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Κύριος παρέδωκε· τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου ὕδατι μεμιγμένου· ἀπαρχὴ δὲ εἴτε μέλι, εἴτε γάλα, ὡς εἴωθε, προσφερέσθω ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθίμῳ εἰς τὸ τῶν νηπίων μυστήριον· εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα γάλα ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφέρεται, ὅμως ἰδίαν ἐχέτω κυρίως εὐλογίαν, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος διίστασθαι· μηδὲν δὲ πλέον ἐν ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς προσφερέσθω, ἢ ἀπὸ σταφυλῶν καὶ σίτου. Ed.]

for the mystery of infants, that is, persons newly baptized, who were commonly called *infants*, in a mystical sense from their new birth, in the African Church: for it was usual to give them a taste of honey and milk immediately after baptism, as has been shown in a former Book[65]; and upon that account an oblation of honey and milk is here allowed to be made for this mystery of infants, which was to be offered and consecrated with a peculiar benediction, that it might not be thought to come in the room of the eucharist. And no other first-fruits are allowed to be offered at the altar but only grapes and corn, as being the materials of bread and wine, out of which the eucharist was taken. In the time of the Council of Trullo[66], the offering of milk and honey at the altar was universally forbidden. But the oblation of the first-fruits of grapes was still allowed: only whereas a corrupt custom prevailed in some places to join them in the same sacrifice with the eucharist, and distribute them together with it to the people, the rule of the African Code is revived, and orders given[67], 'that they shall have a distinct consecration, and a distinct distribution, if the people were desirous to eat their first-fruits in the church.' In the mean time we may observe, that in other Churches, not only the first-fruits of grapes and corn, but all other things which the people were voluntarily disposed to offer, whether money or the like gifts, were received at the altar. For, in France, the first Council of Orleans[68] made it a rule, 'that of such oblations one moiety

[65] B. 12. ch. 4. s. 6. v. 4. p. 241.

[66] C. 57. (t. 6. p. 1167 e.) Ὅτι οὐ χρὴ ἐν τοῖς θυσιαστηρίοις μέλι καὶ γάλα προσφέρεσθαι.

[67] C. 28. (ibid. p. 1154 e.) Ἐπειδὴ ἐν διαφόροις ἐκκλησίαις μεμαθήκαμεν, σταφυλῆς ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ προσφερομένης κατά τι κρατῆσαν ἔθος, τοὺς λειτουργοὺς ταύτην τῇ ἀναιμάκτῳ τῆς προσφορᾶς θυσίᾳ συνάπτοντας, οὕτως ἅμα τῷ λαῷ διανέμειν ἀμφότερα, συνείδομεν, ὡς μηκέτι τοῦτό τινα τῶν ἱερωμένων ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰς ζωοποίησιν καὶ ἁμαρτιῶν ἄφεσιν τῷ λαῷ τῆς προσφορᾶς μόνης μεταδιδόναι· ὡς ἀπαρχὴν δὲ τὴν τῆς σταφυλῆς λογιζομένους προσένεξιν, ἰδικῶς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὐλογοῦντας τοῖς αἰτοῦσι ταύτης μεταδιδόναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ δοτῆρος τῶν καρπῶν εὐχαριστίαν.

[68] C. 16. [al. 14.] (t. 4. p. 1407 b.) Antiquos canones relegentes, priora statuta credimus [al. credidimus] renovanda, ut de his, quæ in altario oblatione fidelium conferuntur, medietatem sibi episcopus vindicet, et medietatem dispensandam sibi secundum gradus clerus accipiat, prædiis de omni commoditate in episcoporum potestate durantibus.—Conf. c. 17. [al. 15.] (ibid. b.) De his, quæ parochiis in terris, vineis, mancipiis, atque peculiis, quicunque fideles obtulerint, antiquorum canonum statuta serventur, ut omnia in episcopi potestate consistant. De his tamen, quæ in altario accesserint, tertia fideliter episcopis deferatur.

should fall to the bishop, and the other be divided among the rest of the clergy.' But it is severely censured by Strabo[69], as a gross piece of superstition in the Roman Church, 'that they were used to offer and consecrate a lamb, and eat the consecrated flesh of it, out of a pretended reverence to the immaculate Lamb of God, which was slain for the sins of the world.' Photius [patriarch of Constantinople] carries the charge a little higher, and objects to them, 'that they offered it together with the body of Christ upon the altar.' But this is commonly said[70] to be an aggravation of the thing, and therefore is rejected by Cardinal Bona[71] as a slander. But

[69] De Reb. Eccles. c. 18. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 15. p. 189 c.) Unde quorundam simplicium error, de Judaicarum superstitionum seminario natus, et ad nostra usque tempora quædam vetustatis extendens vestigia, jam ex magna parte sapientium studio compressus est. Et sicubi adhuc perniciosæ hujus pestis germen revirescere fuerit comprobatum, mucrone spiritali radicitus est amputandum: illum dico errorem, quo quidam agni carnes in Pascha, juxta vel sub altari eas ponentes, benedictione propria consecrabant, et in ipsa resurrectionis die, ante cæteros corporales cibos de ipsis carnibus percipiebant. Cujus benedictionis series adhuc a multis habetur. Quod quam sit supervacuum, et a sacramentis Christianæ perfectionis abhorrens, facile perspicit, qui veraciter intelligit, quod *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus*, et vult epulari non in fermento veteri, sed in azymis sinceritatis et veritatis.— Du Pin says, also, that there is an example of this usage in the life of St. Uldarick, and that both Ratramnus and Æneas Parisiensis wrote in defence of it against Photius: but he says it was not authorized in all the Latin Churches. Cent. 9. ch. 10. (t. 7. p. 112.) Valafride Strabon remarque, qu'il y avoit quelques personnes simples, qui consacroient et offroient un agneau à la fête de Pâque. On voit un exemple de cet usage dans la vie de Saint Uldaric; et l'on trouve dans l'Ordre Romain une priere pour la bénédiction de l'agneau le jour de Pâque: mais ce n'étoit pas un usage commun et autorisé dans toutes les églises Latines. Il y a beaucoup plus de raisonnement dans l'ouvrage de Ratramne, que dans celui d'Ænée, qui n'est presque qu'un recueil des passages sur les questions proposées.

[70] Vid. Nicolai Papæ Ep. ap. Baron. an. 867. n. 53. (t. 10. p. 356 c.) Mentiuntur quoque, nos, sicuti per alia ipsorum scripta indicatur, agnum in Pascha, more Judæorum, super altare cum Dominico corpore benedicere et offerre.

[71] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 8. n. 5. (p. 295.) Inter calumnias adversus ecclesiam Romanam, quas Photius Bulgariæ regi, hic Romano pontifici Nicolao misit, una hæc fuit, quod in Paschate more Judaico agnum super altare, simul cum Dominico corpore, offerret et benediceret. Sed hoc putidum mendacium est: quamvis enim Romana ecclesia agni carnibus sacerdotalem benedictionem impertiri soleret; non eas tamen aut super altare collocabat, aut simul cum Christi corpore offerebat seu benedicebat. Exstat agni benedictio pro die resurrectionis in Ordine Romano; ipsa enim die agni carnes, sacerdotali benedictione sanctificatas, fideles comedebant ob reverentiam Christi, agni immaculati, pro nobis occisi: idque olim in ejus figuram, Domino præcipiente, constituit Moyses, tanquam præcipuam Judaici Paschatis cærimoniam. Nimio zelo hunc ritum, tanquam superstitiosum et erroneum, Walafridus

ıe owns the fact so far as it is related by Strabo, because the)ld *Ordo Romanus*[71] has such a form for the consecration of a amb on Easter day, and it is agreeable to their present prac-ice. Only he blames Strabo for being too zealous in his ensure of this rite, and inveighing against it as a superstiious and erroneous practice. Which only shows how much Bona was inclined to defend the superstitions that were crept into his Church, without any foundation in ancient practice.

The names of such as made oblations of any considerable value rehearsed at the altar.

4. But I proceed with the practice of the ancient Church, and observe, thirdly, that when their oblations were received, it was usual in many places to rehearse the names of such as offered, that a commemoration of them might be made, and prayers and praises be offered to God for them at the altar. I have already had occasion to say something of this custom[72] out of St. Cyprian[73] and St. Jerom[74] in speaking of deacons, whose office it was to recite the names. To these I shall now add some further evidences, both out of these and other writers.

Cyprian, in one of his Epistles to the Churches of Numidia[75], speaking of a collection that had been made at Carthage for them, says, 'he had sent them the names of every brother and

Strabo reprehendit, c. 18; nec video, cur adeo acerbe morem antiquissimum, ab ecclesia approbatum et hodie adhuc vigentem, insectetur, &c.

[71] [*Benedictio agni in Pascha.* ap. Bibl. Max. t. 13. p. 699 b.) Post celebratum Dominicæ sancti Paschæ solemnitatem ..... offerimus famuli tui, pro hujus fragilitate corpusculi aliquantulum reparandi, hanc usui nostro concessam creaturam agni, poscentes ut eum ore proprio nobis dignantibus benedicas, et dextera tua sanctifices, &c. ED.]

[72] B. 2. ch. 20. s. 5. v. 1. p. 251.

[73] Ep. 10. [al. 16.] p. 37. (p. 195.) .. Ad communicationem admittuntur, &c.

[74] In Ezek. 18. p. 537. (t. 5. p. 109 a.) Multos conspicimus,.... qui opprimunt per potentiam, vel furta committunt, ut de multis parva pauperibus tribuant, et in suis celeribus glorientur. Publiceque diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina: Tantum offert ille; Tantum ille pollicitus est: placentque sibi ad plausum populi, torquente conscientia.

[75] Ep. 60. [al. 62.] p. 147. (p. 275.) Ut autem fratres nostros ac sorores, qui ad hoc opus tam necessarium prompte ac libenter operati sunt, ut semper operentur, in mentem habeatis in orationibus vestris, et eis vicem boni operis in sacrificiis et precibus repræsentetis, subdidi nomina singulorum: sed et collegarum quoque et consacerdotum nostrorum, qui et ipsi, cum præsentes essent, et suo et plebis suæ nomine quædam pro viribus contulerunt, nomina addidi: et præter quantitatem propriam nostram, eorum quoque summulas significari et misi: quorum omnium, secundum quo fides et caritas exigunt, in orationibus et precibus vestris meminisse debetis.

sister that had contributed willingly to so necessary a work,' (it was to redeem captives,) 'that they might remember them in their prayers, and requite their good work in their sacrifices and solemn supplications; he had also added the names of such of his fellow-bishops as were then present and had contributed both in their own names and the names of their respective Churches; and he had signified the sums that every one gave, that as the common faith and charity required, mention might be made of them in their supplications and prayers.' St. Jerom says the same in another place[76], 'that now the names of such as offered were publicly rehearsed, and that which was the redemption of sins was made matter of praise and glory: and men did not remember the widow in the Gospel, whose two mites cast into the treasury exceeded all the gifts of the rich who cast in of their abundance.' Some[77] think St. Jerom here reflects upon the practice of the Church, as if he disliked the mentioning of the sums offered, which they say without doubt was a corruption. But they mistake St. Jerom's meaning: for he is not blaming the practice of the Church, but the practice of those who gave out of ostentation and vain-glory; and when they were privately guilty of theft or oppression, thought to get esteem and reputation by giving a little of their ill-gotten goods to the poor; pleasing themselves with the applause of the people, whilst their own consciences must needs lash and torment them, as he expresses it in another place[78]. It was fit for them to remember the widow's mites, which were a more acceptable sacrifice to God than the greatest gifts of injustice that they could offer him. So he does not condemn the custom of rehearsing the names of the donors as a corruption, but only the private abuses that by the viciousness of men did sometimes accompany it. St. Chrysostom[79] and the Author of the Constitutions[80] have some reference to the same custom: the

[76] In Jerem. 11. l. 2. p. 354. (t. 4. p. 921 d.) Nunc publice recitantur offerentium nomina, et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem: nec meminerunt viduæ illius in Evangelio, quæ in gazophylacium duo æra mittendo, omnium divitum vicit donaria.

[77] Comber of Liturgies, part 1. ch. 2. (p. 196.) As for their mentioning the sums offered, &c.

[78] In Ezek. 18. See n. 74, preceding.

[79] Hom. 18. in Act. p. 175. (t. 9. p. 150 b.) Εὐχαὶ ἐκεῖ διηνεκεῖς διὰ σέ· [Savil. ὕμνοι καὶ συνάξεις διὰ σέ·] προσφορὰ καθ' ἑκάστην Κυριακήν.

[80] L. 3. c. 4. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 276.) Λέγετε δὲ αὐτοῖς, καὶ τίς ὁ δεδωκὼς,

utter orders the bishop to acquaint the poor who were their benefactors, that they might pray for them by name. And Cotelerius [81] observes a like passage in the Acts of Cæcilian and Felix, where the forms run thus: 'Such an one gives so much of his substance to the poor;' for which those Acts appeal to the people's own eyes and ears.

When the oblations were thus presented, and the names of the donors rehearsed, then it was usual in some places to make a commendatory prayer, by way of oblation to God, antecedent to those eucharistical prayers which were appropriated to the consecration of the eucharist. This may be collected from the Epistle of Pope Innocent to Decentius [82], a neighbouring bishop of Eugubium, where he speaks of such an oblation by a commendatory prayer going before the consecration: which he says also in the Roman Church was used to be made before the recital of the names of the offerers, which were not rehearsed till they came to the consecration. But whether such a distinct oblation of the creatures was made in all Churches seems not so very clear, because other writers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and the Constitutions, say nothing of it.

Eucharistical elements usually taken out of the people's oblations. And consequently no use of wafers or unleavened bread.

5. Fourthly, we are to observe upon this head, that so long as the people continued to make oblations of bread and wine, the elements for the use of the eucharist were usually taken out of them; and by consequence so long the bread was that common leavened bread which they used upon other occasions; and the use of wafers and unleavened bread was not known in the Church till the eleventh or twelfth centuries, when the oblations of common bread began to be left off by the people. This will seem a great paradox to all who look no further than the Schoolmen, and only read their disputes with the Greeks

καὶ ἐξ ὀνόματος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσεύχωνται.

[81] In loc. cit. (ibid. p. 67.) Vel audisti, vel vidisti, si dictum est superibus, Dat et vobis de re sua Lucilla.

[82] Ep. 1. c. 2. (CC. t. 2. p. 1246.) De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam preces sacerdos faciat, atque eorum oblationes, quorum omina recitanda sunt, sua oratione ommendet, quam superfluum sit et ipse per tuam prudentiam [al. pro tua prudentia] recognoscis ut cujus hostiam necdum Deo offeras, ejus ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil. Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandæ, ac tunc eorum nomina, quorum sunt oblationes, edicenda, ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia, quæ ante præmittimus, ut ipsis mysteriis viam futuris precibus aperiamus.

about leavened and unleavened bread, which are fierce enough on both sides, and have little of truth on either: as commonly such disputes evaporate into smoke, and end in bitter and false reproaches; the Greeks terming the Latins *Azymites*, for consecrating in *azymis*, that is, *unleavened bread;* and the Latins, on the other hand, charging the Greeks with deviating from the example of Christ and the practice of the ancient Church.

I will not enter into the detail of the arguments on both sides, which belongs not to this place, but only acquaint the reader, that now the most wise and learned men in the Roman Church, who have more exactly scanned and examined this matter, think fit to desert the Schoolmen, and maintain that the whole primitive Church, and the Roman Church herself, for many ages never consecrated the eucharist in any other but common and leavened bread. The first that ventured to break the ice and confront the Schoolmen was Latinus Latinius, in an epistle to Antonius Augustinus. After him Sirmondus wrote a particular disquisition[83] upon it, which was followed and commended by Cardinal Bona[84], who has a long dissertation to establish the opinion, wherein he exposes the prejudices and false argumentations of Thomas Aquinas and the rest of the Schoolmen. And though Christianus Lupus[85] set himself again with all his might to defend the common opinion of the Schoolmen against Sirmondus; yet his arguments are of no weight with Schelstrate[86] and Pagi[87], who

[83] [De Usu Fermenti in Eucharistia. (int. Oper. t. 4. pp. 513, seqq. Edit. Paris. 1696. Ed.]

[84] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. tot. (p. 232.) Cum sacramentum &c.

[85] Notæ in Concilia. t. 3. p. 606, &c. (t. 4. p. 329.) Quæstio quarta est, an istud fermentum fuerit eucharistia &c.

[86] De Disciplina Arcani, c. 7. art. 5. (p. 139.) ap. Pagi, loc. citat. See the next note.

[87] Critic. in Baron. an. 313. n. 15. [al. 18.] (t. 1. p. 368.) Schelstratius .... solicite inquirit, cur iis in decretis [Melchiadis et Siricii. See nn. 90, 91, following.] tam obscure agatur de eucharistia, ut divinari quasi oportuerit, an per fermentum corporis et sanguinis Christi sacramenta intelligerentur. Potuissent enim summi pontifices claris verbis decernere, eucharistiam, quia fermenti instar fidelium unionem fovet, ex consecratu episcopi ad absentes presbyteros transmitti debere. Verum nihil horum nec Melchiades nec Siricius dicunt, sed sub *fermenti* nomine totum sacramentum comprehendunt. Neque ipsemet populus aliud quam fermenti nomen sacris donis tribuebat. Horum rationem ex disciplina arcani et occultatione sacrorum mysteriorum, quæ per quinque priora ecclesiæ sæcula in usu fuit, desumit Schelstratius;

readily give in to the position of Bona and Sirmondus, as founded upon the justest reasons. The chief argument of the Schoolmen is no ways conclusive that the primitive Church followed the example of Christ, who celebrated his last supper with unleavened bread. For that was only upon the account of the Passover, when no other but unleavened bread could be used among them. After his resurrection he probably celebrated in leavened bread, and such as was in common use at all other times, except the time of the Passover. And that the Church always used common bread, appears from the following arguments:—

1. That the elements were usually taken out of the oblations of the people, where doubtless common bread and wine were offered.

2. It is noted by Epiphanius[87] as a peculiar rite of the Ebionite heretics, that they celebrated in unleavened bread and water only. Which plainly argues that the Church did otherwise.

3. The Ancients[88] say expressly their bread was common bread, such as they made for their own use upon other occasions. To which purpose there is a remarkable story in the Life of Gregory the Great[89] of a woman, who, when he gave her the eucharist in the usual form of words, 'The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul!' laughed at the form, and being asked the reason of her so doing, said, it was because he called that the body of Christ which she knew to be bread that she had made with her own hands.

ex qua factum ut tum Romani pontifices in decretis, quam fideles in colloquiis, sacramenta eucharistiæ sub fermenti nomine occultarint.

[87] Epiph. Hær. 30. Ebion. n. 16. (t. 1. p. 139 d.) *Μυστήρια δὲ δῆθεν τελοῦσι κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν διὰ ἀζύμων, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου δι' ὕδατος μόνου.*

[88] Vid. Ambros. de Sacrament. l. 4. c. 4. (t. 2. p. 368 c. n. 14.) Tu forte dicis, Meus panis est usitatus, &c.

[89] [Auctore Ioanne Diacono,] l. 2. c. 41. (t. 4. p. 58 c.) Matrona quædam, Beato Gregorio per stationes publicas missarum solemnia celebrante, solitas oblationes obtulerat. Cui post mysteria traditurus, cum diceret, Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam! lascivia subrisit. Ille, continuo dexteram ab ejus ore convertens, partem illam Dominici corporis super altare deposuit. Expletis vero missarum solemniis, matronam coram populo inquisivit, Quam ob rem corpus Dominicum susceptura ridere præsumpserit? At illa, diu mussitans, tandem prorupit, Quia panem, inquiens, quem propriis manibus me fecisse cognoveram, tu corpus Dominicum perhibebas.

4. The Ancients are wholly silent as to the use of unleavened bread in the Church. But they many times speak of leavened bread; and sometimes the eucharist is called *fermentum, leaven*, upon that account: as appears from the Pontifical in the Lives of Melchiades[90] and Siricius[91], and from a Letter of Pope Innocent[92], where he says, 'it was the custom at Rome to consecrate the *fermentum* (that is, the eucharist) in the mother-church, and send it thence on the Lord's-day to the presbyters in the *tituli*, or *lesser churches*, that they might not think themselves separated from the bishop's communion. But they did not send it to any country-parishes, because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at any great distance.' What is here called the consecrated *fermentum* is by Baronius and others, who tread in the track of the Schoolmen, interpreted of the *eulogia*, or *panis benedictus, the bread that was blessed* for such as did not communicate. But Innocent plainly says he meant it of the sacrament, which was consecrated by the bishop, and sent to the presbyters for the use of lesser churches. Which shows that at that time, even in Rome itself, the eucharist was consecrated in common or leavened bread.

5. It is observable, that neither Photius, [whose era was 858,] nor any other Greek writer before Michael Cerularius, [patriarch of Constantinople,] anno 1051, [or, according to Cave, 1043,] ever objected the use of unleavened bread to the Roman Church: which argues that the use of it did not prevail till about that time; else there is no doubt but Photius would, among other things, have objected this to them.

These arguments put the matter beyond all dispute, that the Church for a thousand years used no other but common or leavened bread in the eucharist; and how the change was made, or the time exactly when, is not easy to determine. But

[90] Vit. Melchiadis. (CC. t. 1. p. 1394 a.) Hic fecit ut oblationes consecratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigentur, quod declaratur fermentum.

[91] Vit. Siricii. (ibid. t. 2. p. 1016 a.) Hic constituit, ut nullus presbyter missas celebraret per omnem hebdomadam, nisi consecratum episcopi loci designati susciperet declaratum, quod nominatur fermentum.

[92] Ep. ad Decent. c. 5. (ibid. p. 1247 b.) Idcirco [presbyteri] fermentum a nobis confectum per acolythos accipiunt, ut se a nostra communione maxime illa die non judicent separatos. Quod per parochias fieri debere non puto, quia non [al. nec] longe portanda sunt sacramenta: nec nos per cœmeteria diversa constitutis presbyteris destinamus, et [al. sed] presbyteri eorum conficiendorum jus habent atque licentiam [al. ut habeant].

Bona's conjecture is very probable, that it crept in upon the people's leaving off to make their oblations in common bread[93], which occasioned the clergy to provide it themselves, and they, under pretence of decency and respect, brought it from leaven to unleaven, and from a loaf of common bread, that might be broken, to a nice and delicate wafer, formed in the figure of a *denarius*, or *penny*, to represent the pence, as some authors[94] about that time will have it, for which our Saviour was betrayed: and then also the people, instead of offering a loaf of bread, as formerly, were ordered to offer a penny, which was either to be given to the poor, or to be expended upon something appertaining to the sacrifice of the altar.

This is the short history of a great change made insensibly in a matter of small moment, if we consider barely the question about the use of leavened and unleavened bread: for it is very indifferent in itself whether is used, so long as peace is preserved in the Church: but in the consequences and progress of the dispute, it was no small matter; for the East and West divided about it, and the Western Church ran so far into an extreme as almost to lose the nature of the sacramental element, by introducing a thing that could hardly be called bread, instead of that common staff of life which the Lord had appointed to be the representation of his body in the eucharist.

The use of wafers instead of bread condemned in their first original.

6. There wanted not some discerning and judicious men in a dark age, who complained of the abuse as soon as it began to be introduced. For Bernoldus, a learned presbyter of Constance, about the year 1089, wrote a book *De Ordine Romano,*

[93] [Bacchinius in Agnellum remarks, that in the time of Agnellus, abbot of Ravenna, in the ninth century, the hosts, though not made like common bread, were however as thick as cakes, and baked in an oven. See Roche's Memoirs of Literature. (Lond. 1722. v. 1. p. 328.) He takes notice &c. ED.]

[94] Vid. Honorium, Gemma Animæ, l. 1. c. 66. (ap. Bonam, Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 11. [al. 19.] p. 246.) Fertur, quod olim sacerdotes a singulis domibus et familiis farinam accipiebant, quod adhuc Græci servant, et inde Dominicum panem faciebant, et quem pro populo offerebant, et hunc consecratum eis distribuebant. Postquam autem ecclesia numero quidem augebatur, sed sanctitate minuebatur, propter carnales statutum est, ut, qui possint, singulis Dominicis, vel tertia Dominica, vel summis festivitatibus, vel ter in anno communicarent. Et quia populo non communicante, non erat necesse panem tam magnum fieri, statutum est, eum in modum denarii formari vel fieri; et ut populus pro oblatione farinæ denarios offerret, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoscerent; qui tamen denarii in usum pauperum, qui membra sunt Christi, cederent, vel in aliquid, quod ad hoc sacrificium pertinet.

wherein[95] he thus reflects upon these wafer-hosts, or oblations: 'If no less measure than an handful be found mentioned in all the Old and New Testament, and nothing ought to be done in the temple of the Lord without measure and reason, these minute oblations seem not to appertain to Christ or his Church, because they are without measure and reason.' This author was a little too bold and free with the corruptions and abuse of the Roman Church ever to see the light. But Trithemius[96] mentions the book, and gives an honourable character of the author. And Cassander saw it in manuscript, and published this fragment of it in his Liturgics[97], where he also makes a severe reflection upon the corruption and vanity of that age, 'for departing from the ancient practice, and introducing an imaginary sort of bread, which deserved more the name of the shadow than the substance.' Which just reflection is repeated from Cassander, not only by Vossius[98], but ingenuously also by Cardinal Bona[99], in his animadversions upon this unwarrantable alteration.

Yet some there are who pretend antiquity for this also. Durantus[1] thought he had found this wafer-bread in Epi-

[95] Ap. Cassandrum in Liturgicis, c. 27. (p. 60. ad calc.) Si minor mensura quam pugillus non invenitur in toto serie Veteris et Novi Testamenti; et si nihil omnino debet fieri intra vel extra templum Domini absque mensura et ratione; videntur oblatarum minutiæ ad Christum et [ad] Ecclesiam nihil pertinere, quia sunt absque mensura et ratione.

[96] De Scriptor. Eccles. fol. 66. (ap. Bibl. Eccles. Albert. Fabricii, p. 86. n. 337.) .... Vir devotus, et in Scripturis sanctis studiosus et eruditus, atque in disciplina literarum sufficienter instructus .... Hic ad utilitatem ecclesiasticæ reipublicæ composuisse dicitur volumen, quod prænotavit Ordinem Romanum.

[97] C. 27. (p. 61. ad summ.) Plura ab eodem auctore alioquin prudenti, pio, et ecclesiasticarum traditionum studiosissimo, in eam sententiam dicuntur, qui indignissime tulisse videtur, ætate sua in quibusdam ecclesiis oblatas panis, quæ prisca ecclesiæ consuetudine ad usum sacrificii ad mensam Domini a populo fideli offerebantur, ad imaginem nummorum, et ad tenuissimam quandam et levissimam formam a veri panis specie alienam, fuisse redactos: quare per contemptum *minutias nummulariarum oblatarum* appellat, imaginariam et umbratilem levitatem illis tribuit, et indignas esse panis vocabulo pro sua tenuitate, ac propter eas officium atque religionem ecclesiastici officii multum per omnem modum confundi asserit, pluribusque et acerbioribus dictis eas insectatur, quæ omnia ut ascribam, expedire hoc loco non putavi.

[98] Thes. Theol. Disput. 19. de Symb. Cœn. Dom. Quæst. 1. p. 441. (t. 6. p. 427. Thes. 2.) Quæ verba etiam adducit Cassander &c.

[99] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 11. [al. 19.] (p. 246.) Disserit &c.

[1] De Ritibus, l. 2. c. 38. n. 6. (p. 217.) Panis consecrandus in modum denarii formari consuevit..... Epiphanius quoque in Anchorato, loquens de pane sacramentali, ait, *Videmus, quod neque par, neque*

phanius, because he says [2], the bread was ἄρτος στρογγυλοειδὴς καὶ ἀναίσθητος, which they render, *bread of a circular figure, and so minute that it could hardly be perceived by the senses.* Whereas it should be rendered, *bread of a solid, round, globular figure, without life or sense,* which yet might represent HIM, who is all life, and infinite, and incomprehensible. Which agrees well to the character of the eucharistical bread used in Epiphanius's time, when it was the custom to offer round and whole solid loaves of bread, but has no relation to the wafer bread of later ages. Durantus urges further the testimony of Gregory the Great [3], who calls the oblations, *oblationum coronas, crowns of bread;* which may imply that they were *round loaves of bread;* but not therefore wafers, unless every thing that is round be a wafer. He adds St. Chrysostom [4] also, but he misquotes him; for the Greek has nothing of what is cited. But he might have added truly Cæsarius [5], Gregory Nazianzen's brother, who, comparing the natural and the sacramental body of Christ together, says, the one was distinguished into several members, but the other was round: and Iso [6] the monk, who calls the oblations *rotulas panis, rolls of bread,* no doubt from the *roundness* of their figure: and the sixteenth Council of Toledo [7], which speaks of

simile id sit, vel incarnatæ imagini, vel invisibili Deitati, vel etiam membrorum lineamentis: nam istud rotundæ formæ est.

[2] Anchorat. n. 57. (t. 2. p. 60 b.) Καὶ ὁρῶμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἴσόν ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ὅμοιον, οὐ τῇ ἐνσάρκῳ εἰκόνι, οὐ τῇ ἀοράτῳ Θεότητι, οὐ τοῖς χαρακτῆρσι τῶν μελῶν· τὸ μὲν γάρ ἐστι στρογγυλοειδὲς καὶ ἀναίσθητον, ὡς πρὸς τὴν δύναμιν.

[3] Dialog. l. 4. c. 55. (t. 2. p. 464 c. 9.) Duas secum oblationum coronas detulit, &c.

[4] Hom. 83. [Bened. 82. al. 83.] in Matth. (t. 7. p. 788 b.) Τίνος οὖν οὐκ ἔδει καθαρώτεραν εἶναι τὸν ταύτης ἀπολαύοντα τῆς θυσίας; ποίας ἡλιακῆς ἀκτῖνος τὴν χεῖρα τὴν ταύτην διατέμνουσαν τὴν σάρκα; κ. τ. λ.— [Conf. Durant. de Ritibus, l. 2. c. 38. n. 6. (p. 217.) Hoc ipsum confirmat Chrysostomus, Gregorio antiquior, Hom. 83. in c. 26. Matthæi: Qua igitur re mundiorem esse non oportet eum, qui hoc sacrificio participaturus est? Quos radios solares non debet excedere manus illa, *quæ hanc coronam pertrectat?* —A mistranslation with a vengeance of *τὴν χεῖρα ταύτην διατέμνουσαν τὴν σάρκα*! However this is but one example in a thousand of *the falsifications* of the partizans of Romanism and the Papacy, whenever it suits their purpose to alter the reading or pervert the truth. ED.]

[5] Dialog. 3. quæst. 169. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 5. p. 797 f. 15.) Estque hoc quidem artubus compositum, incedendi vim habens, et agendi: illud autem rotundum, non articulatum, inanimatum, sanguine carens, &c.

[6] De Miraculis S. Othmari, l. 2. c. 3. (ap. Surium, 16 Nov. t. 6. p. 399.) ..... Quædam panis rotulæ, quæ vulgo *oblatæ* dicuntur, &c.

[7] C. 6. (t. 6. p. 1340 d.) Ad con-

their *rotundity* also. But, as Cardinal Bona rightly observes, this rotundity implies *round loaves of bread*, and not round wafers, of which there was no use or knowledge in former ages, when they used such loaves of common bread as the people offered, or else such as were prepared particularly for the purpose; yet still loaves of bread, not wafers; and common or leavened bread, not unleavened, of which there is not the least intimation given in any part of the Church for above a thousand years, as that learned Cardinal has proved beyond all exception, to whose diligence we chiefly owe the illustration of this matter in that curious dissertation of his upon the subject, [as mentioned in the fifth section preceding.]

7. The other part of the sacrament was always *wine*, and that taken also out of the oblations of the people. Some of the ancient heretics, under pretence of abstinence and temperance, changed this element into water, and consecrated in water only. These were some of them disciples of Ebion, and some the followers of Tatian [8], commonly called *Hydroparastatæ* and *Aquarii*, from the use of *water*, and sometimes *Encratitæ* from their *abstaining* wholly from flesh and wine. And this seems to have been the ground of their errors, that they thought it universally unlawful to eat flesh or drink wine. Under this character they are frequently condemned by Epiphanius [9], who terms them *Encratites*, and by St. Austin [10], under the name of *Aquarians*, and by Theodoret [11], who

ventus etenim nostri agnitionem delatum est, eo quod, in quibusdam Hispaniarum partibus, quidam sacerdotum, partim nescientia impliciti, partim temerario ausu provocati, non panes mundos et studio præparatos supra mensam Domini in sacrificio offerant; sed passim, quomodo unumquemque aut necessitas impulerit, aut voluntas coëgerit, de panibus suis usibus præparatis crustulam in *rotunditatem* auferant, eamque super altare cum vino et aqua pro sacro libamine offerant. Quod factum nequaquam in sacræ auctoritatis historia uspiam gestum perpenditur.

[8] [Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 46. Tatian. n. 1. (t. 1. p. 391 d.) Ἀπὸ τούτου [Τατιανοῦ] γὰρ κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ Ἐγκρατῖται λεγόμενοι τοῦ Ἰοῦ μετεσχηκότες ὑπάρχουσι.—Conf. Hær. 47. Encratit. n. 1. (p. 399 a.) Οὗτοι τὸν Ταταινὸν διαδέχονται, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]

[9] Hær. 47. n. 1. (t. 1. p. 400 b.) Κέχρηνται δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μυστηρίοις δι' ὕδατος· οἶνον δὲ ὅλως οὐ μεταλαμβάνουσι, φάσκοντες εἶναι διαβολικόν· καὶ τοὺς πίνοντας, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. n. 111. (p. 401 d.) Ὅθεν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς μυστήρια δι' ὕδατος μόνον γίνεται.—Conf. Hær. 30. Ebion. n. 16. (t. 1. p. 140 a.). . Καὶ τὸ ἄλλο μέρος τοῦ μυστηρίου δι' ὕδατος μόνου.

[10] De Hæresibus, c. 64. (t. 8. p. 20 g.) Aquarii ex hoc appellati sunt, quod aquam offerunt in poculo sacramenti, non illud, quod omnis ecclesia.

[11] Hæret. Fabul. l. 1. c. 20. (t. 4. part 1. p. 312.) Τοῦτον [Ταταινὸν]

says 'they sprung from Tatian, and were called *Hydroparastatæ*, because they offered *water* instead of wine; and *Encratitæ*, because they wholly *abstained* from wine and living creatures.' St. Chrysostom [12] calls it the 'pernicious heresy of those that used only water in their mysteries, whereas our Lord instituted them in wine, and drunk wine at his common table, after his resurrection, to prevent the budding of this wicked heresy.' The like may be read in Philastrius [13], and long before in Irenæus [14] and Clemens Alexandrinus [15], not to mention the Council of Trullo [16], or any later writers [17].

But it is to be observed, that besides these there were another sort of *Aquarians*, who did not reject the use of wine as simply unlawful, either in itself or in the eucharist: for in their evening service they consecrated the eucharist in wine, but not in their morning assemblies, for fear the smell of the wine should discover them to the Heathen. St. Cyprian gives a long account of these in one of his Epistles [18], which is particularly designed against them. From which it also appears that the custom of the Church then was to use wine mixed with water, and he pleads for both as necessary from

ἔχουσιν ἀρχηγὸν οἱ λεγόμενοι Ὑδροπαραστάται καὶ Ἐγκρατιταί. Ὑδροπαραστάται δὲ ὀνομάζονται, ὡς ὕδωρ ἀντὶ οἴνου προσφέροντες· Ἐγκρατιταὶ δὲ, ὡς μήτε οἶνον πίνοντες, μήτε τῶν ἐμψύχων μεταλαμβάνοντες.

[12] Hom. 83. [Bened. 82. al. 83.] in Matth. p. 700. (t. 7. p. 784 a.)... Καί τινος ἕνεκεν οὐχ ὕδωρ ἔπιεν ἀναστὰς, ἀλλ' οἶνον; ἄλλην αἵρεσιν πονηρὰν πρόρριζον ἀνασπῶν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τινές εἰσιν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὕδατι κεχρημένοι, δεικνὺς, ὅτι ἡνίκα τὰ μυστήρια παρέδωκεν, οἶνον παρέδωκε, καὶ ἡνίκα ἀναστὰς χωρὶς μυστηρίων ψιλὴν τράπεζαν παρετίθετο, κ. τ. λ.

[13] De Hæresibus, c. 77. [al. 49.] (ap. Galland. t. 7. p. 492 e.) Aquarii sic dicti sunt, qui in sacramentis cœlestibus offerunt tantum aquam, non illud, quod ecclesia catholica et apostolica facere consuevit.

[14] L. 5. c. 1. (p. 394. 30.) Reprobant hi [Ebionæi] commixtionem vini cœlestis, et sola aqua sæcularis [legendum? solam aquam sæcularem] volunt esse.

[15] Stromat. l. 1. (p. 375. 15.) Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ καὶ ὕδωρ ψιλὸν εὐχαριστοῦσι. —Pædagog. l. 2. c. 2. (p. 186. 18.) Ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθὲν, ἀπέδειξε πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων· Οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης, κ. τ. λ. .... Τουτὶ μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἐγκρατητὰς καλουμένους παραπεπήχθω.

[16] C. 32. (t. 6. p. 1158 a.) Τῆς γὰρ πονηρᾶς τῶν Ὑδροπαραστατῶν αἱρέσεως παλαιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης, οἳ ἀντὶ οἴνου μόνῳ τῷ ὕδατι ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ θυσίᾳ κέχρηνται.

[17] Cod. Theod. l. 16. tit. 5. de Hæreticis, leg. 7. (t. 6. p. 121.) ... Cum præsertim nonnulli ex his Encratitas, Apotacticos, Hydroparastatas, vel Sarcoforos nominari se velint, &c.—Theod. Novel. 3. ad calc. t. 6. (append. p. 2. col. dextr.) .... Cataphrygas, Fotinianos, ... Hydroparastatas, &c.

[18] Cypr. Ep. 63. ad Cæcilian. (p. 276.)

the command and example of Christ; adding some other reasons [19] why it should be so, as 'that the water represents the people, as the wine does the blood of Christ: and when in the cup the water is mingled with the wine, Christ and his people are united together. And so,' he says, 'in sanctifying the cup of the Lord water cannot be offered alone: as neither can the wine be offered alone: for if the wine be offered by itself, the blood of Christ begins to be without us: and if the water be alone, the people begin to be without Christ.'

The third Council of Carthage seems to have had the same opinion of the necessity of water, when they determined, as we have heard before [20], 'that nothing should be offered at the altar but what the Lord himself commanded, that is, bread, and wine mingled with water.' And St. Austin was a member of that Council and therefore may be supposed to have been of the same judgment. He also quotes [21] the foresaid Epistle of Cyprian with approbation. Gennadius [22] assigns two reasons for the use of mixing water with wine; first, because it is according to the example of Christ; and, secondly, because when our Saviour's side was pierced with the spear, there came forth water and blood. This latter reason is also assigned by St. Ambrose, or whoever wrote the book *De Sacramentis* under his name [23], and by Martin Bracarensis in his

[19] Ibid. p. 153. (p. 280.) Videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi. ... Sic autem in sanctificando calice Domini, offerri aqua sola non potest, quomodo nec vinum solum potest: nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis: si vero aqua sit sola plebs incipit esse sine Christo.

[20] See s. 3. p. 242. n 63.

[21] De Doctrin. Christian. l. 4. c. 21. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 83 c.) Beatus Cyprianus submisso dicendi genere utitur in eo libro, ubi de sacramento calicis disputat. Solvitur ibi quippe quæstio, in qua quæritur, utrum calix Dominicus aquam solam, an eam vino mixtam, debeat habere.

[22] De Eccles. Dogmat. (c. 42, juxt. Ed. Bened. Oper. August. t. 8. append. p. 79 e.) In eucharistia non debet pura aqua offerri, ut quidam sobrietatis falluntur imagine, sed vinum aqua mixtum: quia et vinum fuit in redemptionis nostræ mysterio, cum dixit, *Non bibam modo de hoc genimine vitis*, et aqua mixtum, quod post cœnam dabatur. Sed et de latere ejus lancea perfosso [al. quod est lancea perfossum] aqua cum sanguine egressa, &c.

[23] De Sacrament. l. 5. c. 1. (t. 2. p. 373 d. n. 3.) Tetigit petram, et petra undam maximam fudit, sicut Apostolus ait, *Bibebant autem de spiritali consequenti eos petra: petra autem erat Christus.* Non immobilis petra, quæ populum sequebatur. Et tu bibe, ut te Christus sequatur.... Tangit sacerdos [calicem], redundat aqua in calice, salit in vitam æternam, et bibit populus Dei, qui Dei gratiam consecutus est. Didicisti ergo hoc. Accipe et aliud. In tempore Dominicæ passionis, cum Sabbatum magnum in-

Collection of Greek Canons[24]. The author of the Epistle to the Egyptians, under the name of Pope Julius[25], insists upon Cyprian's reason, that it is to show the union of Christ with his people. And the third Council of Braga[26] relates Cyprian's words, correcting several other abuses that were crept into the administration of this sacrament; as of some, who offered milk instead of wine; and others who only dipped the bread into the wine, and so denied the people their complement of the sacrament; and others, who used no other wine but what they pressed out of the clusters of grapes that were then presented at the Lord's table. All which they condemn, and order 'that nothing but bread, and wine mingled with water, should be offered, according to the determination of the ancient Councils.' The Council of Auxerre[27] notes some others, who offered mead, or honey and water mixed together, who are also condemned, as going against the common rule of offering nothing but wine and water in the sacrifice of the altar. The Author of the Commentaries upon St. Mark, under the name of St. Jerom[28], gives another reason for mixing water with wine, 'that by the one we might be purged from sin, and by the other redeemed from punishment.' These reasons indeed are no ways demon-

staret, quia vivebat Dominus noster Jesus Christus vel latrones, missi sunt qui percuterent eos: venientes autem invenerunt defunctum Dominum Jesum Christum: tunc unus de militibus lancea latus ejus tetigit, et de latere ejus aqua fluxit et sanguis. Quare aqua? quare sanguis? Aqua, ut emundaret: sanguis, ut redimeret, &c.

[24] C. 55. (CC. t. 5. p. 911 e.) Non oportet [aliquid] aliud in sanctuario offerri, præter panem, et vinum et aquam, quæ in typo Christo benedicuntur: quia, dum in cruce penderet, de corpore ejus sanguis effluxit et aqua.

[25] Ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 7. (t. 1. p. 1915. 52.) Sed si necesse sit botrus in calice comprimatur, et aqua misceatur: quia calix Dominicus juxta canonum præcepta vino et aqua permistus debet offerri: quia videmus in aqua populum intelligi, in vino vero ostendi sanguinem Christi.

[26] C. 1. [al. Bracar. 4. c. 2.] (t. 6. p. 562 e.) Audivimus enim quosdam schismatica ambitione detentos .... lac pro vino in divinis sacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam eucharistiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere; quosdam etiam expressum [al. non expressum] vinum in sacramento Dominici calicis offerre, &c.—Ibid. (p. 564 a.) Ideo nulli deinceps licitum sit [al. erit] aliud in sacrificiis divinis offerre, nisi juxta antiquorum sententias Conciliorum panem tantum, et calicem vino et aqua permixtum.

[27] C. 8. (t. 5. p. 958 c.) Non licet in altario in sacrificio divino mellitum, quod mulsum appellatur, nec ullum aliud poculum, extra vinum cum aqua mixtum, offerre.

[28] In Marc. 14. (t. 11. p. 823 c.) Accepit Jesus panem, ... formans sanguinem suum in calicem vino et aqua mixtum, ut alio purgemur a culpis, alio redimamur a pœnis.

strative; however, that the practice was both ancient and general, is evident from Justin Martyr [29] and Irenæus [30], who mention it as the custom of the Church, without assigning any further reason for it. And so likewise Gregory Nyssen [31] and Theodoret [32] with some others produced by Vossius in his Dissertation [33] upon this subject. The Armenians are said to have consecrated only in wine, but that is reckoned an error in them by Theophylact [34], and they are equally condemned with the Hydroparastatæ, or Aquarians, by the Council of Trullo [35], which produces the authority of St. James and St. Basil's Liturgy against them. To which may be added the Liturgies

[29] Apol. 2. (p. 97 d.) Εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδόασιν ἑκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσιν ἀποφέρουσι.

[30] L. 4. c. 57. (p. 357. 11.) Dominus ..... accipiens panem unum corpus esse confitebatur et temperamentum calicis suum sanguinem confirmavit.—It. l. 5. c. 2. (p. 397. 1.) Ὁπότε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγονὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

[31] Orat. Catechet. c. 37. (t. 3. p. 104 a.) .... Ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ βρώσει ἄρτος, ἐν δὲ τῇ πόσει τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφηδυσμένον τῷ οἴνῳ, κ. τ. λ.

[32] Dialog. 1. t. 4. p. 17. (t. 4. part. 1. p. 26.) Ἐν δέ γε τῇ τῶν μυστηρίων παραδόσει, σῶμα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκάλεσε, καὶ αἷμα τὸ κρᾶμα.

[33] Thes. Theolog. disput. 22. de Symb. Cœn. Dom. quæst. 4. p. 494. (t. 6. p. 441. thes. 8.) Quam mos sit vetus aquam vino miscendi, docere nos potest Justinus Martyr., Apolog. 2., ubi in cœnæ descriptione meminit aperte τοῦ εὐχαρισθέντος ἄρτου, καὶ οἴνου, καὶ ὕδατος. Atque ab eadem causa est, quod Irenæus, l. 4. c. 57., vocat *temperamentum calicis*: quod item l. 5. c. 2. scribat, *Quando mistus calix et fractus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi.* Etiam fuse de hoc Cyprianus, Ep. 63., ex qua superius quædam adduximus. Hic adde Julium, urbis episcopum, apud Gratianum, Basilium in Liturgia, Gregorium Nyssenum, Orat. Catech. c. 37. Ambrosium, l. 5. de Sacrament. c. 1. Chrysostom. in Liturgia. Incertum sub Hieronymi nomine in Marcum, c. 14. 18. Augustin. l. 4. de Doctrina Christiana, c. 21. Proclum, de Traditione Divinæ Liturgiæ. Theodoret. Dialog. 1. Cæsarium Arelatensem sive Eucherium, Serm. 5. in Pascha. Martin. Bracarensem, in Collect. Can. Orientalium, c. 4. Bedam, in Luc. l. 6. c. 22. Damascenum, l. 4. c. 14. Rabanum Maurum, de Institut. Cler. l. 1. c. 33. Paschasium, de Sacrament. Eucharist. c. 11. Micrologum, Eccles. Observat. c. 10. Algerum, de eodem, l. 2. c. 4. Nicephorum Callistum, l. 18. c. 53.: ut Lombardum mittam et Scholasticos, qui ad eum scripserunt.

[34] In Ioan. 19. (t. 1. p. 755 e. 8.) Αἰσχυνέσθωσαν Ἀρμένιοι, οἱ μὴ παρακιρνῶντες ὕδωρ τῷ οἴνῳ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις.

[35] C. 32. (t. 6. p. 1158 b.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ κατὰ σάρκα Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς, ὃς τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν ἐκκλησίας πρώτως τὸν θρόνον ἐπιστεύθη· καὶ Βασίλειος ὁ τῆς Καισαρέων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, οὗ τὸ κλέος κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διέδραμεν, ἐγγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῖν ἱερουργίαν παραδεδωκότες, οὕτω τελειοῦν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ λειτουργίᾳ ἐξ ὕδατός τε καὶ οἴνου τὸ ἱερὸν ποτήριον ἐκδεδώκασι.

under St. Mark and St. Chrysostom, and the Constitutions[36]. Yet after all, as there is no express command for this in the institution, notwithstanding this general consent of the ancient Church, it is commonly determined by modern divines, as well of the Roman as Protestant communion, that it is not essential to the sacrament itself, as the reader that is curious may find demonstrated in Vossius in his Dissertation upon this subject [as cited just before].

Of some heretics, who made alterations or additions to the elements in the eucharist.

8. As to the Ancients, they are not to be blamed in keeping strictly to this custom, because they thought it a part of the institution. Upon which account they censured all that made any alteration in the elements, either by addition, or subtraction, or changing one element for another. The Aquarians, as we have heard, were condemned, for taking away the wine; the Armenians and others for not using water also; others were condemned for changing the wine into milk or honey, mixed with water; others substituted grapes instead of wine; others pulse instead of bread. Of all which, because we have spoken before in the two foregoing sections, I need say no more in this place. But besides these there was once a senseless sect, which thought they did not celebrate the eucharist in perfection unless they offered cheese together with the bread. Whence they had the name of *Artotyritæ*, from ἄρτος, which in Greek signifies *bread*, and τυρὸς, *cheese*. This is the account which Epiphanius[37] gives of them, and after him St. Austin[38], saying, 'the *Artotyrites* are so called from their oblation: for they offer *bread* and *cheese*, saying that the first oblations, that were offered by men in the infancy of the world, were of the fruits of the earth and of sheep.'

And of others, who rejected the use of the sacrament altogether.

9. There were others who wholly rejected the use of all external symbols or sacraments in general, and consequently both baptism and the eucharist, upon a pretence that faith and knowledge and spiritual worship were the only things that were re-

[36] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 402.) Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἁγιάσας, ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

[37] Hær. 49. Pepuz. n. 11. (t. 1. p. 418 d.) Ἀρτοτυρίτας δὲ αὐτοὺς καλοῦσιν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν μυστηρίοις, ἐπιτιθέντας ἄρτον καὶ τυρὸν, καὶ οὕτως ποιεῖν τὰ αὐτῶν μυστήρια.

[38] De Hæresibus, c. 28. (t. 8. p. 10 e.) Artotyritæ sunt, quibus oblatio eorum hoc nomen dedit: offerunt enim panem et caseum, dicentes, a primis hominibus oblationes de fructibus terræ et ovium fuisse celebratas.

quired of Christians. Upon this pretence the *Ascodrutæ*, who were a sort of Gnostics, neither administered baptism nor the eucharist in their society: they said the divine mysteries were incorporeal and invisible things, and therefore not to be represented by such corporeal and visible things as water or bread and wine; but perfect knowledge was their redemption. So Theodoret[39] describes them. And so both he[40] and Epiphanius[41] describe another abominable sect, who, from one of their principal tenets, were called *Archontics*. They taught that the world was not made by the Supreme God, but by certain inferior powers, seven or eight in number, whom they called *archontes*, *rulers* of the several orbs of the heavens, one above another, to the chief of which they gave the name of *Sabaoth*: and they pretended that baptism and the eucharist were only institutions of this Sabaoth, the God of the Jews and Giver of the Law, and not the ordinances of the Supreme God; for which reason they wholly rejected the use of them.

Some other such sects there were among the ancient heresies, who despised the eucharist upon the like pretences[42]: but these are sufficient to show us what sort of men they were that anciently contemned this holy ordinance; and therefore, without further digressing to make any nicer inquiry after them, I now return to the business and service of the Church.

CHAP. III.

Of the oblation and consecration prayers.

1. As soon as the people's offerings were made, and bread and wine were set apart for the eucharist, they proceeded to the solemn consecration of them. The manner of which is described at large in the Constitutions; which I will first set

[39] Hæret. Fabul. l. 1. c. 10. (t. 4. part. 1. p. 302.) Οὗτοι δέ φασι, μὴ χρῆναι τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, ἀοράτων ὄντα σύμβολα, δι' ὁρωμένων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πραγμάτων, καὶ τὰ ἀσώματα δι' αἰσθητῶν καὶ σωματικῶν. Εἶναι δὲ τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν τὴν ἀληθῆ τοῦ ὄντος ἐπίγνωσιν.... Διὰ τοῦτο, οὔτε βαπτίζουσι τοὺς προσιόντας, οὐδὲ ἐπιτελεῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὸ μυστήριον· λύτρωσιν γὰρ καλοῦσι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίγνωσιν.

[40] Ibid. c. 11. tot. (p. 303.) Ἐκ δὲ τούτων, κ.τ.λ.

[41] Hær. 40. Archontic. n. 2. tot. See b. 11. ch. 2. s. 2. v. 4. p. 16. n. 55.

[42] Vid. Origen. Περὶ Εὐχῆς, n. 13. [juxt. Ed. Oxon. 8vo.] Ea penitus auferentes, quæ sensibus percipiuntur, nec baptismum nec eucharistiam usurpantes, &c. [Juxt. Ed. Bened. (t. 1. p. 204 a.) Ἧς γνώμης προίστανται οἱ τὰ αἰσθητὰ πάντη ἀναιροῦντες· καὶ μήτε βαπτίσματι, μήτε εὐχαριστίᾳ χρώμενοι, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]

down here, and then compare the several parts of it with the authentic accounts we have in other ancient writers.

scribed ou of the Con stitutions.

'Immediately then,' after the first prayers for the faithful are ended, 'the deacon is ordered[43] to give a solemn admonition, saying, Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention!* Then the bishop or priest salutes the Church, saying, The peace of God be with you all! and the people answer, And with thy spirit! After this, the deacon says to them all, Salute ye one another with an holy kiss! Then the clergy salute the bishop, and laymen their fellow-laymen, and the women the women; the children standing before the *bema*, (that is either the reading-desk or the altar,) with a deacon attending them to see that they keep good order; others of the deacons walking about the church, and inspecting the men and women, that there be no tumult, nor making of signs to one another, nor whispering, nor sleeping; and others standing at the men's gate, and the subdeacons at the women's gate, that the doors be not opened for any to go in or out in the time of oblation. After this, the subdeacon brings water to the priests to wash their hands, as a sign of the purity of those souls that are consecrated unto God.' 'Immediately after this a deacon cries out[44], Let none of the catechumens be present, none of the hearers, none of the unbelievers, none of the heterodox party! Ye that have made

[43] Lib. 8. c. 11. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 398.) Μετὰ τοῦτο λεγέτω ὁ διάκονος, Πρόσχωμεν· καὶ ἀσπαζέσθω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ λεγέτω, Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν· καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀποκρινάσθω, Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου· καὶ ὁ διάκονος εἰπάτω πᾶσιν, Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ· καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν οἱ τοῦ κλήρου τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οἱ λαϊκοὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς λαϊκούς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς γυναῖκας· τὰ παιδία δὲ στηκέτωσαν πρὸς τῷ βήματι· καὶ διάκονος αὐτοῖς ἕτερος ἔστω ἐφεστὼς, ὅπως μὴ ἀτακτῶσι· καὶ ἄλλοι διάκονοι περιπατείτωσαν, καὶ σκοπείτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅπως μὴ θόρυβός τις γένηται, καὶ μή τις νεύσῃ, ἢ ψιθυρίσῃ, ἢ νυστάξῃ· οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἱστάσθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας, καὶ οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν· ὅπως μή τις ἐξέλθοι, μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα, κἂν πιστός τις ᾖ, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς· εἷς δὲ ὑποδιάκονος διδότω ἀπόνιψιν χειρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, σύμβολον καθαρότητος ψυχῶν Θεῷ ἀνακειμένων.

[44] Ibid. c. 12. (p. 398.) Φημὶ δὲ κἀγὼ Ἰάκωβος ... ἵν' εὐθὺς ὁ διάκονος λέγῃ· Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων· μή τις ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων· μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων· οἱ τὴν πρώτην εὐχὴν εὐχόμενοι προέλθετε· τὰ παιδία προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες· μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει· ὀρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν. Ὧν γενομένων οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων στηκέτωσαν, ὡς ἂν μαθηταὶ παρεστῶτες διδασκάλῳ· δύο δὲ διάκονοι ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατεχέτωσαν ἐξ ὑμένων λεπτῶν ῥιπίδιον, ἢ πτερῶν ταῶνος, ἢ ὀθόνης· καὶ ἥμερα ἀποσα-

the first prayer *go forth*,—*προέλθετε*,—(or rather, as Cotelerius thinks it ought to be read, *προσέλθετε*,—Ye that have made the first prayers *draw near*: for this seems to be spoken to the communicants as an invitation.) Ye mothers take your children and bring them with you. Let no one come with enmity against another; no one in hypocrisy. Let us stand upright before the Lord, with fear and trembling to offer our sacrifice. This said, the deacons bring *τὰ δῶρα*, *the elements*, to the bishop at the altar; the presbyters standing on each hand of him, and two deacons with their fans [*ῥιπίδια*] to drive away the little insects, that none of them fall into the cup. Then the bishop standing at the altar with the presbyters, makes a private prayer by himself, having on his white or bright vestment, and signing himself with the sign of the cross in his forehead. Which done, he says, The grace of Almighty God, and the love of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all! And the people answer with one voice, And with thy spirit! Then the bishop says, Lift up your hearts! and they all answer, We lift them up unto the Lord! The bishop says again, Let us give thanks to the Lord! and the people answer, It is meet and right so to do!'

'Then let the bishop say, It is very meet and right above all things to praise thee the true God, who art before all creatures, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, who art the only unbegotten, without original, without king,

βείτωσαν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἱπταμένων ζώων, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐγχρίμπτωνται εἰς τὰ κύπελλα· εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδὺς, καὶ στὰς πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τὸ τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῇ χειρὶ ποιησάμενος, εἰς πάντας εἰπάτω, Ἡ χάρις τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, ἔστω μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν· καὶ πάντες συμφώνως λεγέτωσαν, Ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν· καὶ πάντες, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ· καὶ πάντες, Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον· καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰπάτω, Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον, πρὸ πάντων ἀνυμνεῖν σε τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν, τὸν πρὸ τῶν γεννητῶν ὄντα· ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται· τὸν μόνον ἀγέννητον, καὶ ἄναρχον, καὶ ἀβασίλευτον, καὶ ἀδέσποτον, τὸν ἀνενδεῆ, τὸν παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ χορηγὸν, τὸν πάσης αἰτίας καὶ γενέσεως κρείττονα, τὸν πάντοτε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα· ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καθάπερ ἔκ τινος ἀφετηρίας, εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆλθεν. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἄναρχος γνῶσις, ἡ ἀΐδιος ὅρασις, ἡ ἀγέννητος ἀκοὴ, ἡ ἀδίδακτος σοφία· ὁ πρῶτος τῇ φύσει, καὶ νόμος τῷ εἶναι, καὶ κρείττων παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ· τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Υἱοῦ· αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων γεννήσας βουλήσει, καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἀγαθότητι, ἀμεσιτεύτως· Υἱὸν μονογενῆ, Λόγον Θεὸν, Σοφίαν ζῶσαν, Πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, Ἄγγελον τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς

without lord, who hast need of nothing, who art the author of all good, who art above all cause and generation, and always the same, of whom all things have their original and existence. For thou art original knowledge, eternal sight, hearing without beginning, and wisdom without teaching; the first in nature, and the law of existing, exceeding all number. Who madest all things to exist out of nothing by thy only-begotten Son, whom thou didst beget before all ages by thy will, and power, and goodness, without the intervention of any, who is thy only-begotten Son, the Word that is God, the living wisdom, the first-born of every creature, the angel of thy great council, thy high-priest, but the King and Lord of all the creatures, both visible and invisible, who is before all things, and by whom all things consist. For thou, O eternal God, didst create all things by him, and by him thou dost vouchsafe to rule and govern them in the orderly ways of thy providence. By whom thou didst give them being, by him also thou didst give them a well-being. O God and Father of thy only-begotten Son, who by him didst create the Cherubims and Seraphims, the ages and hosts, the dominions and powers, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels, and after them didst by him create this visible world, and all things that are therein. For thou art he that hast established the heavens as an arch, and extended them like a curtain: that hast founded the earth upon nothing by thy sole will; that hast

σου· Ἀρχιερέα σὸν, Βασιλέα δὲ καὶ Κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως· τὸν πρὸ πάντων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. Σὺ γὰρ, Θεὲ αἰώνιε, δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκας, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς προσηκούσης προνοίας τὰ ὅλα ἀξιοῖς· δι' οὗ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι ἐχαρίσω, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὖ εἶναι ἐδωρήσω· ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου· ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ποιήσας τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, αἰῶνάς τε καὶ στρατιὰς, δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἀρχάς τε καὶ θρόνους, ἀρχαγγέλους τε καὶ ἀγγέλους· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν φαινόμενον τοῦτον κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς καμάραν στήσας, καὶ ὡς δέρριν ἐκτείνας, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἱδρύσας γνώμῃ μόνῃ· ὁ πήξας στερέωμα, καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν κατασκευάσας· ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν, καὶ τῇ τούτου στολῇ ἐπαγαγὼν τὸ σκότος, εἰς ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κινουμένων ζώων· ὁ τὸν ἥλιον τάξας εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν οὐρανῷ καταγράψας, εἰς αἶνον τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας· ὁ ποιήσας ὕδωρ πρὸς πόσιν καὶ κάθαρσιν, ἀέρα ζωτικὸν πρὸς εἰσπνοὴν καὶ φωνῆς ἀπόδοσιν διὰ γλώττης πληττούσης τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ ἀκοὴν συνεργουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπαΐειν εἰσδεχομένην τὴν προσπίπτουσαν αὐτῇ λαλιάν· ὁ ποιήσας πῦρ πρὸς σκότους παραμυθίαν, πρὸς ἐνδείας ἀναπλήρωσιν, καὶ τὸ θερμαίνεσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ φωτίζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὁ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν χωρίσας τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀναδείξας πλωτὴν, τὴν δὲ ποσὶ βάσιμον ποιήσας, καὶ τὴν μὲν ζώοις μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις

fixed the firmament, and formed night and day; that hast brought the light out of thy treasures and superadded darkness for a covering, to give rest to the creatures that move in the world; that hast set the sun in the heaven to govern the day, and the moon to govern the night; and ordered the course of the stars, to the praise of thy magnificent power; that hast made the water for drink and purgation, and the vital air both for breathing and speaking; that hast made the fire to be a comfort in darkness, to supply our wants, and that we should be both warmed and enlightened thereby; that hast divided the great sea from the earth, and made the one navigable, and the other passable on foot; that hast filled the one with small and great animals, and the other with tame and wild beasts; that hast crowned the earth with plants and herbs of all sorts, and adorned it with flowers, and enriched it with seeds; that hast established the deep, and set a great barrier about it, walling the great heaps of salt water, and bounding them with gates of the smallest sand; that sometimes raisest the same deep to the magnitude of mountains by thy winds, and sometimes layest it plain like a field; now making it rage with a storm, and then again quieting it with a calm, that they which sail therein may find a safe and gentle passage; that hast begirt the world, which thou createdst by Christ, with rivers, and watered it with brooks, and filled it with springs of living water always flowing, and bound up the

πληθύνας, τὴν δὲ ἡμέροις καὶ ἀτιθάσσοις πληρώσας· φυτοῖς τε διαφόροις στέψας, καὶ βοτάναις στεφανώσας, καὶ ἄνθεσι καλλύνας, καὶ σπέρμασι πλουτίσας· ὁ συστησάμενος ἄβυσσον, καὶ μεγὰ κῆτος [al. κῦτος] αὐτῇ περιθεὶς, ἁλμυρῶν ὑδάτων σεσωρευμένα πελάγη, περιφράξας δὲ αὐτὴν πύλαις ἄμμου λεπτοτάτης· ὁ πνεύμασί ποτε μὲν αὐτὴν κορυφῶν εἰς ὀρέων μέγεθος, ποτὲ δὲ στρωννύων αὐτὴν εἰς πεδίον, καί ποτε μὲν ἐκμαίνων χειμῶνι, ποτὲ δὲ πραΰνων γαλήνῃ, ὡς ναυσιπόροις πλωτῆρσιν εὔκολον εἶναι πρὸς πορείαν· ὁ ποταμοῖς διαζώσας τὸν ὑπό σου διὰ Χριστοῦ γενόμενον κόσμον, καὶ χειμάρροις ἐπικλύσας, καὶ πηγαῖς ἀεννάοις μεθύσας, ὄρεσι δὲ περισφίγξας εἰς ἕδραν ἀτρεμῆ γῆς ἀσφαλεστάτην· ἐπλήρωσας γάρ σου τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διεκόσμησας αὐτὸν βοτάναις εὐόσμοις καὶ ἰασίμοις· ζώοις πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις, ἀλκίμοις καὶ ἀσθενεστέροις, ἐδωδίμοις καὶ ἐνεργοῖς, ἡμέροις καὶ ἀτιθάσσοις· ἑρπετῶν συριγμοῖς, πτηνῶν ποικίλων κλαγγαῖς· ἐνιαυτῶν κύκλοις, μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμοῖς, τροπῶν τάξεσι· νεφῶν ὁμβροτόκων διαδρομαῖς, εἰς καρπῶν γονὰς, καὶ ζώων σύστασιν, σταθμὸν ἀνέμων διαπνεόντων, ὅτε προσταχθῶσι παρά σου, τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ πλῆθος. Καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κοσμοπολίτην ἄνθρωπον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησας, κόσμον κόσμου αὐτὸν ἀναδείξας· εἶπας γὰρ τῇ σῇ Σοφίᾳ, Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· διὸ καὶ πεποίηκας αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ σώματος σκεδαστοῦ· τῆς

earth with mountains, to give it a firm and unmoveable situation. Thou hast filled thy world, and adorned it with odoriferous and medicinal herbs, with a multitude and variety of animals, weaker and stronger, some for meat and some for labour, some of a mild and some of a fiercer nature; with the hissing of serpents, and sweeter notes of birds of divers kinds; with the revolution of years, and numbers of months and days, and orders of stated seasons, with flying clouds producing rain, for the procreation of fruits and preservation of animals; with winds to blow in order at thy command, and a multitude of plants and herbs. Neither hast thou only made the world, but created man in it to be the citizen of the world, and made him the ornament of thy beautiful structure. For thou saidst to thy own Wisdom, Let us make man in our own image and likeness, and let him have dominion over the fish of the sea and over the fowl of the air. And therefore thou madest him of an immortal soul and a dissolvable body; creating the one out of nothing, and the other out of the four elements: and gavest him in his soul a rational knowledge, a power to discern between piety and impiety, and a judgment to distinguish between good and evil; and in his body the privilege and faculty of five several senses, with the power of local motion. For thou, O God Almighty, didst by Christ plant Paradise in Eden towards the east, adorning it with all kinds of plants meet for food, and placing man therein as in a well-furnished house:

μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων· καὶ δέδωκας αὐτῷ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν λογικὴν διάγνωσιν, εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβείας διάκρισιν, δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου παρατήρησιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα, τὴν πένταθλον ἐχαρίσω αἴσθησιν, καὶ τὴν μεταβατικὴν κίνησιν. Σὺ γὰρ, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, διὰ Χριστοῦ παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐφύτευσας, παντοίων φυτῶν ἐδωδίμων κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ἂν ἐν ἑστίᾳ πολυτελεῖ εἰσήγαγες αὐτόν· κἂν τῷ ποιεῖν νόμον δέδωκας αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον, ὅπως οἰκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοι τὰ σπέρματα τῆς θεογνωσίας· εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισον, πάντων μὲν ἀνῆκας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς μετάληψιν, ἑνὸς δὲ μόνου τὴν γεῦσιν ἀπεῖπας ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κρειττόνων, ἵνα ἐὰν φυλάξῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν, μισθὸν ταύτης τὴν ἀθανασίαν κομίσηται· ἀμελήσαντα δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς, καὶ γευσάμενον ἀπηγορευμένου καρποῦ ἀπάτῃ ὄφεως, καὶ συμβουλίᾳ γυναικὸς, τοῦ μὲν παραδείσου δικαίως ἔξωσας αὐτὸν, ἀγαθότητι δὲ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπολλύμενον οὐχ ὑπερείδες· σὸν γὰρ ἦν δημιούργημα· ἀλλὰ καθυποστάξας αὐτῷ τὴν κτίσιν, δέδωκας αὐτῷ οἰκείοις ἱδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις πορίζειν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τροφὴν, σοῦ πάντα φύοντος καὶ αὔξοντος καὶ πεπαίνοντος· χρόνῳ δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτὸν κοιμίσας, ὅρκῳ εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἐγκάλεσας· ὅρον θανάτου λύσας, ζωὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἐπηγγείλω. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλῆθος ἀνάριθμον χέας, τοὺς ἐμμείναντάς σοι ἐδόξασας, τοὺς δὲ ἀποστάντας σου ἐκόλασας· καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἀβὲλ, ὡς ὁσίου, προσδεξάμενος τὴν θυσίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοκτόνου Καὶν ἀποστραφεὶς τὸ δῶρον,

and in his creation thou gavest a natural law implanted in his mind, that thereby he might have within himself the seeds of divine knowledge. And when thou hadst placed him in the Paradise of delights and pleasure, thou gavest him power to eat of all things, only forbidding him to taste of one kind, in expectation of something better: that if he observed that command, he might attain to immortality as the reward of his obedience. But he neglecting this command, and by the fraud of the Serpent and the counsel of the woman tasting the forbidden fruit, thou didst justly drive him out of Paradise, and yet in goodness did not despise him when he had destroyed himself; for he was thy workmanship; but thou, who didst put the creatures in subjection under him, didst appoint him to get his food by labour and sweat, thy providence concurring to produce, augment, and bring all things to maturity and perfection. Thou didst suffer him for a while to sleep the sleep of death, and then with an oath calledst him again to a regeneration: dissolving the bands of death and promising him life by a resurrection. And not only so; but giving him an innumerable posterity, thou didst glorify such of them as adhered to thee, and punishedst those that apostatized from thee; receiving the sacrifice of Abel as an holy man, and rejecting the offering of Cain as abominable for murdering his brother. Thou didst also receive Seth and Enos, and translate Enoch. For thou art the creator of men, and the author of life, and

ὡς ἐναγοῦς· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸν Σὴθ, καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼς προσελάβου, καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ μετατέθεικας. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγὸς, καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας πληρωτής· καὶ τῶν νόμων δοτὴρ, καὶ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτοὺς μισθαποδότης, καὶ τῶν παραβαινόντων αὐτοὺς ἔκδικος· ὁ τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, καὶ τὸν δίκαιον Νῶε ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐν λάρνακι σὺν ὀκτὼ ψυχαῖς, τέλος μὲν τῶν παρῳχηκότων, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιγίνεσθαι· ὁ τὸ φοβερὸν πῦρ κατὰ τῆς Σοδομηνῆς πενταπόλεως ἐξάψας, καὶ γῆν καρποφόρον εἰς ἅλμην θέμενος ἀπὸ κακίας τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ· καὶ τὸν ὅσιον Λὼτ ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ. Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ῥυσάμενος προγονικῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ κληρονόμον τοῦ κόσμου καταστήσας, καὶ ἐμφανίσας αὐτῷ τὸν Χριστόν σου· ὁ τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ, ἀρχιερέα τῆς λατρείας προχειρισάμενος· ὁ τὸν πολύτλαν θεράποντά σου Ἰὼβ νικητὴν τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως ἀναδείξας· ὁ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας υἱὸν ποιησάμενος· ὁ τὸν Ἰακὼβ πατέρα δώδεκα παίδων, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλῆθος χέας, καὶ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ψυχαῖς. Σὺ, Κύριε, Ἰωσὴφ οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες· ἀλλὰ μισθὸν τῆς διὰ σὲ σωφροσύνης ἔδωκας αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄρχειν. Σὺ, Κύριε, Ἑβραίους ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων καταπονουμένους οὐ περιεῖδες, διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελίας· ἀλλ' ἐρρύσω, κολάσας Αἰγυπτίους. Παραφθειράντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν φυσικὸν νόμον, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτόματον νομισάντων, ποτὲ δὲ

the supplier of all their wants, their lawgiver, that rewardest those that keep thy laws, and punishest those that transgress them. Thou didst bring an universal deluge upon the world because of the multitude of the ungodly, but deliveredst righteous Noah out of the flood with eight souls in thy ark, making him the end of the preceding generation, and the father of those that were to come. Thou didst kindle a dreadful fire against the five cities of the Sodomites, and turn a fruitful land into a vale of salt, for the wickedness of them that dwelt therein, but didst deliver righteous Lot from the burning. Thou art he that didst deliver Abraham from the impiety of his ancestors, and madest him to become heir of the world, and didst manifest thy Christ unto him. Thou didst appoint Melchisedech to be the high-priest of thy service. Thou didst declare thy servant Job, after many sufferings, to be conqueror of the Serpent, that first author of evil. Thou madest Isaac to be the son of promise. Thou madest Jacob to be the father of twelve children, and his offspring to be innumerable, and broughtest three-score and fifteen souls into Egypt. Thou, Lord, didst not despise Joseph, but for his chastity madest him to rule over the Egyptians. Thou, Lord, didst not forget the Hebrews when the Egyptians oppressed them, because of the promise made to their fathers; but didst punish the Egyptians, and deliver thy people. And when men had corrupted the law of nature written in their minds, and some began to think the

πλεῖον ἢ δεῖ τιμησάντων, καί σοι τῷ Θεῷ τῶν πάντων συνταττόντων· οὐκ εἴασας πλανᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀναδείξας τὸν ἅγιόν σου θεράποντα Μωϋσῆν, δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ τὸν γραπτὸν νόμον δέδωκας, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἔδειξας σὸν ἔργον εἶναι, τὴν δὲ πολύθεον πλάνην ἐξώρισας· τὸν Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱερατικῇ τιμῇ ἐδόξασας· Ἑβραίους ἁμαρτόντας ἐκόλασας, ἐπιστρέφοντας ἐδέξω· τοὺς Αἰγυστίους δεκαπλήγῳ ἐτιμωρήσω· θάλασσαν διελὼν, Ἰσραηλίτας διεβίβασας· Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιδιώξαντας ὑποβρυχίους ἀπώλεσας· ξύλῳ πικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐγλύκανας· ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ὕδωρ ἀνέχεας· ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ μάννα ὗσας, τροφὴν ἐξ ἀέρος ὀρτυγομήτραν· στύλον πυρὸς τὴν νύκτα πρὸς φωτισμὸν, καὶ στύλον νεφέλης ἡμέραν πρὸς σκιασμὸν θάλπους. Τὸν Ἰησοῦν στρατηγὸν ἀναδείξας, ἑπτὰ ἔθνη Χαναναίων δι' αὐτοῦ καθεῖλες, Ἰορδάνην διέρρηξας, τοὺς ποταμοὺς Ἠθὰμ ἐξήρανας, τείχη κατέρριψας ἄνευ μηχανημάτων καὶ χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης. Ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων σοι ἡ δόξα, Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ· σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν ἀνάριθμοι στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, δυνάμεων, στρατιῶν αἰωνίων· τὰ Χερουβὶμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ, ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ κατακαλύπτοντα τοὺς πόδας, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα, ἅμα χιλίαις χιλιάσιν ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ μυρίαις μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, ἀκαταπαύστως καὶ ἀσιγήτως βοώσαις, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰπάτω, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξῆς λεγέτω,

creatures had their existence of themselves, and honoured them above what was meet, placing them in the same rank with thee the God of all, thou didst not suffer them to wander in error, but raising up thy holy servant Moses, thou didst by him promulge a written law to revive and support the law of nature; showing the creatures to be the work of thy hands, and thereby expelling the error of polytheism out of religion. Thou didst honour Aaron and his posterity with the dignity of the priesthood. Thou didst chastise the Hebrews when they sinned, and receive them into favour when they turned unto thee. Thou didst punish the Egyptians with ten plagues; and, dividing the sea, madest the Israelites to pass through it, drowning the Egyptians that pursued them. Thou madest the bitter sweet with wood; thou broughtest streams out of the rock when thou hadst divided the top of it; thou didst rain down manna out of heaven, and give them food out of the air, a measure of quails for every day; setting up a pillar of fire to give them light by night, and the pillar of the cloud to shadow them from heat by day. Thou didst constitute Joshua the captain of thy armies, and by him destroy the seven nations of the Canaanites, dividing Jordan, and drying up the rivers of Ethan, and laying flat the walls of Jericho without any engines of war or concurrence of human power. For all these things we glorify thee, O Lord Almighty. The innumerable armies of angels adore thee; the archangels, thrones, dominions, prin-

Ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ πανάγιος, ὕψιστος, καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου Υἱὸς, ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς, Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ὃς εἰς πάντα ὑπηρετησάμενός σοι τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατρὶ, εἴς τε δημιουργίαν διάφορον, καὶ πρόνοιαν κατάλληλον, οὐ περιεῖδε τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φυσικὸν νόμον, μετὰ νομικὴν παραίνεσιν, μετὰ προφητικοὺς ἐλέγχους, καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπιστασίας, παραφθειρόντων σὺν τῷ θετῷ καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν νόμον, καὶ τῆς μνήμης ἐκβαλλόντων τὸν κατακλυσμὸν, τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, τὰς κατ' Αἰγυπτίων πληγὰς, τὰς κατὰ Παλαιστηνῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μελλόντων ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντων, εὐδόκησεν αὐτὸς γνώμῃ σῇ ὁ Δημιουργὸς ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι, ὁ Νομοθέτης ὑπὸ νόμους, ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἱερεῖον, ὁ Ποιμὴν πρόβατον· καὶ ἐξευμενίσατό σε, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Θεὸν καὶ Πατέρα, καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ κατήλλαξε, καὶ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς τοὺς πάντας ἠλευθέρωσε, γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου, γενόμενος ἐν σαρκί· ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς Υἱὸς, ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προρρηθείσας προφητείας ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ φυλῆς Ἰούδα· καὶ γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου ὁ διαπλάσσων πάντας τοὺς γεννωμένους, καὶ ἐνσαρκώθη ὁ ἄσαρκος, ὁ ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς ἐν χρόνῳ γεγένηται· πολιτευσάμενος ὁσίως καὶ παιδεύσας ἐνθέσμως· πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελάσας, σημεῖά τε καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ λαῷ ποιήσας· τροφῆς καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ὕπνου μεταλαβὼν, ὁ τρέφων πάντας τοὺς χρῄζοντας τροφῆς, καὶ ἐμπιπλῶν πᾶν

cipalities, dignities, powers, hosts, and ages; the Cherubims, and Seraphims also with six wings, with two of which they cover their feet, and with two their faces, and with two they fly, saying, with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand angels, all crying out without rest and intermission,—and let all the people say together with them,—Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of hosts: heaven and earth are full of thy glory: blessed art thou for ever! Amen.'

'And after this let the bishop say, For thou truly art holy, the most holy, the most high, far exalted above all things for evermore. Holy also is thy only begotten Son, our Lord and God, Jesus Christ; who ministering to thee his God and Father in all things, both in various works of creation and providence, did not despise lost mankind; but after the law of nature, after the admonitions of the written law, after the reprehensions of the prophets, after the administrations and presidency of angels; when men had corrupted both the natural and written law, and erased the memory of the flood, and the burning of Sodom, and the plagues of Egypt, and devastations and slaughters of Palestine, and were now all ready to perish; he, who was the Creator of man, chose by thy will to become man; the Lawgiver, to be under the law; the High Priest, to be the sacrifice; the Shepherd, to be made a sheep: whereby he appeased thee his God and Father, and reconciled the world, and delivered all men from the wrath

ζῶον εὐδοκίας· ἐφανέρωσέ σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτὸ, τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐφυγάδευσε, τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνεζωπύρησε, τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπλήρωσε, τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκας αὐτῷ ἐτελείωσε· καὶ ταῦτα πάντα κατορθώσας, χερσὶν ἀνόμων κατασχεθεὶς, ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων ψευδωνύμων καὶ λαοῦ παρανόμου, προδοσίᾳ τοῦ τὴν κακίαν νοήσαντος, καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ πᾶσαν ἀτιμίαν ὑποστὰς σῇ συγχωρήσει, παραδοθεὶς Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι, καὶ κριθεὶς ὁ Κριτὴς, καὶ κατακριθεὶς ὁ Σωτὴρ, σταυρῷ προσηλώθη ὁ ἀπαθὴς, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος, καὶ ἐτάφη ὁ ζωοποιὸς, ἵνα πάθους λύσῃ καὶ θανάτου ἐξέληται τούτους, τοὺς δι' οὓς παρεγένετο, καὶ ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ Διαβόλου, καὶ ῥύσηται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ· καὶ, τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ἐνδιατρίψας τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἀνελήφθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐκαθέσθη ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Μεμνημένοι οὖν ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινεν, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροῦμεν. Ἐν ᾗ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο, λαβὼν ἄρτον ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀμώμοις αὐτοῦ χερσὶ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς σὲ, τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ Πατέρα, καὶ κλάσας ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπὼν, Τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης· λάβετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, φάγετε· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν θρυπτόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἁγιάσας, ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, λέγων, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ

that hanged over their heads, being born of a virgin, and made flesh, God the Word, the beloved Son, the first-born of every creature; according to the prophecies which he himself predicted of himself, made of the seed of David and Abraham, and of the tribe of Judah. He, who was the Former of all things that are made, was formed himself in the virgin's womb. He who is without flesh was made flesh; and he who was begotten *ἀχρόνως*, *before all time*, was born in time. He lived an holy life, and taught an holy doctrine; expelling all manner of sicknesses and infirmities from the bodies of men, and working signs and miracles among the people. He, who feeds all that have need of food, and fills every living creature of his own good pleasure and bounty, did himself partake of meat and drink and sleep. He manifested thy name to them that knew it not. He put ignorance to flight, and revived true piety and godliness, fulfilled thy will, and finished the work thou gavest him to do: and when all things were thus set in order and rectified by him, he was betrayed by the incurable malice of one of his own disciples, and apprehended by the hands of the wicked, priests and high-priests, falsely so called, together with a sinful people; of whom he suffered many things, and underwent all manner of indignities by thy permission. He was delivered to Pilate the governor: the Judge himself was judged; the Saviour of the world condemned. He, who is impassible, was nailed to the cross. He, who is immortal by nature, was made subject to death; and the

πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ πίνητε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω. Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπανόδου, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι, τῷ Βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντες σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἑστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι· καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνενδεὴς Θεός· καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ Ἅγιόν σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὴν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, τοῦ Διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ῥυσθῶσι, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν, ἄξιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου γένωνται, ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσι, σοῦ καταλλαγέντος αὐτοῖς, Δέσποτα παντόκρατορ.

Ἔτι δεόμεθά σου, Κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ πε-

Author of life, who quickens all things, was laid in the grave, that he might deliver those from suffering for whose sake he came, and set them free from death, and break the bonds of the Devil, and deliver men from his frauds and impostures. He rose again the third day from the dead, and conversed forty days with his disciples, and was taken up into heaven, and set at thy right hand, his God and Father.'

'We therefore, in commemoration of these things, which he suffered for us, give thanks to thee, Almighty God, not as thou deservest, and as is our duty, but *ὅσον δυνάμεθα, as far as we are able,* so fulfilling his command. For in the same night that he was betrayed, he took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to thee his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the New Testament; take of it, and eat it. This is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins. Likewise he mixed a cup of wine and water, and sanctifying it, he gave it unto them, saying. Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins. This do in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death till I come. We therefore being mindful of his passion, and death, and resurrection from the dead, and his return into heaven; and also of his second coming, when he shall return with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works, do offer unto

ράτων ἕως περάτων, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ὅπως αὐτὴν διαφυλάξῃς ἄσειστον καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον, ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὀρθοτομούσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἵνα, πάντας σοφίσας, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου πληρώσῃς. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, Κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως, ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, δοξάζωμέν σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν, καὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα· ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, ἵνα ἀναδείξῃς αὐτὸν εἰς ἔπαινον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ ἁγνείᾳ· ὑπὲρ τῶν χηρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σεμνοῖς γάμοις καὶ τεκνογονίαις· ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ὅπως μηδένα ἡμῶν ἀπόβλητον ποιήσῃς. Ἔτι ἀξιοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀρρωστίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἐξορίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν δημεύσει, ὑπὲρ

thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment, giving thanks to thee by him, for that thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before thee, and minister unto thee; and we beseech thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before thee our God, who hast need of nothing, and to accept them favourably to the honour of thy Christ, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, who is the witness of the suffering of our Lord Jesus, that it may make this bread the body of thy Christ, and this the blood of thy Christ; that they who partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins, may be delivered from the Devil and his impostures, may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life, thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty!'

'We beseech thee further, O Lord, for thy holy Church from one end of the earth to the other, which thou hast purchased with the precious blood of thy Christ, that thou wouldest be pleased to keep it unshaken and immoveable by any storms or tempests to the end of the world. We pray also for the whole episcopacy, or universal college of bishops, rightly dividing the word of truth. We pray for me thy unworthy servant, who am now offering unto thee, and for the whole presbytery and deacons, and all the clergy, that thou wouldest give them all wisdom, and fill them with thy Holy Spirit. We pray thee, O Lord, for the king and all that are in authority, and for the whole army, that our affairs may be transacted in peace: that passing our time in quietness and concord, we may

πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων, ὅπως ἐπίκουρος γένῃ, πάντων βοηθὸς καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω ὄντων καὶ πεπλανημένων, ὅπως ἐπιστρέψῃς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν πραΰνῃς. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν· ὅπως τοὺς μὲν τελειώσῃς ἐν τῇ πίστει, τοὺς δὲ καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ· τῶν δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν προσδέξῃ, καὶ συγχωρήσῃς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν· ὅπως ἀνελλειπῶς μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀγαθῶν, αἰνοῦμέν σε ἀπαύστως, τὸν διδόντα τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκί. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν δι' εὔλογον αἰτίαν ἀπόντων· ὅπως ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς διατηρήσας ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐπισυναγάγῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀτρέπτους, ἀμέμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους· ὅτι σοι πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ Πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπεῖς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λεγέτω, Ἀμήν.

glorify thee through Jesus Christ, our hope, all the days of our life. We offer unto thee for all thy saints that have lived well-pleasing in thy sight from the foundation of the world, for patriarchs, prophets, holy men, apostles, martyrs, bishops, confessors, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names thou knowest. We offer unto thee for this people, that thou wouldest make them, to the glory of thy Christ, a royal priesthood, and an holy nation; for all that live in virginity and chastity; for the widows of the Church; for all that live in honest marriage and procreation of children; for the infants of thy people; that none of us be a cast-away. We pray thee for this city, and all that dwell therein; for those that are in sickness, in cruel bondage and slavery, in banishment, or under confiscation and proscription, for all that travel by sea or by land, that thou wouldest be their succour, and an universal helper and defender to them all. We pray thee for those that hate us, and persecute us for thy name, for them that are yet without and wandering in error, that thou wouldest convert them to good, and mitigate their fury. We pray thee for the catechumens of the Church; for the energumens, that are tossed and tormented by the adversary the Devil; for all our brethren that are doing penance, that thou wouldest perfect the former in faith, and cleanse and deliver the second from the power and agitation of the wicked one, and receive the repentance of the last, and pardon both them and us whatever offences we have committed against thee. We offer unto thee likewise for the temperature of the air, and the increase of the fruits of the earth, that we, continually partaking of those good things which thou bestowest on us, may without ceasing praise thee, who givest food unto all flesh. We also pray for those, who upon any just and reasonable cause are now absent, that thou wouldest vouchsafe to preserve us all in godliness, and keeping us without change, blame, or rebuke, to gather us into the kingdom of thy Christ, the God of all things in nature, visible and invisible, and our King. For to thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is due all glory and worship and thanksgiving and honour and adoration, now and for ever throughout all ages world without end. And let all the people answer, Amen!'

After this the bishop is appointed to say again, The peace

of God be with you all! to which the people answer, And with thy spirit! And then the deacon calls upon the people to join with him in another prayer, which is termed *προσφώνησις, a bidding-prayer*, for the faithful after the divine oblation, in these words[45]:

'Let us pray yet again and again to God by his Christ for this gift, which is offered to the Lord God; that the good God would receive it to his altar in heaven for a sweet smelling savour by the mediation of his Christ. Let us pray for this Church and people; for the whole society of bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, and ministers, and the whole Catholic Church; that the Lord would keep and preserve them all. Let us pray for kings and all that are in authority; that our affairs may go on with tranquillity, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. Let us commemorate the holy martyrs, that we may be thought worthy to have fellowship in their conflicts and engagements. Let us pray for those that rest in faith. Let us pray for the temperature of the air, and increase of the fruits of the earth, that they may grow to perfection. Let us pray for those that are newly baptized, that they may be confirmed in faith. Let us all exhort and excite one another. Let us rise and commend ourselves to God by

[45] Ibid. c. 13. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 404.) Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς προσδέξηται αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας. Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς, παντὸς πρεσβυτερίου, πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας, παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ Κύριος πάντας διατηρήσῃ καὶ διαφυλάξῃ. Ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δεηθῶμεν· ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ὅπως, ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ἔχοντες, διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι. Τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνημονεύσωμεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτῶν καταξιωθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τελεσφορίας τῶν καρπῶν δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοφωτίστων δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως βεβαιωθῶσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει πάντες ὑπ' ἄλλων παρακαλέσθωσαν. Ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ Θεὸς, ἐν τῇ χάριτί σου. Ἀναστάντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα. Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λεγέτω· Ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ μέγας καὶ μεγαλώνυμος, ὁ μέγας τῇ βουλῇ, καὶ κραταιὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Ἁγίου Παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου τοῦτο, ὅ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξω εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου· καὶ, ἁγιάσας ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, καταξίωσον καθαροὺς γενομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος τυχεῖν τῶν προκειμένων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ἀνάξιον κρίνῃς, ἀλλὰ βοηθὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ, ἀντιλήπτωρ, ὑπερασπιστὴς διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. [Ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω, Πρόσχωμεν· καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσ-

his grace. Then let the bishop say: O God, that art great, great in name, great in counsel, and mighty in works; the God and Father of thy Holy Son Jesus our Saviour; look favourably upon us and this thy flock, which thou hast chosen in him to the glory of thy name. Sanctify our bodies and souls; and grant that we, being pure from all filthiness of flesh and spirit, may obtain the good things that are set before us; and that thou mayest judge none of us unworthy, but be our helper, defender, and protector, through thy Christ; to whom with thee and the Holy Spirit, be glory, honour, and praise, doxology and thanksgiving, for ever. Amen!'

'And when all the people have said, Amen! let the deacon cry again, Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention!* Then the bishop shall speak to the people, saying, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy things for those that are holy!* And the people shall answer, There is one Holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, blessed for ever. Amen! Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men! Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed be the Lord God, that came in the name of the Lord, and manifested himself unto us! Hosanna in the highest!'

This is the whole service preceding the act of communicating, as it is delivered in the Constitutions; which I have here represented all together as it lies there, that the reader may see it in one view. I shall now compare the several parts and branches of it with the certain accounts we have of them in other authentic writers; beginning with that which was the first in order, the minister's salutation of the people.

2. It has been observed before[46], that this form of saluting the people, by saying, *Peace be with you!* or, *The Lord be with you!* or, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c., be with you!* was the usual preface and introduction to all holy offices, and therefore always used before prayers, especially those that were offered up at the altar. Theodoret[47] says, it was used

This account compared with what is said in other authors. First, As to the form of salutation, *Peace be with you! &c.*

φωνησάτω τῷ λαῷ οὕτω, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις· καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὑπακούετω, Εἷς Ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, εἷς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς, Εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Υἱῷ Δαβίδ. Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου, Θεός Κύριος, καὶ ἐπεφάνη ἡμῖν. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις. ED.]

[46] B. 14. ch. 4. s. 14. v. 5. p. 138.

[47] Ep. 146. ad Ioan. p. 1039. (t. 4. part. 2. p. 1260.) Τοῦτο δὲ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς ἐστι λειτουργίας προοίμιον.

both at the entrance of their sermons and the mystical service, by which he means this part of the communion-office. Cyril of Alexandria[48] says the same, that they used it in the beginning of their mysteries; and that Christ made it a law, as it were, unto the Church, by saying so often to his disciples, *Peace be unto you!* But no one speaks more fully of it than St. Chrysostom. He says[49], they used it in all their offices; 'when they first came into the church; when they preached; when they gave the benediction; when they commanded the people to salute one another with the kiss of peace; when the sacrifice was offered; and at other times in the communion-service.' Where it is observable, that he speaks of this salutation as used four times at least in this part of the communion-office, besides other occasions. In another place[50], exhorting Christians not to follow the customs of the Jews, but to be at unity and peace among themselves, he uses this argument: 'There is nothing comparable to peace and concord. Therefore when the bishop first enters the church, before ever he goes up to his throne, he says, *Peace be unto you all!* When he rises up to preach, he does not begin before he has given *the peace* to all. When the priests are about to make the benediction prayers, they first use this salutation, and then begin their benedictions. So also the deacon, when he bids you pray in common, among other things he reminds you to pray for *the angel of peace;* and when he dismisses you from this assembly, he prays for you in the same manner, saying, *Go in peace!* And there is nothing at all said or done without this.' In another Homily, upon the Descent of the Holy Ghost[51], he gives the reason why it was more particularly used at the Lord's table. 'The bishop,' says he, 'not only when he goes into his throne, and when he preaches, and when he prays, uses this form; but when he stands at this holy table, when he is about to offer the tre-

[48] L. 12. in Ioan. 20, 21. (t. 4. p. 1093 c.) Κατασπάζεται δὲ πάλιν, τὸ σύνηθες ἐκεῖνο λέγων, Τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰρήνη ὑμῖν, νόμον ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τιθεὶς τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις· τοιγάρτοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις μάλιστα συνόδοις, ἤτοι συνάξεσι, παρ' αὐτὰς τοῦ μυστηρίου τὰς ἀρχὰς, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀλλήλοις φαμέν.

[49] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1338. (t. 11. p. 348 c.) Ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστὼς, εὐθέως λέγει, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν ὁμιλῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ὅταν εὐλογῇ, Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν· ... καὶ μεταξὺ πάλιν, Χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη.

[50] Hom. 52. In eos, qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. p. 713. See b. 13. ch. 6. s. 5. v. 4. p. 459. n. 82.

[51] Hom. 36. de Pentecost. t. 5. p. 553. See the same, p. 458. n. 78.

mendous sacrifice, he does not touch the oblation before he has prayed that *the grace of the Lord may be with you!* and ye have answered, *And with thy spirit!* by which answer ye remind yourselves, that it is not the minister who effects any thing in this matter, neither is the consecration of the gifts there lying the work of human nature, but that it is the grace of the Spirit, then present and descending upon the elements, that makes this mystical sacrifice.' There are several other passages to the same purpose in his other Homilies[52] upon the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles, which, because the reader may find them at large in the extract of the Liturgy above out of St. Chrysostom's works[53], I will not here repeat.

The same custom was always observed in the Latin Church. For Tertullian plainly refers to it when he[54] objects it to the heretics, that they gave *the peace* to all without exception; implying that the Church used it, but with some distinction. Optatus[55] says, the Donatists retained the form, but grossly abused it in their practice. 'They could not omit the solemn words: they said *Peace be unto you!* But why,' says he, 'dost thou salute men with that which thou hast not? Why dost thou name *peace* that hast destroyed it? Thou salutest men with the words of love and peace, who hast nothing of the reality and substance of it.'

In the Spanish Church they used a like form, though not altogether the same. For, by an order of the first Council of Braga[56] it was appointed, 'that both bishops and presbyters should use one and the same form of salutation, that is, *The Lord be with you!* as it is in the book of Ruth; and that the people should answer, *And with thy spirit!* as all the East received it by tradition from the Apostles, and not as the

[52] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. See the same, s. 9. p. 471. n. 26.—Hom. 36. in 1 Cor. p. 652. See the same, p. 469. n. 15.—Hom. 33. in Matth. p. 318. See the same, s. 7. p. 464. n. 96.

[53] B. 13. ch. 6. v. 4. pp. 440, seqq.

[54] De Præscript. c. 41. (p. 217 b.) Pacem quoque passim cum omnibus miscent.

[55] L. 3. p. 73. (p. 79.) Non potuistis prætermittere quod legitimum est. Utique dixistis, *Pax vobiscum!* ... Quid salutas, de quo non habes? Quid nominas, quod exterminasti? Salutas de pace, qui non amas.

[56] C. 21. [al. Bracar. 2. c. 3.] (t. 5. p. 840 c.) Placuit ut non aliter episcopi, et aliter presbyteri populum, sed uno modo, salutent, dicentes, Dominus sit vobiscum! sicut in libro Ruth legitur et ut respondeatur a populo, Et cum spiritu tuo! sicut et ab ipsis Apostolis traditum omnis retinet Oriens, et non sicut Priscilliana pravitas immutavit [al. permutavit].

Priscillian heresy hath changed it.' What change the Priscillianists had made in this matter is not very clear. Some learned men[57] are of opinion that they would allow the bishops to use no other form but *Pax vobis!* and the presbyters only to say, *Dominus vobiscum!* whence they conclude, that the word *Oriens, the East*, must have crept into the canon instead of *the West;* because it is so evident that all the Eastern Church used the form, *Pax vobis!* both in the salutation of bishops and presbyters. But I should rather think the Priscillian pravity, here complained of, was their denying the people the liberty of making their proper response, and bearing their part in the service, by saying, *And with thy spirit!* as had been the custom of all the East from the time of the Apostles. However this be, I cannot forbear to say, it is the very error and pravity which the Church of Rome has since run into. For Bona himself owns[58], that though it was customary in the ancient Church for all the congregation, and not only the clerks, to answer the priest by saying, *And with thy spirit!* yet now it is otherwise in the Church of Rome, where the clerks only make this response, and the people are wholly excluded from it. For which no other reason can be assigned, but the magisterial authority of that Church, pretending to prescribe what she pleases to the people, with a *non obstante* to any rule or tradition of the ancient Church.

St. Chrysostom's reasoning in behalf of the people's bearing a part in prayer with the priest is of much more weight, and with it I will conclude this paragraph. 'Great is the power of the congregation, that is, of the whole Church,' says he[59]. 'It

[57] Garsias Loaisa in C. Bracar. loc. citat. (CC. ibid. p. 844 b.) Nam in missis privatis, et in solemnioribus, prima vice episcopus salutat hac forma, *Pax vobis!* postea dicitur, *Dominus vobiscum!* sicuti sacerdos: quod Priscillianus negabat, affirmans, esse *Pax vobis!* tantum ab episcopo dicendum semper; a sacerdote vero, *Dominus vobiscum!*— Bona, Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 5. n. 1. (p. 282.) Priscillianus enim, ut ad hunc canonem notat Garsias Loaisa, non semel tantum, ut moris est, sed semper ab episcopis dicendum esse *Pax vobis!* contendebat. In hunc autem canonem mendum irrepsisse, ut pro *Occidens Oriens* legatur, dudum viri docti observarunt.—Habert. Archierat. ad Rit. Ordinat. observ. 5. (p. 330.) In Oriente tamen episcopus dicit, *Pax vobis!* et formula, Κύριος μεθ' ἡμῶν πάντων, *Dominus cum omnibus nobis*, in Liturgia solum B. Marci, idque semel, reperitur. Quid si *Occidens* pro *Oriente* legendum? sed codices consulendi.— Hamon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 3. p. 82. (Reprint, p. 121.) Ritualists observe, &c.

[58] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 5. n. 1. p. 501. (p. 283.) .... Nunc soli clerici vel ministri respondent.

[59] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 872. (t. 10. p. 568 a.) .... Μεγάλη ἡ δύναμις τῆς συνόδου, ἥγουν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν' ...

was their prayer that delivered Peter from his bonds, and opened the mouth of Paul. Their suffrage is a peculiar ornament to those who are called to the spiritual offices of government. And therefore he who is about to perform the office of ordination at that time requires their prayers, and they join their suffrage, crying out in those words which they that are initiated in the holy mysteries know: for we may not speak all things openly before the unbaptized. There are some things wherein there is no difference between priest and people; as when they are to partake of the tremendous mysteries. For we are all alike admitted to them: not as under the Old Testament, when the priest eat one thing and the people another; and it was not lawful for the people to partake of those things, which the priest alone might partake of. It is not so now, but there is one body and one cup proposed in common to all. So also in the prayers one may now observe the people to contribute a great deal. For common prayers are made for the energumens and for the penitents both by the priest and

ἡ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχὴ τὸν Πέτρον ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ἔλυσε· τοῦ Παύλου τὸ στόμα ἠνέῳξεν· ἡ τούτων ψῆφος, οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς πνευματικὰς ἀρχὰς ἐρχομένους κατακοσμεῖ. Διά τοι τοῦτο καὶ ὁ μέλλων χειροτονεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνων εὐχὰς καλεῖ τότε, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπιψηφίζονται, καὶ ἐπιβοῶσιν, ἅπερ ἴσασιν οἱ μεμυημένοι· οὐ γὰρ θέμις ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἐκκαλύπτειν ἅπαντα. Ἔστι δὲ, ὅπου οὐδὲ διέστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ ἀρχομένου· οἷον, ὅταν ἀπολαύειν δέῃ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων· ὁμοίως γὰρ πάντες ἀξιούμεθα τῶν αὐτῶν· οὐ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς Παλαιᾶς, τὰ μὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἤσθιε, τὰ δὲ ὁ ἀρχόμενος· καὶ θέμις οὐκ ἦν τῷ λαῷ μετέχειν ὧν μετεῖχεν ὁ ἱερεύς. Ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ἓν σῶμα πρόκειται, καὶ ποτήριον ἕν· καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα· καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαί· καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τὴν ἐλέου γέμουσαν. Πάλιν, ἐπειδὰν εἴρξομεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέραν δεῖ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα· ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέῃ, πάντες ὁμοίως ἀσπαζόμεθα. Ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικοδεστάτων μυστηρίων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ, Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν, ἢ τοῦτο. Τὰ τῆς εὐχαριστίας πάλιν κοινά· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εὐχαριστεῖ μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας· πρότερον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαβὼν φωνὴν, εἶτα συντιθεμένων, ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο γίνεται, τότε ἄρχεται τῆς εὐχαριστίας. Καὶ τί θαυμάζεις, εἴ που μετὰ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ λαὸς φθέγγεται, ὅπουγε καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τῶν Χερουβὶμ καὶ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων κοινῇ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἐκείνους ὕμνους ἀναπέμπει; Ταῦτα δέ μοι πάντα ἐκεῖνα εἴρηται, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων νήφῃ, ἵνα μάθωμεν, ὅτι σῶμά ἐσμεν ἅπαντες ἓν, τοσαύτην ἔχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰν, ὅσην μέλη πρὸς μέλη· καὶ μὴ τὸ πᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ῥίπτωμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ, ὥσπερ κοινοῦ σώματος, τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης οὕτω φροντίζωμεν.

people. For they all say that one and the same prayer, the prayer so full of mercy. Again, when we exclude those from the sanctuary who cannot partake of the holy table, we are all obliged to make another prayer, in which we all fall down alike on the earth, and all rise up together. Again, when we are to give and receive the peace, or kiss of peace, we all in like manner salute each other. And again in celebrating the holy mysteries the priest prays for the people and the people for the priest. For these words, *And with thy spirit!* are nothing else but the people's prayer. In like manner the prayer of thanksgiving is a common prayer. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people also. For when he has first received their answer, declaring their consent *that it is meet and right so to do*, then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should you wonder that the people sometimes speak with the priest, when they are allowed to send up those holy hymns in common with the very Cherubims and celestial powers above? I have spoken all this,' adds he, 'to make every member of the Church, though he be an inferior, to become watchful and vigilant; and to teach us that we are all one body, and only differ from each other as members do from the members of the same body; and that we should not cast all upon the priests, but every one bear his share in his concern for the whole Church, as one common body.' I will now leave any ingenuous reader to judge whose reasons are strongest and most rational; those of Chrysostom, who thus pleads the people's right in bearing a part in the public service of God, or theirs who by an overbearing authority deny them their just right; and as they have taken away the cup, and the Bible, and the key of knowledge from them, so have they also denied them the liberty of joining in common prayer with the priest, which was their uncontested privilege in the ancient Church.

3. But I proceed with the Constitutions. As there, immediately after the priest has given the salutation of peace, and the people have returned their answer, a deacon goes on to proclaim solemnly that they should salute one another with an holy kiss; and so the clergy salute the bishop, and laymen their fellow-laymen, and women one another; it is in the very same manner represented in other writers.

The Council of Laodicea [60], describing the order of the ancient service, says, 'After the prayers of the faithful, the peace should be given: and after the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, and laymen the peace to one another, the holy oblation should be offered.' After the same manner Cyril of Jerusalem [61] speaks of it, as coming before the *Sursum corda! Lift up your hearts to the Lord!* A deacon cries, Receive one another, salute one another with an holy kiss. Which, he says, was a symbol of reconciliation, and forgiving all injuries whatsoever. St. Chrysostom often mentions it [62] among other arguments to excite men to unity and charity; reminding them of this symbol of peace and reconciliation, and how great a piece of pageantry and mere hypocrisy it was to give this kiss, as Judas did, without cordial love and sincere affection. Particularly in one place [63] he notes the circumstance of time when this ceremony was used, that is, before the oblation, when the sacrifice was about to be offered: which agrees exactly with the time specified in the Constitutions. The same is noted long before by Justin Martyr [64], that it was

[60] C. 19. (t. 1. p. 1500 d.) Εἶθ' οὕτως τὴν εἰρήνην διδόσθαι· καὶ μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους δοῦναι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τὴν εἰρήνην, τότε τοὺς λαϊκοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην διδόναι, καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.

[61] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 2. [al. 3.] (p. 326 a.) Εἶτα βοᾷ ὁ διάκονος, Αλλήλους ἀπολάβετε, καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀσπαζώμεθα..... Σημεῖον τοίνυν ἐστὶ τὸ φίλημα τοῦ ἀνακραθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξορίζειν μνησικακίαν.—Ibid. n. 2. [al. 4.] (ibid. c.) Μετὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεὺς, Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας.

[62] Hom. 20. [Bened. 19. al. 20.] in Matth. p. 205. (t. 7. p. 257 a.) Πῶς οὖν ἀσπάσῃ τὸν ἀδελφόν; πῶς ἅψῃ τῆς θυσίας; πῶς ἀπογεύσῃ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς διανοίας τὸν ἰόν;—Hom. 14. in Eph. p. 1128. (t. 11. p. 108 d.) ....Φιλήματος ἠξίωσαι Δεσποτικοῦ, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; τοσούτοις σου τὸ στόμα ἐκόσμησεν ὁ Θεὸς, ὕμνοις ἀγγελικοῖς, τροφῇ οὐκέτι ἀγγελικῇ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἀγγελικὴν, φιλήματι τῷ αὐτοῦ, περιπλοκαῖς ταῖς πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ ὑβρίζεις; μὴ, παρακαλῶ.—Hom. 77. (Bened. 78. al. 77.] in Ioan. p. 500. (t. 8. p. 464 d.) Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ἀσπαζόμεθα ἀλλήλους, ἵνα οἱ πολλοὶ γενώμεθα ἕν.—Hom. 30. de Proditore. t. 5. p. 565. (t. 2. p. 385 d.) Μνημονεύωμεν διαπαντὸς... τῶν ἁγίων φιλημάτων, καὶ τοῦ φρικωδεστάτου ἀσπασμοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀλλήλους· τοῦτο γὰρ συμπλέκει τὰς διανοίας ἡμῶν, καὶ ποιεῖ σῶμα γενέσθαι ἓν ἅπαντας· ἐπειδὰν καὶ ἑνὸς σώματος μετέχωμεν οἱ πάντες.

[63] De Compunct. Cord. l. 1. c. 3. t. 4. p. 118. (t. 1. p. 127.) Ἀσπαζόμενοι μὲν ἀλλήλους μέλλοντος τοῦ δώρου προσφέρεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

[64] Apol. 2. (p. 97 c.)....Ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα παυσάμενοι τῶν εὐχῶν· ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος, λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ Πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει.—Conf. Clemens Alexandr. Pædagog. l. 3. c. 11. (p. 301. 10.) Ἀγάπη δὲ οὐκ ἐν φιλήματι, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐνοίᾳ κρίνεται· οἱ δὲ, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ φιλήματι καταψοφοῦσι τὰς ἐκκλησίας, τὸ φι-

between the common prayers for the whole state of Christ's Church, and the prayers of consecration. 'For,' says he, 'when prayers are ended, we salute one another with a kiss: and after that bread and wine and water are brought to the president of the brethren, who receiving them, gives praise and glory to the God of all things, in the name of the Son and the Holy Spirit.'

In the Latin Church the same custom was observed, only with this difference, that it came not before, but after the consecration-prayers and the Lord's Prayer, immediately before the distribution. For so St. Austin or Cæsarius Arelatensis [65] represents it, in describing the order of the service: 'When the consecration is ended, we say the Lord's Prayer; and after that, *Peace be with you!* and then Christians salute one another with an holy kiss, which is a sign of peace, if that be really in their hearts which they pretend with their lips.' He mentions the thing in other places, and seems to intimate that the Donatists observed the same ceremony, though they had nothing of the peace that was intended by it. In his Books against Petilian [66], speaking of one Optatus Gildonianus, a Donatist bishop, who had been a great oppressor of widows and orphans, and infamous for many other barbarous cruelties, he says, notwithstanding all this, 'they gave him the kiss of peace when they received the sacrament at his hands.' In another place [67] he compares the Donatists to crows, and the

λοῦν ἔνδον οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτό· καὶ γὰρ δὴ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκπέπληκεν ὑπονοίας αἰσχρὰς, καὶ βλασφημίας, τὸ ἀναίδην χρῆσθαι τῷ φιλήματι, ὅπερ ἔχρην εἶναι μυστικόν· ἅγιον αὐτὸ κέκληκεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος. — Athenagoras, Legat. pro Christian. (ad calc. Just. Martyr. p. 36 c.) Οὕτως οὖν ἀκριβώσασθαι τὸ φίλημα, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ προσκύνημα δεῖ.—Dionysius, Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. part. 3. n. 8. (t. 1. p. 193 d.) Οὕτω τῆς θεαρχικῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἱερῶς ὑμνηθείσης, ἐγκεκαλυμμένος μὲν ὁ θεῖος ἄρτος προτίθεται, καὶ τὸ τῆς εὐλογίας ποτήριον· ὁ δὲ θειότατος ἀσπασμὸς ἱερουργεῖται, καὶ τῶν ἁγιογράφων πτυχῶν ἡ μυστικὴ καὶ ὑπερκόσμιος ἀνάρρησις.

[65] Serm. 83. de Divers. t. 10. p. 556. [al. Serm. 227.] (t. 5. p. 974 c.) Ubi est peracta sanctificatio, dicimus Orationem Dominicam..... Post ipsam dicitur, *Pax vobiscum*, et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto, quod est signum pacis, si quod ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia. [The Ed. Bened. reads, *Pacis signum est: sicut ostendunt labia, fiat in conscientia.* Ed.]

[66] L. 2. c. 23. (t. 9. p. 233 g.)... Cui pacis osculum inter sacramenta copulabatis, in cujus manibus eucharistiam ponebatis, &c.

[67] In Ioan. tract. 6. p. 21. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 332 a.) Habent enim oscula et corvi, sed in corvis falsa pax, in columba vera pax. Non omnis ergo, qui dicit, Pax vobiscum! quasi columba audiendus est. Unde ergo discernuntur oscula corvorum ab

Catholics to doves; because, though they both gave the kiss of peace, yet the one tare the Church in pieces and fed upon its ruins, but the other were innocent and harmless as doves; and by those characters they might be distinguished from each other. It appears also from Pope Innocent's letter to Decentius[68], bishop of Eugubium, that it was the general custom of the Italic Churches to give the kiss of peace, not before the consecration, but after: for it blames those that gave it before, and says 'it ought to come after, as a testimony of their consent to all that was done, and as a seal of the consecration-prayer, to signify that all was ended.' Tertullian[69] probably upon this account gave it the name of *signaculum orationis, the seal of their prayers*, as being in his time used when all the prayers of consecration were ended. He seems to intimate also that it was given promiscuously[70] and without distinction between men and women. For among other arguments which he uses why a Christian woman should not marry an Heathen, this is one, 'that he would be unwilling to suffer her to go into the prisons to kiss the martyrs' chains, or at any other times to give the kiss of peace to a brother.' And this is as plainly intimated by the ancient writer of the Passion of Felicitas and Perpetua[71], about Tertullian's time, when he says, 'that Felicitas, Perpetua, and Saturus did mutually kiss each other before they suffered, that they might consummate their martyrdom by the solemn rite of peace:' alluding to the usual custom of giving the kiss of peace without distinction, though it was otherwise observed in the Greek Church.

There is one thing more proper to be observed out of

osculis columbarum? Osculantur corvi, sed laniant: a laniatu innocens est natura columbarum. Ubi ergo laniatus, non est vera in osculis pax. Illi habent veram pacem, qui ecclesiam non laniaverunt: nam corvi de morte pascuntur, hoc columba non habet.

[68] Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 1. (CC. t. 2. pp. 1246 a.) Pacem ergo asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare, vel sibi inter sacerdotes tradere: cum post omnia, quæ aperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet populum, ad omnia quæ in mysteriis aguntur, atque in ecclesia celebrantur, præbuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signaculo demonstrentur.

[69] De Orat. c. 14. See n. 72, following.

[70] Ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 4. (p. 168 d.) Quis in carcerem ad osculanda vincula martyris reptare patietur? Jam vero alicui fratrum ad osculum convenire? &c.

[71] Ad calc. Lactantii de Mortibus Persecutorum. (p. 35.) Ante jam osculati invicem, ut martyrium per solemnia pacis consummarent.

Tertullian[72], that some made a scruple of giving the kiss of peace upon a fast-day, though it were but a private fast of their own; whom he reproves, telling them, 'that the kiss of peace was the seal of prayer; that it was never more proper than when joined with prayer; that there was no prayer perfect without peace; that peace was no impediment to a man in doing his duty to the Lord; that whatever reason they had for it, their reason was not stronger than the observation of the precept, which obliges us to conceal our fasts. Whereas, when we refrain from the kiss of peace, that discovers us to be fasting. We may at home omit this ceremony of giving the peace, because there our fasts cannot be wholly concealed from the family: but in other places, where you may conceal your action, you ought to remember the precept of the Lord; and so you may observe the discipline of the Church abroad, and your own custom at home.' Tertullian, we see, speaks this of private fasts, which he thinks no reason for men's refusing the kiss of peace in public. As to public fasts, the case was otherwise: for by the laws of the Church, this ceremony was omitted on some more solemn days of fasting. As upon the day of our Saviour's passion: for Tertullian adds immediately in the next words[73], 'that on that day, because it was a public and common fast, ordained by the laws of the Church, they omitted the kiss of peace, and no one then regarded the omission, because it was done by general consent and agreement.' And this seems to have been an exception of universal extent in the Church: for Procopius notes it in the Life of Justinian and Theodora[74], who began their reign on this day, anno 527,

[72] De Orat. c. 14. (p. 134 c.) Alia jam consuetudo invaluit: jejunantes, habita oratione cum fratribus, subtrahunt osculum pacis, quod est, signaculum orationis. Quando autem magis conferenda cum fratribus pax est, nisi cum oratione commendabilior ascendit? .... Quæ oratio cum divortio sancti osculi integra? Quem Domino officium facientem impedit pax? Quale sacrificium est, a quo sine pace receditur? Quæcunque operatio [al. ratio] sit, non erit potior præcepti observatione, quo jubemur jejunia nostra celare. Jam enim de abstinentia osculi agnoscimur jejunantes. Sed et si qua ratio est, ni tamen huic præcepto reus sis [al. præceptor tu sis], potes domi, [si] forte inter quos latere jejunium in totum non datur, differre pacem. Ubicunque autem alibi operationem tuam abscondere potes, debes meminisse præcepti; ita et disciplinæ foris et consuetudini domi satisfacies.

[73] Ibid. (p. 135 a.)...Die Paschæ, quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est, merito deponimus osculum: nihil curantes de occultando [al. osculando], quod cum omnibus faciamus.

[74] Historia Arcana, c. 9. (Oper. t. 2. p. 30 c. 8.) Παρέλαβον τοίνυν

that 'they began it with an ill omen, on a day that no one used the kiss of peace in the Church.'

And thus much of this ancient ceremony, so often enjoined by the Apostle, (Rom. 16, 16. 1 Cor. 16, 20. 2 Cor. 13, 12. 1 Thess. 5. 26, 1 Pet. 5, 14.) of which some[75] have written whole volumes: but I content myself to have said so much, as may serve to confirm the observation made upon the author of the Constitutions, that this was an ancient rite universally observed in the Church in one part or other of the communion-service.

Thirdly, Washing hands before consecration.

4. The next thing mentioned in the Constitutions is the ceremony of the priest's washing his hands before consecration. This is also noted by Cyril of Jerusalem, in his Mystagogical Explication of the Communion-service, where[76], speaking to the newly baptized, he says, 'Ye have seen the deacon bring water to the bishop and presbyters, standing about the altar, to wash their hands. Did he give it to wash the filth of their bodies? By no means. For we do not use to go into the church with bodies defiled: but that washing of hands is a symbol, that you ought to be pure from sin and transgressions of the law. For the hands are the symbol of action, and washing them denotes the purity and cleanness of our actions. Have you not heard holy David explaining this mystery, and saying, "I will wash my hands among the innocent[77], and so will I compass thine altar, O Lord:" therefore washing the hands is a symbol or indication, that we are not obnoxious or liable unto sin.' The author of the Questions upon the Old and New

τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰουστινιανός τε καὶ Θεοδώρα πρότερον τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέραις τρισὶν, ὅτε δὴ οὔτε ἀσπάσασθαί τινα, οὔτε εἰρηναῖα προσειπεῖν ἔξεστιν.

[75] Mullerus, De Osculo Sancto. (Jenæ, 1675. 4to.)—Martin Kempius, De Osculo, &c. (Lipsiæ, 1665. 12mo.)

[76] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 1. [al. 2.] (p. 325 b.) *Ἑωράκατε τοίνυν τὸν διάκονον, τὸν νίψασθαι διδόντα τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ τοῖς κυκλοῦσι τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ πρεσβυτέροις· οὐ πάντως δὲ ἐδίδου διὰ τὸν σωματικὸν ῥύπον· οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο· οὔτε γὰρ ῥύπον σώματος ἔχοντες τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσήειμεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· ἀλλὰ σύμβολόν ἐστι τοῦ δεῖν ὑμᾶς καθαρεύειν πάντων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ ἀνομημάτων, τὸ νίψασθαι. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες σύμβολον πράξεως, νίψασθαι ταύτας, τὸ καθαρὸν δηλονότι καὶ ἄμωμον τῶν πράξεων αἰνιττόμεθα. Οὐκ ἤκουσας τοῦ μακαρίου Δαβὶδ αὐτὸ τοῦτο μυσταγωγοῦντος, καὶ λέγοντος, Νίψομαι ἐν ἀθῴοις τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ κυκλώσω τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου, Κύριε· οὐκοῦν τὸ νίψασθαι τὰς χεῖρας, τοῦ ἀνυπεύθυνον εἶναι ἁμαρτήμασι, σύμβολόν ἐστιν.*

[77] [See Ps. 25, according to the Septuagint, (Ed. Lamb. Bos, Franequer. 1709,) which is Ps. 26 of our Version; where the reading is, *I will wash my hands in innocency; ἐν ἀθωότητι*, according to Aquila. See L. B. ibid. בְּנִקָּיוֹן, in the Hebrew. Ed.]

Testament, under the name of St. Austin[76], takes notice of the same custom as used in all Churches, only with this difference, that whereas in other Churches it was commonly the office of the deacons to bring water to priests, in the Roman Church it was devolved upon the subdeacons, because there was a multitude of inferior clergy in that Church above many others. And in the author under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite[77], a great deal more may be read to the same purpose.

Fourthly, The deacon's admonition to all non-communicants to withdraw; and to all communicants to come in charity and sincerity.

5. In the next place, whereas in the Constitutions the deacon is appointed again to make a solemn proclamation, ordering all non-communicants, catechumens, penitents, and unbelievers, to be excluded; and admonishing all communicants to approach in charity and sincerity, not in enmity with their brethren, or in hypocrisy towards God, but in reverence and fear: the very same is suggested by Chrysostom[78]: 'Dost thou not hear the deacon, the herald of the Church, standing and crying, *All ye that are under penance, beyone!* All they that do not partake of the communion are in penance. If thou art in penance, thou mayest not partake.' And Severianus, bishop of Gabala, in one of his Homilies among St. Chrysostom's works[79], speaks of the same: 'Ye have seen the deacons traversing the church, and crying, Let no catechumen be present, none of those that may not see the heavenly blood shed for the remission of sins, &c. Ye remember after this, how the angels from heaven sing the hymns and praises, saying, Holy is the Father! Holy is the Son! Holy is the Holy Ghost!' By which it is plain,

[76] Quæst. Vet. et Nov. Test. q. 101. (t. 3. append. p. 92 f.) Quanquam Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconi modico inverecundiores videantur, sedendi tamen dignitatem non præsumunt. Ut autem non omnia ministeria obsequiorum per ordinem agant, multitudo facit clericorum. Nam utique et altare portarent et vasa ejus, et aquam in manus funderent sacerdoti, sicut videmus per omnes ecclesias, &c.

[77] [Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. n. 2. (t. 1. p. 188 a.) Καὶ νιψαμένων τὰς χεῖρας ὕδατι τοῦ ἱεράρχου καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, κ. τ. λ.—Conf. ibid. n. 3. s. 10. (p. 194 c.) Τούτων δὲ καθ' ὃν εἴρηται θεσμὸν ἱερουργηθέντων, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]

[78] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a.) Ἀκούεις ἑστῶτος τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ λέγοντος, Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ, ἀπέλθετε πάντες· Ὅσοι μὴ μετέχουσιν, ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἰσίν· εἰ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἶ, μετασχεῖν οὐκ ὀφείλεις.

[79] Hom. 37. de Fil. Prod. p. 375. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 6. v. 4. p. 461. n. 88.—Conf. Hom. 1. cont. Jud. t. 1. p. 400. (t. 1. p. 593 b.) Οὐχ ὁρᾶτε ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων, τί βοᾷ συνεχῶς ὁ διάκονος; Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους.

these admonitions of the deacon were here repeated as preparatory to the oblation.

Of the ῥιπίδια, or *fans*, to drive away insects.

6. The circumstance of the ῥιπίδια, or *fans*, to drive away the insects, is so minute, that it is no great wonder it should be omitted in most other writers beside the Constitutions. Bona[80] says they are mentioned in Jobius[81] and by Germanus in his *Theoria*, and in the Liturgies that go under the names of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil. Suicerus[82] thinks, that in most of those writings the word ῥιπίδια signifies one of their holy vessels, a basket or the like, in which they were used to carry the sacred elements to and from the altar; such as that spoken of by St. Jerom[83], when describing the glorious poverty of Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, he says, 'he was used to carry the Lord's body in a basket of osiers, and the blood in a glass cup.' And indeed in Herodotus[84], the word ῥιπίδιον is by some lexi-

[80] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 25. n. 6. (p. 261.) Habent denique flabella, quibus duo diaconi, ex utroque latere altaris, muscas et alias immundas bestiolas prætervolantes abigunt, ne sacra contingant. Sacra ῥιπίδια vocant Græci, ῥιπὶς enim et ῥιπίδιον flabellum est. Horum usus in ecclesia Orientali antiquissimus est; et expresse habetur in Constitutionibus Apostolicis, l. 8. c. 12., atque in Liturgiis Basilii, Chrysostomi, aliisque Græcis et Syriacis. Manubrium habent ligneum satis longum, cujus extremitati facies Cherubini sex alis circumdata affigitur, ejusque motu ventilant diaconi sancta dona certis temporibus, quæ in ordine liturgiæ notantur. Quod si desint flabella, solent linteola et vela manu apprehendere et iis ventilare. Nec solum ad abigendas muscas inventa sunt, sed etiam propter quasdam mysticas rationes, quæ ad meum propositum non spectant, et legi possunt apud S. Germanum in sua Theoria, et apud Jobium monachum, relatum a Photio in sua Bibliotheca, cod. 222. l. 6. c. 25.

[81] Ap. Photii Biblioth. cod. 222. (p. 608. 44.) Λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης προτεθέντος, διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς παρ' ἑκάτερα τῶν τὰ ἱερὰ ὑπηρετουμένων, ῥιπίδας πτερῶν πεποιημένας, τοῖς προκειμένοις φρικτοῖς ἐπικινεῖν τῶν ἐξαπτερύγων φέροντας σύμβολα· ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐῶσι τοὺς τελουμένους τοῖς ὁρωμένοις ἐναπομένειν, ἀλλὰ παντὸς προσύλου ὑπεράνω γενομένους, νοεροῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, διὰ τῶν ὁρωμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀόρατον θέαν καὶ τὸ ἀμήχανον ἐκεῖνο κάλλος, παρασκευάζουσιν ἀναδραμεῖν.

[82] Thes. Eccles. voce, Ῥιπίδιον. (t. 2. p. 905.) Ῥιπὶς est *vas e vimine*, ἐκ ῥίπου, *contextum*; unde ῥιπίδιον *corbis, canistrum, sporta e calamis seu virgis plexa*, ἐν ᾗ τὰ φορτία, quidquid portari de loco in locum solet, ἐπιτίθεται. Usum talium fuisse in sacris ecclesiæ veteris Hieronymus Epist. ad Rusticum monachum de Exuperio episcopo Tolosæ docuerit; Nihil, inquiens, &c.—See the next note.

[83] Ep. 5. [al. 125.] ad Rustic. (t. 1. p. 941 e.) Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro.

[84] [Where? the word is not noticed in the *Index Vocum et Dictionum Græcarum* at the end of Dean Gaisford's edition of Herodotus, Oxon. 1824. Ῥίπος, *vimen*, occurs in Euterpe, 96, and ῥίψ, *flexile vimen*, in Melpomene, 71. Hence ῥιπίδιον may readily mean either *a fan made of twigs*, or a *wicker basket*. See the next note. Ed.]

cographers[85] said to signify *a basket:* but in the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, it is taken in the common sense of Greek authors, and as it is used in the Constitutions, for *a fan to blow with.* For in Chrysostom's Liturgy[86] the deacon is 'to ventilate, or blow over the elements with a fan;' or if there be no fan, then to do it 'with the covering of the cup.' And in St. Basil's Liturgy[87] there is mention made of the same utensils, *ῥιπίδιον ἢ κάλυμμα, either the fan or the covering of the cup,* to be used for the same purpose. And so the word *ῥιπίδιον* is taken both by Germanus[88], and Jobius[89], and Suidas[90]. So that there was no reason for Suicerus to reckon the author of the Constitutions so singular in this opinion. But as these authors are not very ancient, I have mentioned them rather to explain an hard word than establish an ecclesiastical custom. St. Jerom's authority is produced by Durantus[91], but it is

[85] [For example, Scapula, according to the older editions; for, without telling us *where,* he says of this word, *dicitur etiam esse vas ex vimine contextum apud Herodotum.* But this statement, which in fact is incorrect, is omitted in the more recent Oxford edition of that lexicon. The following passage from the Thesaurus of Stephanus by Hase and Dindorf, Paris, 1831, will be considered satisfactory: (t. 6. p. 2398.) Ῥιπὶς, vas e vimine, *ἐκ ῥίπου,* contextum; unde *ῥιπίδιον,* corbis, canistrum, sporta e calamis seu virgis plexa, *ἐν ᾗ τὰ φορτία,* quidquid portari de loco in locum solet, *ἐπιτίθεται.* In talibus panis mysticus ad ægrotos deferri solebat, ut hodie in pyxide argentea deaurata. In Liturgia Basilii, p. 58. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 51 e. 7.) Ὁ *διάκονος ἀποτίθησι τὸ ῥιπίδιον, κ. τ. λ.* (See n. 87, following.) Ῥιπίδια quoque sunt *cartalli* s. *cophini,* in quos componebant sacram supellectilem, quum a mensa in sacrarium referenda esset; atque de his intelligi debent *τὰ τίμια ῥιπίδια* in Chron. Alexandr., a. 14 Heraclii, Olymp. 351.—It will be noticed that Hase and Dindorf seem to differ from Joseph Bingham in the sense they put on the rubric in Basil's Liturgy, unless possibly they are citing another place, where the same word is used in a different meaning. As the rubric is cited in note 87 following, *ῥιπίδιον* seems to be distinguished from *κάλυμμα,* and cannot surely mean *cartallus* or *cophinus* in that passage, but, as my ancestor says, *the fan* as distinct from *the covering of the cup.* Ed.]

[86] Ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 78. (ap. Oper. Chrysost. t. 12. p. 790 e.) Εἶτα *μεταβαίνει ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει, καὶ ῥιπίζει ἐπάνω τῶν ἁγίων μετὰ ῥιπιδίου εὐλαβεῶς· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι ῥιπίδιον, ποιεῖ τοῦτο μετὰ καλύμματος.*

[87] Ibid. p. 51. (ap. Oper. Basil. t. 2. part. 2. pp. 975, seqq., hæc rubrica deest.) Ὁ *διάκονος ἀποτίθησι τὸ ῥιπίδιον, ὅπερ ἐκράτει, ἢ κάλυμμα, καὶ ἔρχεται ἐγγύτερον τῷ ἱερεῖ, καὶ προσκυνοῦσι ἀμφότεροι τρὶς ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, κ. τ. λ.*

[88] Contemplat. Rer. Eccles. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 157 b. 5.) *Τί δ', ἄν τις εἴποι, περὶ τῶν θείων ῥιπιδίων ἐγκεχειρισμένων τοῖς διακόνοις, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν στρεφομένων αἰφνιδίως, ὡς ἐν ἐκπλήξει, ἄχρι τῆς θεολέκτου προσευχῆς;*

[89] Ubi supra. See n. 81, preceding.

[90] Lexic. (t. 2. p. 686 c.) [Conf. Ed. Kuster. (t. 3. p. 261.) Ῥιπίδα *τὴν μαλακοῖσιν ἀεὶ πρηείαν ἀήταις. Grischov.*]

[91] De Ritibus, l. 1. c. 10. n. 2.

nothing to the purpose: for though he mentions the use of *muscaria*[92], that is, *fans;* yet it is plain he speaks of them not as any ecclesiastical utensil, but as a civil present made by Marcella to the matrons, though he gives a tropological turn of wit, to draw something of a mystical meaning out of them. So I let this matter pass as a minute circumstance in the Constitutions, about which it is not worth our while to be further solicitous in our inquiries, to give collateral evidence out of the ancient writers.

Of the use of the sign of the cross at the Lord's table.

7. The next thing, mentioned in the Constitutions[93], is the use of the sign of the cross before the minister proceeds to the consecration. And of this there is more certain evidence in the ancient writers. For Chrysostom[94] says expressly, that it was not only used by Christians every day, but 'particularly at the holy table, and in the ordinations of priests, and that its glory shined with the body of Christ in the mystical supper.' Which implies, that it was used more than once in the time of celebration. St. Austin[95] says likewise, that it was used in all their offices, 'in consecrating the waters of baptism, in the unction of confirmation, and in the sacrifice of the eucharist; without which none of them were solemnly performed.'

Of the usual preface, called *Sursum Corda!* or the preparation to the great thanksgiving.

8. Next after this, immediately before the great thanksgiving in the Constitutions[96], the priest having given the people another salutation in the words of St. Paul, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with you!* and they answering again, *And with thy spirit!* the priest goes on and says, *Lift up*

(p. 31.) S. Hieron. Epist. 20. ad Marcellam interpretando mystice munuscula ei ac Paulæ et Eustochio a Marcella transmissa ait, *Quod autem et matronis, &c.* See the next note below.

[92] Ep. 20. [al. 44.] ad Marcellam. (t. 1. p. 192 e.) Quod autem et matronis offertis muscaria parva, parvis animalibus eventilandis, elegans significatio est, debere luxuriam cito restinguere, quia muscæ morituræ oleum suavitatis exterminant.

[93] L. 8. c. 12. See before, s. 1. p. 262: a little way on in n. 44.

[94] Demonstratio quod Christus sit Deus, c. 9. t. 5. p. 840. (t. 1. p. 571 a.) Οὗτος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, οὗτος ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἱερέων χειροτονίαις, οὗτος πάλιν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ μυστικὸν δεῖπνον διαλάμπει.

[95] In Ioan. Tractat. 118. p. 225. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 801 e.) Postremo quid est, quod omnes noverunt signum Christi nisi crux Christi? Quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquæ ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo, quo chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur: nihil horum [al. eorum] rite perficitur.

[96] See a little further on in n. 44. p. 262, as above.

your hearts! to which the people answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord!* The priest says again, *Let us give thanks to the Lord!* and the people answer, *It is meet and right so to do!* Now this is mentioned almost by all ecclesiastical writers that have said any thing of the eucharist or prayer. St. Cyprian[95] calls it 'the preface that was premised by the priest, to prepare the brethren's minds to pray with an heavenly temper.' St. Austin mentions it above ten times in his writings: the places have been noted above in the general discourse of liturgies[96], and therefore I need not here repeat them. I will only remark, that he says[97], 'it was the custom of the whole Church throughout the world to say daily almost with one voice, *We lift up our hearts unto the Lord!*' And that therefore 'the hearts of Christian people were a sort of heaven[98], because they are daily lift up to heaven, whilst the priest says, *Lift up your hearts!* and they answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord!*' St. Chrysostom also frequently mentions the use of this preface in his Homilies[99], which, because I have related them at length in a former Book[1], I forbear to repeat again in this place. The reader that is curious may find the same forms related in Cyril's Mystical Catechisms[2], and Anastasius Sinaita[3], and Cæsarius Arelatensis[4], and Eli-

[95] De Orat. Dom. p. 152. (p. 107.) Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, Sursum corda! ut dum respondet plebs, Habemus ad Dominum! admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.

[96] See b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 400.

[97] De Vera Religione, c. 3. t. 1. p. 302. (t. 1. p. 750 c.) .... Ut quotidie per universum orbem humanum genus una pene voce respondeat, *Sursum corda se habere ad Dominum.*

[98] Serm. 44. de Temp. [al. Serm. 112. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 205 e.) ... Corda fidelium cœlum sunt, quia in cœlos quotidie eriguntur: nam dicente sacerdote, *Sursum corda!* secuti [al. securi] respondent, *Habemus ad Dominum!*

[99] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 9. v. 4. p. 471. n. 26.—Hom. 22. in Hebr. p. 1898. See ibid. s. 10. p. 478. n. 57. —Hom. 5. [Bened. 9.] de Pœnitent. (t. 2. p. 349 c.) Οὐχ ὑπέσχου τῷ ἱερεῖ εἰπόντι, Ἄνω σχῶμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας κ. τ. λ.—Conf. Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. (t. 10. p. 219 a.) Ἀπόσμηχε τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν, παρασκεύαζε τὴν διάνοιαν, κ. τ. λ.

[1] B. 13. ch. 6. v. 4. p. 459.

[2] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 3. [al. 4.] (p. 326 c.) Μετὰ τοῦτο βοᾷ ὁ ἱερεύς, Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας· .... εἶτα ἀποκρίνεσθε, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

[3] Sermo de Synaxi, ap. Albertin. de Eucharist. (p. 529.) Impleamus mentem, ad cœlum ascendamus, sursum levemus animum et corda. Oculos animæ ad Deum extollamus. Transeamus cœlum, transeamus angelos. Transeamus Cherubim, et ad ipsum Domini thronum accurramus. Ipsos Christi immaculatos pedes apprehendamus: ploremus, et ipsius misericordiam quasi cogamus. Confiteamur in sancto, cœlesti, et intel-

gius Noviomensis[5], not to mention the Greek Liturgies or any later writers. I only observe further out of the Council of Milevis[6], where there is mention made of prefaces among other prayers, it is commonly supposed by learned men that these forms are meant, *Lift up your hearts! We lift them up unto the Lord! Let us give thanks unto the Lord! It is meet and right so to do!* Which, as Mabillon[7] observes, in the old Gallican Liturgy is called *contestatio*, because by these answers the people gave in their *attestation*, or *testimony of their compliance* with the priest's exhortation; declaring that their hearts were now in heaven, and that it was meet and right to praise the Lord.

Of the εὐχαριστία, or great *thanksgiving*, properly so called.

9. After this the priest went on with the εὐχαριστία, properly so called, that is, the great *thanksgiving* to God for all his mercies, both of creation, providence, and redemption; where a commemoration was made of all that God had done for man from the foundation of the world, and more particularly in the great mystery of redemption: upon which a solemn and magnificent glorification of God was framed, always including the Trisagion, or Seraphical Hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts, &c.*, which was sung by the minister and people jointly; and then the minister went on alone to finish the solemn thanksgiving.

We have no where else indeed so long a thanksgiving as is that in the Constitutions: but the substance of it is not only in the Liturgies, that go under the names of St. James, Chrysostom, and Basil, but may be discovered in more authentic

lectuali ipsius altari. Hæc vobis denuntiat, hæc vos obtestatur sacerdos, cum ait, *Sursum habeamus corda!*

[4] Hom. 12. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 832 b. 1.) Cum enim maxima pars populi, immo quod pejus est, pene omnes, recitatis lectionibus, exeunt de ecclesia, cui dicturus est sacerdos, *Sursum corda!*

[5] Hom. 11. de Cœn. Dom. Ex verbis Cypriani. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 12. p. 314 a. 13.) Modum quoque orationis sanctissimus martyr Cyprianus nos docet, dicens.... Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo, *Sursum corda!* &c.

[6] C. 12. (Ed. Crabb. t. 1. p. 483.) Placuit .... ut preces vel orationes vel missæ sive præfationes,.... quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio, ab omnibus celebrentur. [In Labbe (t. 2. p. 1540 e) the order of the words is transposed. Ed.]

[7] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 3. n. 17. (p. 24.) In his Missalibus Gallicanis occurrit primo loco *Præfatio*, ... quinto *Contestatio*, alias *Immolatio Missæ*, et, ut apud Mozarabes, *Illatio*, nobis modo *Præfatio*, in qua fideles *sursum corda* se habere contestantur.

writings. For Justin Martyr[8], describing the Christian rites and mysteries, says, 'that as soon as the common prayers were ended, and they had saluted one another with a kiss, bread and wine and water was brought to the president; who, receiving them, gave praise and glory to the Father of all things by the Son and Holy Spirit, and made εὐχαριστίαν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *a long thanksgiving*, for the blessings which he vouchsafed to bestow upon them. And when he had ended the prayers and thanksgiving, all the people that were present presently answered with acclamation, Amen!' After the same manner Irenæus[9]: 'We offer unto him his own gifts, thereby declaring the communication and truth, both of flesh and spirit. For as the bread, which is of the earth, after the invocation of God upon it, is no longer common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two parts, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so all our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are no longer corruptible, whilst they live in hopes of a resurrection. But we offer these things to him, not as if he stood in need of them, but as giving him thanks for his gifts, and sanctifying the creature.' So Origen[10] says, 'they eat the bread that was offered to the Creator with prayer and thanksgiving for the gifts that he had bestowed on them, which bread was made an holy body by prayer, sanctifying those that used it with a pious mind.' Cyril of Jerusalem more particularly specifies the substance of this thanksgiving in his Mystical Catechisms[11], saying, 'After this (that is, after we have said, *Let us give thanks to the Lord!* and, *It is meet and right so to do!*) we make mention of the heaven and earth, and sea, and the sun, moon, and stars,

[8] Apol. 2. (p. 97 c.) See s. 3. p. 281. n. 64. and add,—Καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὗ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν.

[9] L. 4. c. 34. (p. 327. 7.) Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem [al. veritatem] prædicantes carnis et spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cœlesti: sic et corpora nostra, percipientia eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. Offerimus autem ei, non quasi indigenti, sed gratias agentes dominationi [al. donationi] ejus, et sanctificantes creaturam.

[10] Cont. Cels. l. 8. p. 399. (t. 1. p. 766 d.) Ἡμεῖς δὲ, τῷ τοῦ παντὸς Δημιουργῷ εὐαρεστοῦντες, καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίομεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, ἅγιόν τι καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιοῦς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους.

[11] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 5. [al. 6.] See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 411. n. 65.

nd all the creatures, rational and irrational, visible and in-isible, angels, archangels, hosts and dominions, principalities nd powers, thrones and Cherubims covering their faces, say-ng with David, *Magnify the Lord with me!* We also make nention of the Cherubims, which Esaias saw in the Spirit, tanding about the throne of God, and with two wings covering heir faces, and with two their feet, and flying with two, and aying, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts!'

This is much the same with the thanksgiving in St. James's .iturgy[12], which was used in the Church of Jerusalem in this orm: 'It is very meet and right, becoming us and our duty, hat we should praise thee and celebrate thee with hymns, and ;ive thanks unto thee, the Maker of all creatures, visible and nvisible, the Treasure of all good, the Fountain of life and im-nortality, the God and Lord of all things, whom the heavens, nd the heaven of heavens praise, and all the host of them: he sun, and moon, and the whole company of stars; the earth, nd sea, and all that are in them; the celestial congregation f Jerusalem; the Church of the first-born, who are written in ieaven; the spirits of just men and prophets, the souls of mar-yrs and Apostles; angels and archangels, thrones and domin-ons, principalities and powers, the tremendous hosts and Che-ubims with many eyes, and Seraphims with six wings, with wo whereof they cover their faces, and with two their feet, nd with two they fly, crying out incessantly one to another, nd singing with loud voices the triumphal song of the magni-icence of thy glory, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts, heaven nd earth are full of thy glory! Hosanna in the highest! Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosanna n the highest!'

[12] Ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. (t. 2. . 12.) *Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ ἱκαιον, πρέπον τε καὶ ὀφειλόμενον, ὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ ·οσκυνεῖν, σὲ δοξολογεῖν, σοὶ εὐχα-ιστεῖν, τῷ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρατῆς τε αὶ ἀοράτου δημιουργῷ, τῷ θησαυρῷ ῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν, τῇ πηγῇ τῆς ωῆς καὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας, τῷ πάντων ·εῷ καὶ Δεσπότῃ· ὸν ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ οὐ-ανοὶ, καὶ οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν· ἥλιός τε καὶ ελήνη, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἄστρων χορός· ῆ, θάλασσα, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπουράνιος πανήγυρις, ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων, ἀπογεγραμμέ-νων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· πνεύματα δι-καίων καὶ προφητῶν· ψυχαὶ μαρτύρων καὶ ἀποστόλων· ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί τε καὶ ἐξ-ουσίαι καὶ δυνάμεις φοβεραὶ, καὶ τὰ Χερουβὶμ πολυόμματα, καὶ τὰ ἑξα-πτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ, ἃ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτει τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ ἱπτάμενα κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασιν, ἀσιγήτοις δοξολογίαις.*

St. Chrysostom[13] also speaks of this thanksgiving, though he does not give us the whole form of it, but only the introduction, saying, 'The prayer of thanksgiving is common both to priest and people. For not only the priest gives thanks, but all the people. For first he receives their answer and attestation, that it is meet and right to praise the Lord, and then he begins the thanksgiving. And why should you wonder that the people should sometimes speak with the priest, when they do even with the Cherubims and celestial powers send up those sacred hymns to heaven above?' He means those hymns, *Holy, Holy, Holy, &c.!* and *Glory be to God on high!* which, as we shall presently see, were one part of this great thanksgiving.

Among the Latin writers, this previous giving of thanks is mentioned by Fulgentius[14] also, who says, 'In the Christian sacrifice there was both a thanksgiving and a commemoration made of the flesh of Christ, and of his blood, which he shed for our sakes.' And so St. Ambrose[15], or whoever was the author of the books *De Sacramentis* among his works, distinguishing between the thanksgiving and the consecration, asks 'With what words, and with whose words, is the consecration made?' and answers, 'With the words of the Lord Jesus. For all that goes before is either the glorification and praise of God, or prayer for the people, for kings, and the rest of mankind. But when the priest comes to the consecration of the holy sacrament, then he uses not his own words, but the words of Christ.' By all which it is indisputably evident that the consecration of the sacrament was ushered in with a solemn thanksgiving or glorification of God for all his gifts and benefits, whence the whole action had the name of *εὐχαριστία, the eucharist* or *thanks-*

[13] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. See b. 13. ch. 6. s. 9. v. 4. p. 472. latter part of n. 27.—Conf. Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 739. (t. 10. p. 434 d.) Ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἀγαθῶν.

[14] De Fide ad Petrum, c. 19. (int. Oper. August. t. 6. append. p. 30 b.) In isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio, atque commemoratio est carnis Christi, quam pro nobis obtulit, et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit.

[15] De Sacrament. l. 4. c. 4. (t. 2. p. 368 d. n. 14.) Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia quæ dicuntur, laus Deo defertur, oratione petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris. Ubi venitur, ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. [The Benedictine reads this passage somewhat differently, but the sense is the same. Ed.]

riving, because this was always premised as a necessary part of the sacred mystery; and the whole action and ceremony was concluded with another thanksgiving after communicating, as we shall see hereafter.

10. At present we are to observe, that one part of this glorification or thanksgiving was the hymn called the *Trisagion*, and *Epinicion*, the seraphical and triumphal hymn, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory!* Of the use of the Trisagion, or seraphical hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! in this thanksgiving.

This is evident from the last-mentioned passages of St. Cyril[16] and St. Chrysostom[17], who in other places gives a more particular account of the use of it at the Lord's table. 'Heretofore,' says he[18], 'this hymn was only sung in heaven; but after that the Lord vouchsafed to come down upon earth, he brought this melody to us also. Therefore the bishop, when he stands at this holy table to present our rational service, and offer the unbloody sacrifice, does not simply call upon us to join in this glorification, but first naming the Cherubims, and making mention of the Seraphims, he then exhorts us all to send up these tremendous words, and withdrawing our minds from the earth by intimating with what company we make a choir, he cries out to every man, and says, as it were, in these words, 'Thou singest with the Seraphims, stand together with the Seraphims, stretch forth thy wings with them, with them fly round the royal throne.' In another place[19], showing the obligation which the eucharist lays upon men, to keep every member of the body pure from sin, the hands and mouth that receive it, the eyes that view it, the tongue that ministers in those mysteries and is dyed in blood, he argues thus particularly with respect to the ears: 'How absurd is it after that mystical hymn, which was brought by the Cherubims from heaven, to pollute your ears with songs of harlots, and the effeminate melodies of the theatre?' Which plainly implies, that this seraphical hymn

[16] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 5. See n. 11, preceding.

[17] Hom. 18. in 2 Cor. p. 873. ut supra. See n. 13, preceding.

[18] Hom. in Seraph. t. 3. p. 890. See before, b. 14. ch. 2. s. 3. v. 5. p. 33. the second member of n. 26.

[19] Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. [Ed. Bened. ad Illuminand. Catech. 2.] (t. 2. p. 237 b.) Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην φωνὴν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φερομένην, τὴν ἐκ τῶν Χερουβὶμ λέγω, πορνικοῖς ᾄσμασι καὶ κατακεκλασμένοις μέλεσι τὴν ἀκοὴν μολύνειν;

was one part of this great thanksgiving. He says the same in his first Homily upon Isaiah[20]: 'The Seraphims above sing the holy hymn *Trisagion:* the holy congregation of men on earth send up the same: the general assembly of celestial and earthly creatures join together: there is *one thanksgiving, μία εὐχαριστία,* one exultation, one choir of men and angels in one station rejoicing together.' In another place[21], reproving those who stayed at the communion-service, when they would not communicate, he tells them, 'It was better that they should be absent, for they did but affront him that invited them, whilst they stayed to sing the hymn, professing themselves to be of the worthy, whilst they did not recede with the unworthy. How could you stay, and not partake of the table? I am unworthy, say you. If so, you are unworthy to communicate in prayers also. For it is not only the bare elements, but those hymns, that cause the Spirit to descend upon them.' Though he does not here name the hymns, he plainly intimates, however, that they were commonly used in this part of the eucharistical service. And elsewhere[22] he speaks more plainly: 'The faithful,' says he, 'know what are the hymns of the powers above; what the Cherubims sing in heaven; what the angels sung, *Glory be to God in the highest!* Therefore hymns come after the psalmody, as a thing of greater perfection.' He means, that psalmody was only a part of the service of the catechumens: but these hymns were used by the *τέλειοι, the communicants,* in the service of the altar.

He mentions the same in many other places[23], which the

[20] Hom. 1. in Esai. t. 3. p. 834. (t. 6. p. 95 d.) Ἄνω τὰ Σεραφὶμ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναβοᾷ· κάτω τὸν αὐτὸν ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναπέμπει πληθύς· κοινὴ τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων συγκροτεῖται πανήγυρις· μία εὐχαριστία, ἓν ἀγαλλίαμα, μία εὐφρόσυνος χοροστασία.

[21] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1052. (t. 11. p. 23 e.).. Σὺ παραγέγονας, τὸν ὕμνον ᾄσας, μετὰ πάντων ὁμολογήσας εἶναι τῶν ἀξίων, τῷ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἀναξίων ἀνακεχωρηκέναι; πῶς ἔμεινας, καὶ οὐ μετέχεις τῆς τραπέζης; ἀνάξιός εἰμι, φησίν· οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης, τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς; οὐ γὰρ διὰ τῶν προκειμένων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ᾠδῶν ἐκείνων τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντοθεν κάτεισιν.

[22] Hom. de Bapt. Christi, t. 1. p. 317. [Corrige, Hom. 9. in Coloss. (t. 11. p. 393 d.) Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, τί λέγει τὰ Χερουβὶμ, ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοί· τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι κατώ; [κατὼ deest in Edit. Front. Ducæi.] Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ· διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ τὰς ψαλμῳδίας ὕμνοι, ἅτε τελειότερόν τι πρᾶγμα. Ed.]

[23] Hom. 4. de Incomprehensibili, t. 1. p. 374. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 1. v. 4. p. 445. n. 24.—Hom. 16. In illud, Si esurierit, &c. t. 5. p. 229. See before, ibid. s. 5. p. 458. n. 77.—Hom. 3. de Pœnitent. t. 4.

reader may find above[24], in the collection of the ancient liturgy out of St. Chrysostom's works: I will only repeat one passage more out of his Homily upon the Martyrs[25]. 'The martyrs,' says he, 'are now joining in concert, and partaking in the mystical songs of the heavenly choir. For if whilst they were in the body, whenever they communicated in the sacred mysteries, they made part of the choir, singing with the Cherubims the trisagion-hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! as all ye that are initiated in the holy mysteries very well know; much more now, being joined with them whose partners they were in the earthly choir, they do with greater freedom partake in those solemn blessings and glorifications of God in heaven above.' There needs no recourse now after this to be had to the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, to prove that this divine hymn was always a part of the solemn thanksgiving, since it is more solidly proved out of his genuine writings. To which we may add Severianus of Gabala for the Greek Church[26], and the Council of Vaison for the Latin[27], which says, 'that in all communion-services, whether they were morning services, or quadragesimal, or commemorations for the dead, the hymn, Holy! Holy! Holy! should be used in the same order as in the public service.'

A particular thanksgiving for the mercies of God in the redemption of mankind by Christ.

11. Next after this there follows in the Constitutions a particular enumeration of the mercies of God vouchsafed to mankind in the redemption of the world by the death of Christ, and a more special thanksgiving with respect to them; wherein also is contained a sort of creed, or summary of the chief articles of the Christian faith. Which was all the creed that the Church in that age made use of in that service. For as yet the formal repetition of the baptismal creed was no part of the communion-service, as it was in after-ages, but only such

p. 562. See ibid. s. 4. p. 455. n. 66.—Ep. ad Olymp. t. 4. p. 715. See ibid. p. 456. n. 67.—Hom. 14. in Eph. p. 1127. See ibid. s. 10. p. 474. n. 37.

[24] B. 13. ch. 6. See the preceding note.

[25] Hom. 74. de Martyr. t. 1. p. 900. See as before, ibid. s. 1. p. 448. n. 33.

[26] Hom. 37. de Fil. Prod. t. 6. p. 375. See ibid. s. 6. p. 461. n. 88.

[27] Vasens. ii. [al. iii.] c. 3. (t. 4. p. 1680 c.).... Ut et in omnibus missis, seu in matutinis, seu in quadragesimalibus, seu in illis, quæ pro defunctorum commemoratione fiunt, semper Sanctus! Sanctus! Sanctus! eo ordine quo [modo] ad missas publicas dicitur, dici debeat.

doctrines were related as were the subject of a particular thanksgiving for the great mysteries of the incarnation and redemption. Thus it is represented in the Constitutions, with which St. Chrysostom[28] exactly corresponds. For, commenting on those words of the Apostle, [1 Cor. 10, 16.] "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" he brings in the Apostle thus explaining himself: 'When I speak of a blessing, I unfold all the treasure of God's beneficence, and commemorate all his great and glorious gifts.' And he adds, 'We also in offering the cup recite the ineffable mercies and kindness of God, and all the good things we enjoy: and so we offer it and communicate; giving him thanks for that he hath delivered mankind from error; that he hath made us near who were afar off; that, when we were without hope, and without God in the world, he hath made us the brethren of Christ and fellow-heirs with him. For these and all the like blessings we give him thanks, and so come to his holy table.' We cannot have a plainer proof of a particular thanksgiving than this is, and therefore I shall seek for no further evidence in the case, but proceed to the immediate form of consecration.

The form of consecration always composed of a repetition of the words of institution and prayer to God to sanctify the gifts by his Holy Spirit.

12. Now this anciently was not a bare repetition of those words, *Hoc est corpus meum, This is my body*, which for many ages has been the current doctrine of the Romish schools, but a repetition of the history of the institution, together with prayers to God that he would send his Holy Spirit upon the gifts, and make them become the body and blood of Christ; not by altering their nature and substance, but their qualities and powers, and exalting them, from simple elements of bread and wine, to become types and symbols of Christ's flesh and blood, and efficacious instruments of conveying to worthy receivers all the benefits of his death and passion. Thus

[28] Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 532. (t. 10. p. 212 d.) *Εὐλογίαν γὰρ ὅταν εἴπω, πάντα ἀναπτύσσω τὸν τῆς εὐεργεσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ θησαυρὸν, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων ἀναμιμνήσκω δωρεῶν· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες τῷ ποτηρίῳ τὰς ἀφάτους εὐεργεσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ὅσων ἀπολελαύκαμεν, οὕτως αὐτὸ προσάγομεν, καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες, ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὅτι μακρὰν ὄντας, ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅτι ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας, καὶ ἀθέους ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, ἀδελφοὺς ἑαυτοῦ κατεσκεύασε καὶ συγκληρονόμους· ὑπὲρ τούτων, καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες, οὕτω πρόσιμεν.*— So Cyprian Ep. 63. p. 156. (p. 278. summ.) Passionis ejus mentionem in omnibus sacrificiis facimus.

it is evidently set forth in the Constitutions[29], which for the reader's ease I will here again repeat:

'We therefore in commemoration of these things, which Christ suffered for us, give thanks to thee, Almighty God, not as thou deservest, and as we ought, but as we are able, so fulfilling his command, for he, in the same night that he was betrayed, took bread in his holy and immaculate hands, and looking up to thee, his God and Father, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, This is the mystery of the New Testament; take of it, and eat it. This is my body, which is broken for many for the remission of sins. [Likewise he mixed a cup, &c., as before at p. 271.] This do in remembrance of me. For as oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth my death till I come. We therefore, being mindful of his passion and death, and resurrection from the dead, and his return into heaven, and also of his second coming, when he shall return with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and render to every man according to his works, do offer unto thee, our King and God, this bread and this cup, according to his appointment; giving thanks to thee by him, for that thou dost vouchsafe to let us stand before thee and minister unto thee: and we beseech thee to look propitiously upon these gifts here set before thee, and to accept them favourably to the honour of thy Christ, and to send thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice, the Spirit that is witness of the suffering of the Lord Jesus, that it may make this bread become the body of thy Christ; that they who partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins; may be delivered from the Devil and his impostures; may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life, thou being reconciled to them, O Lord Almighty.'

Who sees not that the consecration in this form is made by a repetition of the history of the institution and prayer for the coming of the Holy Ghost on the elements to sanctify them? And for this there is the concurrent testimony of all antiquity. Justin Martyr[30] makes the consecration to consist in thanks-

[29] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. t. 1. p. 402.) See before, s. 1. p. 269. n. 44, at the paragraph, Μεμνημένοι οὖν, κ. τ. λ.

[30] Apol. 2. p. 97. See before, s. 9. p. 292. n. 8.

giving and prayers, which being ended, all the people answer *Amen!* Irenæus[31] says more expressly, 'that it is done by invocation of God: for the bread, which is taken from the earth, has the invocation of God upon it, and then it is no longer common bread, but the eucharist.' Origen[32] says, 'that it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.' Cyril of Jerusalem[33] tells his catechumens, 'that before the invocation of the Holy Trinity the bread and wine of the eucharist is common bread and wine; but after the invocation it is no longer bare bread, but the body of Christ: as the holy oil is not bare oil after the invocation, but the gift of Christ.' So again[34], 'After we have sanctified ourselves by those spiritual hymns, we then pray the merciful God that he would send forth his Holy Spirit upon the elements lying upon the altar, that he may make the bread the body of Christ, and the wine the blood of Christ.' Which manifestly declares that the consecration was made by prayer and invocation. And the same is implied by St. Basil[35], when he asks, 'Which of the saints hath left us in writing the words of the invocation, by which the bread of the eucharist and the cup of blessing is consecrated?' Gregory Nyssen[36], St. Basil's brother, says, 'the bread is sanctified by the word of God and prayer.' Theophilus of Alexandria[37], 'that the bread and wine, which

[31] L. 4. c. 34. (p. 327. 9.).... Qui est a terra panis, percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non communis panis est, sed eucharistia.

[32] In Matth. 15. t. 2. p. 27. (juxt. Ed. Lat. Basil. 1571.) Sanctificatur per verbum Dei, perque obsecrationem. [Ed. Bened. in Matth. t. 11. n. 14. (t. 3. p. 499 a.) Τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κ. τ. λ. Vid. 1 Tim. 4, 5. Ed.]

[33] Catech. [21.] Mystag. 3. n. 3. (p. 317 a.) Μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

[34] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 5. [al. 7.] (p. 327 c.) Ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων παρακαλῶμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον Θεὸν, τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον, σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον, αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

[35] De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 75 e. n. 66.) Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν;

[36] Orat. Catechet. c. 37. (t. 3. p. 104 c.).... Ὁ ἄρτος.... ἁγιάζεται διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως.

[37] Ep. Paschal. 1. (ap. Galland. t. 7. p. 627 b.) Dicit Spiritum Sanctum non operari ea, quæ in anima sunt, nec ad irrationabilia pervenire. Quod asserens non recogitat, aquas in baptismate mysticas adventu Sancti Spiritus consecrari, panemque Dominicum, quo Salvatoris corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificatione nostra, et sacrum calicem, quum in mensa ecclesiæ collocantur, et utique inanima sunt, per invocationem et adventum Sancti Spiritus sanctificari.

represent the Lord's body and blood, upon the table, are consecrated by invocation and coming of the Holy Ghost upon them.' And Theodoret most plainly in one of his Dialogues[38], 'What do you call the gift that is offered, before the priest has made the invocation over it? Bread made of such seeds. What do you call it after sanctification? The body of Christ.'

The Latin Fathers are as plain in their verdict. St. Ambrose[39] says, 'The sacraments which we take are transformed into flesh and blood by the mystery of holy prayer.' And Optatus[40], describing the fury of the Donatists, asserts the same, when he asks them, 'What greater sacrilege they could be guilty of, than to pull down the altars of God, where God Almighty was invocated, and the Holy Spirit came down at the supplication of the priest?' St. Jerom[41] says, 'it was the peculiar office of the presbyters to consecrate the body and blood of Christ by prayer.' And again[42], 'that prayer was necessary for this purpose.' The author of the books *De Sacramentis*, under the name of St. Ambrose[43], gives us the very form of words used in this prayer: 'Make this our oblation, a chosen, rational, acceptable oblation, which is the figure of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.' Juvencus[44] says, 'Christ himself consecrated it by prayer.' And Gregory the Great[45] was of opinion, 'that the Apostles

[38] Dialog. 2. t. 4. p. 85. (t. 4. part. 1. pp. 125, 126.) Τί καλεῖς τὸ προσφερόμενον δῶρον πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως; .... τὴν ἐκ τοιῶνδε σπερμάτων τροφήν. .... Μετὰ δέ γε τὸν ἁγιασμὸν πῶς ταῦτα προσαγορεύεις; σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

[39] De Fid. l. 4. c. 10. (t. 2. p. 543 e. n. 124.) Quotiescunque sacramenta sumimus, quæ per sacræ orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem Domini annuntiamus.

[40] L. 6. p. 93. (p. 111.) Quid enim est tam sacrilegum, quam altaria Dei frangere ... quo Deus Omnipotens invocatus sit, et postulatus descendit Spiritus Sanctus?

[41] Ep. 85. [ad 146.] ad Evagr. [Evang.] (t. 1. p. 1075 a. n. 6.) ... Ad quorum preces Christi corpus sanguisque conficitur.

[42] In Zeph. c. 3. p. 98. (t. 6. p. 718 c.) ... Εὐχαριστίαν imprecantis facere verba, &c.

[43] De Sacrament. l. 4. c. 5. (t. 2. p. 371 b. n. 21.) Vis scire, quia verbis cœlestibus consecratur? Accipe quæ sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos: Fac nobis, inquit, hanc oblationem ascriptam, rationalem, [al. ratam, rationabilem,] acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

[44] Hist. Evangel. l. 4. [v. 450.] ap. Bibl. Patr. t. 8. p. 654. (ap. Galland. t. 4. p. 626 d.) .... Sancteque precatus, Discipulos docuit proprium se tradere corpus.

[45] L. 7. Ep. 64. (CC. t. 5. p. 1348 b.) Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus, quia mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent.

used only the Lord's Prayer as the form of their consecration.' And Cyprian[45] probably was of the same opinion. For he thinks, 'that petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this day our daily bread!* may be understood both in a spiritual and common sense, to denote the body of Christ, which is our bread, that we pray may be given us every day.'

A great many other Fathers[46] speak of the benediction or thanksgiving as that which consecrates the eucharist. Which is not much different from this; for the thanksgiving was always a part of the eucharistical prayers. And therefore some join them both together, as Justin Martyr and Irenæus, in the places now mentioned. And so Origen tells Celsus[47], 'that by thanksgiving and prayer they made bread an holy body, sanctifying such as received and eat it with a pure mind.' And St. Austin, who in some places[48] calls it barely 'the benediction or thanksgiving,' in other places[49] says more expressly, that the eucharist was consecrated by prayer: 'We call that the body of Christ, which is taken from the fruits of

[45] De Orat. Dom. p. 146. (p. 104.) Quod potest et spiritualiter et simpliciter intelligi ..... quia Christus noster panis est. Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus.

[46] Tertul. cont. Marcion. l. 1. c. 23. (p. 377 d.) .... Non putem impudentiorem, quam qui ..... super alienum panem alii Deo gratiarum actionibus fungitur?—Clemens Alexandr. Pædagog. l. 2. c. 2. (p. 186. 18.) Ὅτι δὲ οἶνος ἦν τὸ εὐλογηθέν, ἀπέδειξε πάλιν, πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγων, Οὐ μὴ πίω ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ταύτης, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. Hom. 82. [Bened. 82. al. 83.] in Matth. (t. 7. p. 782 b.) Εὐχαριστεῖ, διδάσκων ἡμᾶς, ὅπως δεῖ τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο ἐπιτελεῖν.—[Conf. ibid. (p. 784 b.) Εὐχαρίστησε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δοῦναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστῶμεν. Ed.]—Victor. Antioch. in Marc. 14. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 4. p. 407 g.) Cum autem ad Apostolos dicit, *Hoc est corpus meum;* item, *Hic est sanguis meus;* certo apud se statuant vult, postea quam benedictio et gratiarum actio ad panem vel calicem propositum accesserit, panis quidem symbolum corporis Christi, per calicem vero ejusdem sanguinis participes se fieri.—Facundus Hermianensis, Defens. Trium Capitul. l. 9. [c. 5.] (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 10. p. 79 g. 10.) Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis suis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit.—Cyril. Alexandr. in Esai. 25, 6. (t. 2. p. 353 d.) ..... Τὴν μυστικὴν εὐλογίαν ὑποδηλοῦν, κ. τ. λ. —Item passim in Glaphyris super Genes. Exod. Levit., where he styles it *eulogia*, which is the same as *eucharist* or *benediction*.—Conf. Albertin. de Eucharist. l. 1. c. 6. (p. 21.) Eadem veritas probatur ex Patribus, &c.

[47] Cont. Cels. l. 8. p. 399. See before, s. 9. p. 292. n. 10.

[48] Ep. 59. ad Paulin. See before, ch. 1. s. 3. p. 225. n. 19.

[49] De Trinit. l. 3. c. 4. (t. 8. p. 798 b.) .... Corpus Christi et sanguinem dicimus; sed illud tantum, quod ex fructibus terræ acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum, rite sumimus ad salutem spiritalem in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis.

the earth, and consecrated by mystical prayer in a solemn manner, and so received by us unto salvation in memory of our Lord's suffering for us.' And writing against the Donatists [50], who denied the validity of the sacraments, when they were consecrated and administered by sinners, he asks them, 'How then does God hear a murderer, when he prays either over the water of baptism, or the oil for unction, or over the eucharist, or over the heads of those that receive imposition of hands?' Implying that the consecration of the eucharist, as well as the rest of the things mentioned, was performed by prayer.

To this mighty cloud of witnesses, the Romanists have nothing material to oppose but a few mistaken passages of the Ancients, which the reader may find related with proper answers in that excellent book of Mr. Aubertine upon the Eucharist [51]. I shall only take notice of one, which carries the fairest pretence, out of Chrysostom, who, in one of his Homilies [52], speaks of the consecration after this manner: 'It is not man that makes the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ himself that was crucified for us. The priest stands fulfilling his office, and speaking those words; but the power and grace is of God. Christ said, *This is my body:* this word consecrates the elements. And as that word, which said, *Increase and multiply, and replenish the earth,* was spoken but once, yet at all times is effectual indeed to strengthen our nature to beget children; so this word once

[50] De Baptism. l. 5. c. 20. (t. 9. p. 155 a.) Quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem, vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum, quibus manus imponitur?

[51] L. 1. c. 7. (pp. 39, seqq.) In quo [c. 7.] respondetur ad objectiones adversariorum, quibus probare conantur ex Patribus consecrationem fieri per verba, Hoc est corpus meum, Hic est sanguis meus.

[52] Hom. 30. de Proditione Judæ. t. 5. p. 463. [Ed. Bened. de Prodit. Hom. 1.] (t. 2. p. 384 b.) Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός· σχῆμα πληρῶν ἕστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις, καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι· Τοῦτό μου ἐστι τὸ σῶμά, φησι· ταῦτο γὰρ ῥῆμα μεταρρυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα· καὶ καθάπερ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκείνη ἡ λέγουσα, Αὐξάνεσθε, καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν, ἐρρέθη μὲν ἅπαξ, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἔργῳ ἐνδυναμοῦσα τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιΐαν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ' ἑκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον, καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, τὴν θυσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται.

spoken, from that time to this day, and until his coming again, perfects and consummates the sacrifice on every table throughout the Churches.' The meaning of which is not, as the Romanists mistake, that the pronouncing of these words by the priest is the thing that makes the sacrifice; but that Christ, by first speaking those words, gave power unto men to make his symbolical body; as by once speaking those words, *Increase and multiply*, he gave them power to procreate children. Christ's words are the original cause of the consecration; but still prayer, and not the bare repetition of his words, is the instrumental cause and means of the sanctification. As Chrysostom himself says plainly in another place [53], where he attributes the consecration of the elements to the invocation of the Spirit, and the Spirit's descent pursuant to such invocation. 'What meanest thou, O man?' says he, 'When the priest stands by the holy table, lifting up his hands to heaven, and invocating the Holy Spirit to come down and touch the elements, there should then be great tranquillity and silence. When the Spirit grants his grace, when he comes down, when he touches the elements, when thou seest the Lamb slain and offered, dost thou then raise a tumult and commotion and give way to strife and railing?' In which words, it is plain, Chrysostom attributes the consecration to the power of Christ and the Holy Spirit, as the principal and efficient cause; to prayer and supplication, as the instrumental cause, operating by way of condition and means, to sanctify the elements according to Christ's command, by a solemn benediction, and to the words, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood:* as spoken by Christ in the first institution, implying a declaration of what was then done,

[53] Hom. 32. in Cœmeterii Appellationem. t. 5. p. 487. (ibid. p. 401 d.) *Τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; Ὅταν ἑστήκῃ πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν, καλῶν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τοῦ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἅψασθαι τῶν προκειμένων, πολλὴ ἡσυχία, πολλὴ σιγὴ· ὅταν διδῷ τὴν χάριν τὸ Πνεῦμα, ὅταν κατέλθῃ, ὅταν ἅψηται τῶν προκειμένων, ὅταν ἴδῃς τὸ πρόβατον ἐσφαγιασμένον καὶ ἀπηρτισμένον, τότε θόρυβον, τότε ταραχὴν, τότε φιλονεικίαν, τότε λοιδορίαν ἐπεισάγεις;* — [Conf. de Sacerdot. l. 6. c. 4. t. 4. p. 93. (t. 1. p. 424 a.) See b. 6. ch. 3. s. 5. v. 2. p. 240. n. 74.—L. 3. c. 4. (ibid. p. 383 a.) *Ἔστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων,* (with reference to Elijah's ministry in presence of Ahab, the priests of Baal, and the people,) *ἀλλὰ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον· καὶ ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα τις λαμπὰς ἄνωθεν ἀφθεῖσα κατανα λώσῃ τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ χάρις ἐπιπεσοῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ, δι' ἐκείνης τὰς ἁπάντων ἀνάψῃ ψυχὰς, καὶ ἀργυρίου λαμπροτέρας ἀποδείξῃ πεπυρωμένου.* Ed.]

and what should be done by his power and concurrence to the end of the world. So that in all things relating to consecration, we find the practice of the Ancients exactly corresponding and agreeing to the order prescribed in the Constitutions. And whereas the Author of the Constitutions makes it a very great part of the consecration-prayer, 'that they who partake of the eucharist may be confirmed in godliness, and obtain remission of sins; may be delivered from the Devil and his impostures; may be filled with the Holy Ghost, and be made worthy of Christ, and obtain eternal life;' St. Chrysostom [54] evidently refers to such a prayer when he says, 'In the oblation we offer up our sins, and say, Pardon us whatever sins we have committed either willingly or unwillingly! We first make mention of them, and then ask pardon for them.' And so it is in the Liturgy which goes under St. Chrysostom's [55] name: 'We offer unto thee this rational and unbloody service, beseeching thee to send thy Holy Spirit upon us and these gifts; make the bread the precious body of thy Christ; and that which is in the cup, the precious blood of thy Christ; transmuting them by thy Holy Spirit, that they may be to the receivers for the washing of their souls, for pardon of sins, for participation of the Holy Ghost, for obtaining the kingdom of heaven, for boldness towards thee, and not for judgment and condemnation.'

13. Immediately after the consecration, followed prayer for the whole Catholic Church, as redeemed by the precious blood

After this followed prayer for

[54] Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1870. (t. 12. p. 166 c.) Ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἀναφέρομεν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ λέγομεν, εἴτε ἑκόντες εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτομεν, Συγχώρησον, τουτέστι, μεμνήμεθα αὐτῶν πρῶτον, καὶ τότε τὴν συγχώρησιν αἰτοῦμεν. [The Benedictine and Savil read, ἧς ἀναφέρομεν, ἀναφέρομεν καὶ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, λέγοντες, κ. τ. λ. ED.]

[55] T. 4. p. 614. (ibid. p. 791 d. et p. 792 a. seqq.) Προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, [καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν,] καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ ἱκετεύομεν, κατάπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα· ..... καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ... τὸ δὲ ἐν ποτηρίῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ... μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ· .... ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πλήρωμα, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρός σε, μὲ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα.—Ibid. p. 619. (p. 796 c.) Συγχώρησόν μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ τὰ παραπτώματά μου ..... τὰ ἑκούσιά τε καὶ ἀκούσια, εἴτε ἐν γνώσει, εἴτε ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ, εἴτε ἐν λόγῳ, εἴτε ἐν ἔργῳ, εἴτε ἐν ἐνθυμήσει [al. ἐπιθυμήσει] ἔπραξα, πάντα μοι συγχώρησον, κ. τ. λ.

whole olic ch.

of Christ, which was then commemorated in the oblation and sacrifice of the altar. Thus it is represented in the Constitutions, and thus also in St. Chrysostom[56], who, speaking of Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, says, 'he had the care of the whole Church upon him; which he learned to be his duty from the prayers of the Church. For if prayers ought to be made for the Catholic Church, from one end of the earth to the other, much more did he think it his duty to show his concern for the whole Church, and watch for their preservation.' In another place[57] he says, 'the priest, when the sacrifice was offered, bid the people to pray, or give thanks rather, for the whole world; for those that were absent, and those that were present; for those that were before them, and for those that were then living, and for those that should be after them.' And again[58] he speaks of 'prayer for the world, the Church, and the common peace and tranquillity of mankind.' He says[59], 'the priest prayed at the altar in the time of oblation for the whole city; and not for the whole city only, but for the whole world.' So Cyril of Jerusalem[60] says, 'as soon as the spiritual sacrifice was offered, they besought God for the common peace of the Church, and the tranquillity of the world, &c.' And Vigilius[61], in a letter to Justinian, reminds him 'how it was cus-

[56] Hom. 52. in Eustath. t. 1. p. 649. (t. 2. p. 607 b.) Καὶ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τὸν ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης. Καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμάνθανεν εὐχῶν· εἰ γὰρ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, φησιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς Καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ ἁπάσης αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ὁμοίως ἁπασῶν κήδεσθαι, καὶ μεριμνᾷν πάσας.

[57] Hom. 26. [Bened. 25. al. 26.] in Matth. p. 259. (t. 7. p. 311 a.) ... Ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῶν προτέρων, ὑπὲρ τῶν νῦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεννηθέντων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσομένων εἰς ἡμᾶς, εὐχαριστεῖν κελεύει.

[58] Hom. 27. in Act. p. 329. (t. 9. p. 284 b.) .... Ἀναγκαῖαι αἱ εὐχαὶ ἐνταῦθα γίνονται ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐπὶ πέρατων, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν συμφοραῖς.

[59] De Sacerdot. l. 6. c. 4. t. 4. p. 93. (t. 1. p. 424 a.) Τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως· καὶ τί λέγω πόλεως; πάσης μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης πρεσβεύοντα, καὶ δεόμενον, ταῖς ἁπάντων ἁμαρτίαις ἵλεων γενέσθαι τὸν Θεόν· ..... ὁποῖόν τινα εἶναι χρή;

[60] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 6. [al. 8.] (p. 327 d.) Μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ Ἱλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου εὐσταθείας, κ. τ. λ.

[61] Ep. 4. (CC. t. 5. p. 315 b.) Omnes pontifices, antiqua in offerendo sacrificia traditione, deposcimus exorantes ut Catholicam fidem adunare regere Dominus, et custodire toto orbe dignetur.

tomary from ancient tradition for all bishops, in offering the sacrifice, to beseech God to unite all men in the Catholic faith, and to protect and keep it throughout the world.' Nay, Optatus[62] says the Donatists continued to use this prayer in the celebration of the sacramental mysteries, though their doctrine and practice were the absolute reverse of it. They said, 'they offered for the Church, which was one, diffused over all the world: but their practice gave their prayers the lie; for they divided it into two, and confined the true Church to a corner of Afric, and the party of Donatus.' However, this shows it was the practice both of Donatists and Catholics to pray for the Universal Church.

More particularly for the bishops and clergy.

14. More particularly they now repeated their prayers again for the bishops and clergy of the whole Catholic Church, and that Church especially whereof they were members. Which is not only noted in the Constitutions, but by Epiphanius[63], in his Letter to John, bishop of Jerusalem, where he wipes off a slander which some had falsely suggested to the bishop of Jerusalem, as if he had prayed publicly that God would grant him an orthodox faith, implying that he was in error; which he denies, telling them, 'that however he might pray for him after that manner privately in his heart, yet he never did so in the oblation of the sacrifice: for in offering those prayers according to the order of the holy mysteries, they were used to say, both for him and all other bishops, Keep him, O Lord, that preacheth the truth! or else after this manner, Preserve him, O Lord, and grant that he may preach the truth! according as the occasion and order of prayer required.' St. Chrysostom[64] also takes notice of this solemn praying for bishops and

[62] L. 2. p. 53. (p. 45.) Vos illud legitimum in sacramentorum mysterio præterire non posse. Offerre vos dicitis pro ecclesia, quæ una est. Hoc ipsum mendacii pars est, unam vocare, de qua feceris duas. Et offerre vos dicitis pro una ecclesia, quæ sit in toto terrarum orbe diffusa, &c.

[63] Ep. ad Ioan. Hierosol. (t. 2. p. 313 b, c.) See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 7. v. 4. p. 416. n. 83.

[64] Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745. (t. 10. p. 440 e.) Ἀλλά τινες οὕτως εἰσὶν ἀνόητοι, καὶ βλάκες, καὶ διαλελυμένοι, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν κατηχουμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν πιστῶν ἑστάναι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι· ἐντεῦθεν πάντα διέστραπται, ἐντεῦθεν πάντα ἀπόλωλεν· ὅτι ἐν τῷ καιρῷ, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα δεῖ τὸν Θεὸν καταλλάττειν, ἐν τούτῳ παροξύνοντες ἅπιμεν. Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ πρεσβυτέρων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης, κελευόμεθα προσιέναι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ· ὅταν οὖν

the clergy, and, among many other particulars, when the oblation was offered. 'Some,' says he, 'are so inconsiderate, dissolute, and vain, as to stand and talk, not only in the time of the catechumens, that is, when prayers were made for them in the first service, but also at the time of the faithful, or when their prayers were offered at the altar. And this,' says he, 'is the subversion and ruin of all religion, that at that time, when men ought chiefly to render God propitious to them, they go away, provoking his wrath against them. For in the prayers of the faithful, we are commanded to supplicate the merciful God for bishops, for presbyters, for kings, for all that are in authority; for the earth and sea, for the temperature of the air or good weather, and for the whole world. When therefore we, who ought to have so much boldness and freedom as to pray for others, are not vigilant enough to pray for ourselves with an attentive mind; what excuse can we make? what pardon can we expect?'

We cannot desire a plainer evidence than this of Chrysostom, that all these things were the subject-matter of their petitions when the oblation was made upon the altar.

kings magistrates.

15. And therefore hence it appears, that as they prayed for the bishops and the clergy, so they repeated their supplication for kings and magistrates in this prayer also. I have noted before[65] the several authors that take notice of their praying for kings in the prayers before the oblation, and here I will subjoin such as mention it in the oblation-prayer.

Eusebius[66], describing the dedication of the church which Constantine built at Jerusalem, says, 'Some of the bishops then present made panegyrical orations upon Constantine's great

οἱ τοσαύτην ὀφείλοντες ἔχειν παρρησίαν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων δεῖσθαι, μηδὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν νήφοντες προσευχόμεθα, τίς ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπολογία; ποία συγγνώμη;

[65] B. 13. ch. 10. s. 5. v. 4. p. 557. b. 15. ch. 1. s. 3. v. 5. p. 222.

[66] Vit. Constant. l. 4. c. 45. (v. 1. p. 651. 30.) .... *Οἱ δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ λειτουργοὶ εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διαλέξεσι τὴν ἑορτὴν κατεκόσμουν· οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων Σωτῆρα δεξίωσιν ἀνυμνοῦντες, τάς τε περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον μεγαλουργίας διεξιόντες τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων πανηγυρικαῖς θεολογίαις, πανδαισίαν λογικῶν τροφῶν ταῖς πάντων παραδιδόντες ἀκοαῖς· ἄλλοι δὲ ἑρμηνείας τῶν θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο, τὰς ἀπορρήτους ἀποκαλύπτοντες θεωρίας· οἱ δὲ μὴ διὰ τούτων χωρεῖν οἷοί τε, θυσίαις ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θεῖον ἱλάσκοντο, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτοῦ τε βασιλέως, ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσούτων αἰτίου, παίδων τ' αὐτοῦ θεοφιλῶν, ἱκετηρίους εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσαναφέροντες.*

respect for the common Saviour, and the magnificence of his temple; others preached upon points of divinity proper to the occasion; others explained the mystical sense of Scripture; and others, who could not attain to this, celebrated the mystical service and offered the unbloody sacrifice to God, making prayers for the common peace of the world, for the Church of God, for the Emperor himself, the founder of the Church, and for his pious children.' In like manner Cyril of Jerusalem[67], describing the order of the communion-service, says, 'After the spiritual sacrifice and the unbloody service of the propitiatory oblation is completed, we beseech God for the common peace of the Churches, for the tranquillity of the world, for kings, for their armies, for their allies, for those that are sick and afflicted, and in short for all that stand in need of help and assistance.' St. Chrysostom elsewhere[68] mentions both private and public prayers for kings, the latter of which may be understood of these prayers after the oblation, as well as any others. Arnobius[69] says expressly, 'they prayed at once for the magistrates, for their armies, for kings, for their friends, and for their enemies, for the living, and for the dead.' Where his mentioning the dead plainly shows, that he speaks of those prayers which were made after the eucharist was consecrated, in which, as we shall see by and by, a particular commemoration was made of all those that were departed in the faith.

16. Next after prayer for kings followed prayer for the dead, that is, for all that were departed in the true faith in Christ. For so it is in the Constitutions[70]: 'We offer unto thee for all thy saints that have lived well pleasing in thy sight from the foundation of the world, for patriarchs, prophets, holy men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, For the dead in general.

[67] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 6. [al. 8.] See before, s. 13. n. 60. preceding.

[68] Hom. 20. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 258. (t. 2. p. 221 b.) Τὸ δὲ πάντας ἐραστὰς καταστῆσαι, καὶ μετ' εὐνοίας πεῖσαι διακεῖσθαι περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν σὴν, καὶ μὴ μόνον κοινὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίας ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ποιεῖσθαι εὐχὰς, δυσκατόρθωτον, κ. τ. λ.

[69] Cont. Gentes, l. 4. p. 181. (p. 152.) Cur immaniter conventicula nostra dirui meruerint? In quibus summus oratur Deus, pax cunctis et venia postulatur magistratibus, exercitibus, regibus, familiaribus, inimicis, adhuc vitam degentibus, et resolutis corporum vinctione.

[70] See before, p. 271, towards the end of n. 44. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι, κ. τ. λ.

deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, laymen, and all whose names thou knowest.'

And that this was the general practice of the Church, to pray for all without exception, appears from the concurrent testimony of all the writers of the Church. We have heard Arnobius say already [70] that they prayed for the living and the dead in general. And long before him, Tertullian [71] speaks of oblations for the dead, for their birth-days, that is, the day of their death. or a new birth unto happiness, in their annual commemorations. He says [72], every woman 'prayed for the soul of her deceased husband, desiring that he might find rest and refreshment at present, and a part in the first resurrection, and offered an annual oblation for him on the day of his death.' In like manner [73] he says, the husband 'prayed for the soul of his wife, and offered annual oblations for her.' St. Cyprian often mentions the same practice, both when he speaks of martyrs and others. For the martyrs they offered the oblation of prayer, and of praise and thanksgiving: for others prayers chiefly. Those for the martyrs he calls [74] 'oblations and sacrifices of commemoration,' which they offered especially on the anniversary days of their martyrdom [75], giving God thanks for their victory and coronation. But for others they made solemn supplications and prayers, as appears from what he says of one Geminius Victor [76], that because he had appointed a presbyter to be his executor, contrary to law, 'no oblation should be made for his rest or sleep, nor any deprecation be used in his name,' according to custom, in the Church. The author under the name of Origen upon Job [77] says, 'they

[70] See s. 15. n. 69, preceding.

[71] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalititiis, annua die facimus.

[72] De Monogam. c. 10. (p. 531 a.).. Pro anima ejus orat, et refrigerium interim appostulat ei, et in prima resurrectione consortium, et offert annuis diebus dormitionis ejus.

[73] Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 11. (p. 523 d.)... Jam receptæ apud Dominum [al. Deum] pro cujus Spiritu postules, pro qua oblationes annuas reddas.

[74] Ep. 37. [al. 12.] ad Clerum. p. 28. (p. 188.) Celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum.

[75] Ep. 35. [al. 39.] p. 77. (p. 224.) Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

[76] Ep. 66. [al. 1.] p. 3. (p. 170.).. Non est quod pro dormitione ejus apud vos fiat oblatio, aut deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in ecclesia frequentetur.

[77] In Job. l. 3. t. 1. p. 437. (t. 2. p. 902 a.).... Propterea et memorias sanctorum facimus, et parentum

made devout mention of the saints, and their parents and friends that were dead in the faith; as well to rejoice in their refreshment, as to desire for themselves a pious consummation in the faith.' And Origen himself[78] says, 'they thought it convenient to make mention of the saints in their prayers, and to excite themselves by the remembrance of them.' Cyril of Jerusalem[79], in describing the prayer after consecration, says, 'We offer this sacrifice in memory of all those that are fallen asleep before us, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, that God by their prayers and intercessions may receive our supplications; and then we pray for our holy fathers and bishops, and all that are fallen asleep before us, believing it to be a considerable advantage to their souls to be prayed for whilst the holy and tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar.' Epiphanius disputes at large against the Aerians, who ridiculed all prayers for the dead. For they said[80], 'If the prayers of the living will advantage the dead, then it was no matter for being pious and virtuous; a man only needed to get his friends to pray for him after death, and he would be liable to no punishment, nor would his most enormous crimes be required of him.' To whom Epiphanius replies[81] 'that

nostrorum, vel amicorum in fide morientium devote memoriam agimus, tam illorum refrigerio gaudentes, quam etiam nobis piam consummationem in fide postulantes.

[78] Lib. 9. in Rom. 12. [v. 13.] t. 2. p. 607. (ibid. p. 652 a.)...Meminisse sanctorum sive in collectis solemnibus, sive pro eo ut ex recordatione eorum proficiamus, aptum et conveniens videtur.

[79] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 6. [al. 9.] (p. 328 a.) Εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξηται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν· εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων, μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας.

[80] Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 3. (t. 1. p. 907 a, b.) Εἰ δὲ ὅλως εὐχὴ τῶν ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐκεῖσε ὤνησεν, ἄρα γοῦν μηδεὶς εὐσεβείτω, μηδὲ ἀγαθοποιείτω, ἀλλὰ κτησάσθω φίλους τινὰς, δι' οὗ βούλεται τρόπου, ἤτοι χρήμασι πείσας, ἤτοι φίλους ἀξιώσας ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ, καὶ εὐχέσθωσαν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἵνα μή τι ἐκεῖ πάθῃ, μηδὲ τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γινόμενα τῶν ἀνηκέστων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐκζητηθῇ.

[81] Ibid. n. 7. (p. 911 a.) Ἔπειτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματα λέγειν τῶν τελευτησάντων, τί ἂν εἴη τούτου προὐργιαίτερον; τί τούτου καιριώτερον καὶ θαυμασιώτερον, πιστεύειν μὲν τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι οἱ ἀπελθόντες ζῶσι, καὶ ἐν ἀνυπαρξίᾳ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ εἰσὶ καὶ ζῶσι παρὰ τῷ Δεσπότῃ, καὶ ὅπως ἂν τὸ σεμνότατον κήρυγμα διηγήσοιντο, ὡς ἐλπίς ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν εὐχομένοις, ὡς ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τυγχανόντων. Ὠφελεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γινομένη εὐχὴ, εἰ καὶ τὰ ὅλα τῶν αἰτιαμάτων μὴ ἀποκόπτοι, ἀλλ' οὖν γε διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἐν κόσμῳ ἡμᾶς ὄντας σφάλλεσθαι ἀκουσίως τε καὶ ἑκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ ἐν-

they had many good reasons for mentioning the names of the dead; because it was an argument that they were still in being, and living with the Lord; because it was some advantage to sinners, though it did not wholly cancel their crimes; because it put a distinction between the perfection of Christ and the imperfection of all other men: therefore they prayed for righteous men, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, bishops, hermits, and all orders of men.'

It appears from all the ancient Liturgies under the names of St. Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and Cyril [82], that they prayed for all saints, the Virgin Mary herself not excepted. And it is remarkable, that in the old Roman Missal they were used to pray for the soul of St. Leo, as Hincmar [83], a writer of the ninth age, informs us, who says the prayer ran in this form: 'Grant, O Lord, that this oblation may be of advantage to the soul of thy servant Leo, which thou hast appointed to be for the relaxation of the sins of the whole world.' But this was thought so incongruous in the following ages, that in the later Sacramentaries or Missals it was changed into this form: 'Grant, O Lord, we beseech thee, that this oblation may be of advantage to us by the intercession of St. Leo,' as Pope Innocent the Third [84] assures us it was in his time. And such another alteration was made in Pope Gregory's Sacramentarium. For in the old Greek and Latin Edition [85] there is this

τελέστερον σημανθῇ. Καὶ γὰρ δικαίων ποιούμεθα τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτωλῶν· ὑπὲρ μὲν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐλέους Θεοῦ δεόμενοι· ὑπὲρ δὲ δικαίων, καὶ πατέρων, καὶ πατριαρχῶν, καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, καὶ εὐαγγελιστῶν, καὶ μαρτύρων, καὶ ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ ἀναχωρητῶν, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τάγματος, ἵνα τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἀφορίσωμεν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τάξεως, διὰ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τιμῆς, καὶ σέβας αὐτῷ ἀποδῶμεν.

[82] See these quoted in Bishop Usher's Answer to the challenge, p. 136. On Prayer for the Dead. (Works, v. 3. p. 201.) Fifthly, by the forms that are found, &c.—Conf. ap. Dall. de Pœnitent. et Satisfact. l. 5. c. 8. (pp. 508 seqq.) Ac primo quidem, &c.—[See also n. 88, following. Ed.]

[83] De Prædestin. l. 1. c. 34. n. 4. (t. 1. p. 297.).... Annue nobis, Domine, ut animæ famuli tui Leonis hæc prosit oblatio, quam immolando totius mundi tribuisti relaxari delicta.

[84] Ep. in Decret. Greg. M. l. 3. tit. 41. c. 6. (t. 2. p. 1372. 70.) Annue nobis, quæsumus Domine, ut intercessione B. Leonis, hæc nobis prosit oblatio. Missal. Fest. Leonis. Jun. 28.

[85] Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. (s. Auctar. Ducæan. t. 2. p. 129.) *Μνήσθητι καὶ τῶν δούλων σου πάντων καὶ πασῶν, οἱ μετὰ τοῦ σημείου τῆς πίστεως προαπῆλθον ἡμῶν, καὶ ὕπνον εἰρήνης κεκοίμηνται· καὶ δεόμεθά σου, ἵνα πᾶσι*

prayer: 'Remember, O Lord, all thy servants, men and women, who have gone before us in the seal of the faith, and sleep in the sleep of peace: we beseech thee, O Lord, to grant them, and all that rest in Christ, a place of refreshment, light, and peace, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord.' But in the new reformed Missals [86] it is altered thus, 'Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids N. and N. that have gone before us, &c.,' that they might not seem to pray for saints as well as others that were in purgatory. Which makes it very probable that St. Cyril's Catechism has also been tampered with, and a clause put in, which speaks of their praying to God by the intercession of patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs: since the ancient Liturgies prayed for them as well as for all others. St. Chrysostom [87] says expressly they offered for the martyrs. And so it is in his Greek Liturgy [88]: 'We offer unto thee this reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets and apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, religious persons, and every spirit perfected in the faith; but especially for our most holy, immaculate, most blessed lady, the mother of God and ever virgin, Mary.' Though, as Bp. Usher [89] has observed, some of the Latin translators have also given a perverse turn to these words, rendering them thus, 'We offer unto thee this

τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀναπανσαμένοις χώραν ἀναψύξεως, καὶ φωτὸς, καὶ εἰρήνης παράσχῃς δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κηρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. [Latine ibid. Memento etiam, Domine, famulorum tuorum, cunctorum atque cunctarum, qui nos præcesserunt [marg. præmortui sunt] cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christi quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis, et pacis, ut indulgeas deprecamur, per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum. Ed.]

[86] Missal. Rom. in Can. Missæ. Ed. Antwerp. 1584. 4to. p. 301. (Ed. Colon. 1644. fol. p. 202. Ed. Paris. 1739. 8vo. p. 228.) Memento, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N., qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis.

[87] Hom. 21. in Act. t. 4. Ed. Savil. p. 736. (t. 9. p. 176 b. 736. 2.) Τί οἴει τὸ ὑπὲρ μαρτύρων προσφέρεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

[88] Liturg. t. 4. p. 614. (t. 12. p. 792 c.) Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπανσαμένων προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, καὶ ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατευτῶν, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου, ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, ὑπὲρ εὐλογημένης [ἐνδόξου] δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου, καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας.

[89] Answer to the Challenge, p. 136. (Works, v. 3. p. 202.) Which kind of oblation *for* the saints sounding somewhat harshly in the ears of the Latins, Leo Thuscus in his translation thought best to express it to their better liking, &c.

reasonable service for the faithful deceased, our forefathers and fathers, by the intercession of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all the saints.' For it sounded ill to the Latin ears to hear St. Chrysostom say, 'the ancient Church prayed for saints and martyrs.' And yet he says it, not only in the forementioned places, but over and over again in others.

In his forty-first Homily upon the first of Corinthians [90], speaking against immoderate sorrow for the death of sinners, he says, 'they are not so much to be lamented, as succoured with prayers and supplications and alms and oblations. For these things were not designed in vain, neither is it without reason that we make mention of those that are deceased in the holy mysteries, interceding for them to the Lamb that is slain to take away the sins of the world; but that some consolation may hence arise to them. Neither is it in vain that he who stands at the altar, when the tremendous mysteries are celebrated, cries, 'We offer unto thee for all those that are asleep in Christ, and all that make commemorations for them! For if there were no commemorations made for them, these things would not be said. Let us not, therefore, grow weary in giving them our assistance, and offering prayers for them. For the common propitiation of the whole world is now before us. Therefore we now pray for the whole world, and name them with martyrs, with confessors, with priests, for we are one body, though one member be more excellent than another; and we may obtain a general pardon for them by our prayers,

[90] Hom. 41. in 1 Cor. p. 701. (t. 10. p. 392 e.) Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμαρτωλὸς ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεῖ χαίρειν, ὅτι ἐνεκόπη τὰ ἁμαρτήματα, καὶ οὐ προσέθηκε τῇ κακίᾳ, καὶ βοηθεῖν ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε ᾖ, οὐ δακρύειν, ἀλλ' εὐχαῖς, καὶ ἱκετηρίαις, καὶ ἐλεημοσύναις, καὶ προσφοραῖς. Οὐ γὰρ ἁπλῶς ταῦτα ἐπινενόηται, οὐδὲ εἰκῇ μνήμην ποιούμεθα τῶν ἀπελθόντων ἐπὶ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρόσιμεν, δεόμενοι τοῦ Ἀμνοῦ τοῦ κειμένου, τοῦ λαβόντος τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου· ἀλλ' ἵνα τις ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς γένηται παραμυθία· οὐδὲ μάτην ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων, βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελούντων· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν αἱ μνεῖαι ἐγίνοντο, οὐδ' ἂν ταῦτα ἐλέχθη.... Μὴ δὴ ἀποκάμωμεν τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι βοηθοῦντες, καὶ προσφέροντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐχάς· καὶ γὰρ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης κεῖται καθάρσιον. Διὰ τοῦτο θαρροῦντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεόμεθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν, μετὰ ἱερέων· καὶ γὰρ ἓν σῶμά ἐσμεν ἅπαντες, κἂν λαμπρότερα μέλη μελῶν, καὶ δυνατὸν πάντοθεν συγγνώμην αὐτοῖς συναγαγεῖν, ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δώρων, ἀπὸ τῶν μετ' αὐτῶν καλουμένων.

by our alms, by the help of those that are named together with them.' He supposes here that the saints prayed for sinners, though at the same time the Church prayed both for the saints and martyrs and sinners together. In another place [91] he says, prayers were made in general for all those that were deceased in the faith, and none but catechumens dying in a voluntary neglect of baptism were excluded from the benefit of them. 'At that time,' says he, 'when all the people stand with their hands lift up to heaven, and all the company of priests with them, and the tremendous sacrifice lies upon the altar, how shall we not move God to mercy, when we call upon him for those that are deceased in the faith? I speak of them only: for the catechumens are not allowed this consolation, but are deprived of all assistance, except only giving alms for them.' This then was a punishment inflicted upon the catechumens, of which Chrysostom speaks in other places [92]; and it appears to have been a settled rule by some ancient canons [93] of the Church, of which I have had occasion to speak in a former Book [94], to deny catechumens the benefit of the Church's prayers after death. Chrysostom says again [95] 'that a bishop is to be intercessor for all the world, and to pray

[91] Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. (t. 11. p. 217 f.) *Ὅταν γὰρ εἰστήκει λαὸς ὁλόκληρος χεῖρας ἀνατείνοντες, πλήρωμα ἱερατικὸν, καὶ πρόκειται ἡ φρικτὴ θυσία, πῶς οὐ δυσωπήσομεν ὑπὲρ τούτων τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλοῦντες; Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει παρελθόντων· οἱ δὲ κατηχούμενοι οὐδὲ ταύτης καταξιοῦνται τῆς παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ ἀπεστέρηνται πάσης τῆς τοιαύτης βοηθείας, πλὴν μᾶς τινος· ποίας δὲ ταύτης; ἔνεστι πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόναι, κ. τ. λ.*

[92] Hom. 24. in Ioan. p. 159. (t. 8. p. 147 b.) *Εἰ γένοιτο, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, ἀπροσδοκήτου τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπελθούσης, ἀμυήτους ἐντεῦθεν ἀπελθεῖν, κἂν μυρία ἔχωμεν ἀγαθὰ, οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἕτερον διαδέξεται ἢ γέεννα, καὶ σκώληξ ἰοβόλος, καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστον, καὶ δεσμὰ ἄλυτα. Ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό τινα τῶν ταῦτα ἀκουόντων ἐκείνης πειρασθῆναι τῆς κολάσεως. Τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται, ἂν τῶν ἁγίων καταξιωθέντες μυστηρίων, χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ λίθους τιμίους οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἐπὶ τὸν θεμέλιον.*—Hom. 1. in Act. p. 14. (t. 9. p. 1 seqq.) [All the latter part of this Homily is addressed to catechumens who delayed their baptism, but I do not find any topic to the author's present purpose, except the following words: (p. 11 d.) .... *Ὁ δὲ, ὥσπερ σοφιζόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀπελθὼν ἄμοιρος τῆς χάριτος ἀπαραίτητον ἕξει τὴν τιμωρίαν.* Ed.]

[93] C. Bracar. i. c. 35. See n. 97, following.

[94] B. 10. ch. 2. s. 18. v. 3. p. 474.

[95] De Sacerdot. l. 6. c. 4. See before, s. 13. p. 306. n. 59.—Conf. Hom. 32. [Bened. 31. al. 32.] in Matth. p. 307. (t. 7. p. 361 e.) *Τί μετὰ ταῦτα πένητας καλεῖς; καὶ παρακαλεῖς ἱερέας εὔξασθαι; ἵνα εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἀπέλθῃ, φησὶν ὁ τετελευτηκὼς, ἵνα ἵλεω σχῇ τὸν δικαστήν.*

to God to be merciful to the sins of all men, not only the living, but the dead also.' Cassian says also the *biothanati*, as they called them, that is *men that laid violent hands upon themselves*, were excluded from the benefit of the Church's prayers. And therefore when one Hero, an old hermit, had by the delusions of Satan cast himself into a deep well, Paphnutius, the abbot [96], could 'hardly be prevailed upon to let him be reckoned any other than a self-murderer, and unworthy of the memorial and oblation that was made for all those that were at rest in peace.' Which is also noted in the Council of Braga [97] where catechumens and self-murderers are put in the same class together, as persons that deserved neither the solemnities of Christian burial, nor the usual prayers and commemoration that was made for the rest of Christians at the altar.

St. Austin had a singular opinion in this matter about prayer for the dead. For he thought the martyrs were not properly to be prayed for as other men, because they were admitted to the immediate fruition of heaven. There goes a common saying under his name, which Pope Innocent the Third [98] quotes as Holy Scripture, 'that he who prays for a martyr does injury to the martyr, because they attained to perfection in this life, and have no need of the prayers of the Church [99], as all others have.' Therefore he says [1], 'when they were named at

[96] Collat. 2. c. 5. (p. 240.).... Vix a presbytero abbate Paphnutio potuit obtineri, ut non inter biothanatos reputatus, etiam memoria et oblatione pausantium judicaretur indignus.

[97] Bracar. 1. c. 35. [al. Bracar. 2. c. 16.] (t. 5. p. 841 e.) Placuit, ut hi, qui sibi ipsis aut per ferrum, aut per venenum, aut per præcipitium, aut suspendium, vel quolibet modo, violentam inferunt mortem, nulla pro illis in oblatione commemoratio fiat, neque cum psalmis ad sepulturam eorum cadavera deducantur, &c.—Ibid. c. 17. (e.) Item placuit, ut catechumenis, sine redemptione baptismi defunctis, simili modo, neque oblationis commemoratio, neque psallendi impendatur officium.

[98] In Decretal. Greg. M. l. 3. tit. 41. c. 5. (t. 2. p. 1373. 11.)... Cum Sacræ Scripturæ dicat auctoritas, quod injuriam facit martyri, qui orat pro martyre.

[99] Serm. 17. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 132. [al. Serm. 159.] (t. 5. p. 765 f, g.) Perfectio tamen in hac vita nonnulla est, ad quam sancti martyres pervenerunt. Ideoque habet ecclesiastica disciplina, quod fideles noverunt, cum martyres eo loco recitantur ad altare Dei, ubi non pro ipsis oretur, pro cæteris autem commemoratis defunctis oratur. Injuria est enim pro martyre orare, cujus nos debemus orationibus commendari.

[1] In Ioan. Tract. 84. t. 9. p. 185. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 709 d.)... Ad ipsam mensam non sic eos commemoramus, quemadmodum alios, qui in pace requiescunt, ut etiam pro eis

the altar, and their memorials celebrated, they did not commemorate them as persons for whom they prayed, as they did all others that rested in peace, but rather as men that prayed for the Church on earth, that we might follow their steps, who had attained to the perfection of charity in laying down their lives for Christ, according to that aphorism of Christ himself, *Greater love than this hath no man, that he lay down his life for his friends.*' Upon this account St. Austin[2] thought the oblations and alms, that were usually offered in the Church for all the dead that had received baptism, 'were only thanksgivings for such as were very good; and propitiations for those that were not very bad; and for such as were very evil, though they were no helps to them when they were dead, yet they were some consolation to the living.' But, as Bishop Usher[3] rightly observes, this was but a harsh interpretation of the prayers of the Church, to imagine that one and the same act of praying should be a petition for some, and for others a thanksgiving only: and therefore it is more reasonable to suppose that the Church designed to pray for all; especially since St. Austin[4] himself owns that the Church made supplications for all that died in the society of the Christian and Catholic faith; as all the ancient forms of prayer do manifestly evince beyond all possibility of exception.

17. Supposing, then, that the ancient Church made prayers for saints and martyrs, as well as all others, it remains to be inquired, Upon what grounds and reasons she observed this custom? Whether upon the modern supposition of a purgatory-fire, or upon other reasons more agreeable to such a general practice? That she did not do it upon the supposition of pur-

Upon wl grounds ancient Church prayed f the dead saints, m tyrs, con fessors, a well as a others.

oremus, sed magis ut [orent] ipsi pro nobis, ut eorum vestigiis adhæreamus, quia impleverunt ipsi caritatem, &c.

[2] Enchirid. c. 110. (t. 6. p. 238 c.) Cum ergo sacrificia sive altaris sive quarumcunque eleemosynarum pro baptizatis defunctis omnibus offeruntur, pro valde bonis gratiarum actiones sunt; pro non valde malis propitiationes sunt; pro valde malis, etiamsi nulla sunt adjumenta mortuorum, qualescunque vivorum consolationes sunt. Quibus autem prosunt, aut ad hoc prosunt, ut sit plena remissio, aut certe ut tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio.

[3] Answer to the Challenge, p. 142. (Works, v. 3. p. 210.) A private exposition I call this, &c.

[4] De Cura pro Mortuis, c. 4. (t. 6. p. 519 e.) .... Non sunt prætermittendæ supplicationes pro spiritibus mortuorum: quas faciendas pro omnibus in Christiana et Catholica societate defunctis, etiam tacitis nominibus, eorumque sub generali commemoratione, suscepit ecclesia.

gatory, appears evidently from what has been already observed [in the preceding section] out of the public offices of the Church, that she prayed for all the saints, martyrs, confessors, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself, and all other holy men and women from the foundation of the world, who were supposed to be in a place of rest and happiness, and not in any place of purgation or torment. And this appears further from the private prayers made by St. Ambrose for the Emperors Theodosius[5] and Valentinian and Gratian[6], and for his own brother Satyrus[7]; and the directions he gives to Faustinus[8], 'not to weep for his sister, but to make prayers and oblations for her.' For all these were persons, of whom he had not the least doubt but that their souls were in rest and happiness: as all the funeral-service of the Ancients supposes, where they usually sung those verses of the Psalms, "Return again unto thy rest, O my soul, for the Lord hath rewarded [dealt bountifully with] thee:" [116, 7.] and again, "I will fear no evil, because thou art with me:" [23, 4.] and again, "Thou art my refuge from the affliction that compasseth me about," [or, "Thou hast been my defence and refuge in the day of my trouble." 59, 16.] Which St. Chrysostom[9] often bids his hearers remember; so that whilst they prayed for the deceased party, they should not weep and lament immoderately, as the Heathen did, but give God thanks for taking him to a

[5] De Obit. Theodos. (t. 2. p. 1207 d. n. 36.) Da requiem perfectam servo tuo Theodosio, requiem illam quam præparasti sanctis tuis.

[6] De Obit. Valentin. (ibid. p. 1194 b. n. 78.) Beati ambo [Valentinianus et Gratianus] si quid meæ orationes valebunt. Nulla dies vos silentio præteribit, nulla inhonoratos vos mea transibit oratio, nulla nox non donatos aliqua precum mearum contextione transcurret.

[7] See b. 23. ch. 3. s. 13. v. 8.

[8] Ep. 8. [al. 39.] ad Faustin. (ibid. p. 944 f. n. 4.) Itaque non tam deplorandam quam prosequendam orationibus reor: nec mœstificandam lacrymis tuis, sed magis oblationibus animam ejus Domino commendandam arbitror.

[9] Hom. 4. in Hebr. p. 1785. (t. 12. p. 47 b.) Ἐννόησον τί ψάλλεις κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον· Ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε· καὶ πάλιν, Οὐ φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ, ὅτι σὺ μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶ· καὶ πάλιν, Σύ μου εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με· ἐννόησον τί βούλονται οὗτοι οἱ ψαλμοί. —Hom. 29. de Dormient. t. 5. p. 423. (t. 1. p. 764 e.) Ἄλγησον, δάκρυσον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀποδυσπετήσῃς, μὴ δυσχεράνῃς, μὴ ἀγανακτήσῃς.... τὸν ἀπελθόντα, καὶ λαμπρὰ ταῦτα αὐτῷ συμπέμψῃς ἐντάφια· ἂν μὲν γὰρ δυσχεράνῃς, κἀκεῖνον καθύβρισας, καὶ τὸν λαβόντα παρώξυνας, καὶ σαυτὸν κατέβλαψας· ἂν δὲ εὐχαριστήσῃς, κἀκεῖνον ἐκόσμησας, καὶ τὸν λαβόντα ἐδόξασας, καὶ σαυτὸν ὠφέλησας.—Conf. Cassian. Collat. 2. c. 5. (pp. 139, seqq.) De morte Heronis senis.

place of rest and security. Which is utterly inconsistent with their going into the dreadful pains of purgatory. St. Austin[9] both prayed in private for his mother Monicha, [or Monnica], and also speaks of the Church's prayers for her at her funeral, and afterward at the altar; and yet he made no question of her going hence from a state of piety here to a state of joy and felicity hereafter. And after the same manner Gregory Nazianzen[10] prays God to receive the soul of his brother Cæsarius, who was lately regenerated by the Spirit in baptism.

It is certain these prayers were not founded on a belief of a purgatory-fire after death, but upon a supposition that they were going to a place of rest[11] and happiness, which was their first reason for praying for them, that God would receive them to himself, and deliver them from condemnation.

Secondly, upon the same presumption some of their prayers for the dead were always eucharistical, or thanksgivings for their deliverance out of the troubles of this sinful world. As appears not only from the fore-mentioned testimonies of Chrysostom, but from the Author under the name of Dionysius[12], who, in describing their funeral-service, speaks of the εὐχὴ εὐχαριστήριος, *the eucharistical prayer*, whereby they gave God thanks not only for martyrs, but for all Christians that died in the true faith and fear of God.

A third reason of praying for them was, because they justly conceived all men to die with some remainders of frailty and corruption, and therefore desired that God would deal with

[9] Confess. l. 9. c. 12. (t. 1. p. 168 f.) Nam neque in eis precibus, quas tibi fudimus, cum offerretur pro ea [Monicha] sacrificium pretii nostri, jam juxta sepulcrum posito cadavere, priusquam deponeretur, sicut illic fieri solet, nec in eis precibus ego flevi, &c.—Ibid. c. 13. (p. 170 a.) Scio misericorditer operatam, et ex corde dimisisse debita debitoribus suis: dimitte illi et tu debita sua, si qua etiam contraxit per tot annos post aquam salutis. Dimitte, Domine, dimitte, obsecro, ne intres cum ea in judicium.

[10] Orat. 10. (t. 1. p. 176 b.) .... Νῦν μὲν δέχοιο Καισάριον ἀπαρχὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀποδημίας. See also afterwards, b. 23. ch. 3. s. 13. for similar examples.

[11] [One of the formularies in the MS. Sacramentary at the Royal Library at Stockholm, referred to before in this Book (ch. 1. s. 1. p. 213. n. 6.), is entitled *Memoria Defunctorum*, and is in these words: Suscipe Sancta Trinitas hanc oblationem, quam tibi offero pro animabus famulorum famularum que tuarum illorum, ut requiem æternam dones eis inter tuos sanctos electos, ut in illorum consortio vita perfruamur æterna. Ed.]

[12] Eccles. Hierarch. c. 7. part. 2. p. 408. (t. 1. p. 265 b.) Εἶτα τελεῖ τὴν πρὸς Θεὸν εὐχαριστήριον εὐχὴν ὁ ἱεράρχης.

them according to his mercy, and not in strict justice according to their merits. For no one then was thought to have any real merit or title to eternal happiness, but only upon God's promises and mercy. St. Austin [12] discourses excellently upon this point in the case of his mother Monicha, after this manner: 'I now pour out unto thee, my God, another sort of tears for thy handmaid, flowing from a trembling spirit, in consideration of the danger that every soul is in that dies in Adam. For although she was made alive in Christ, and lived so in the days of her flesh as to bring glory to thy name by her faith and practice; yet I dare not say that from the time she was regenerated by baptism no word came out of her mouth against thy command. And thou hast told us by him who is truth itself, that whosoever shall say to his brother, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. And woe to the most laudable life of man, if thou shouldest sift and examine it without mercy. But because thou art not extreme to mark what is done amiss, we have hope and confidence to find some place and room for indulgence with thee. But whoever reckons up his true merits

[12] Confess. l. 9. c. 13. (t. 1. p. 169 d.) Ego autem jam sanato corde ab illo vulnere, in quo poterat redargui carnalis affectus, fundo tibi, Deus noster, pro illa famula tua longe aliud lacrymarum genus, quod manat de concusso spiritu consideratione periculorum omnis animæ, quæ in Adam moritur. Quanquam illa in Christo vivificata, etiam nondum a carne resoluta sic vixerit, ut laudetur nomen tuum in fide moribusque ejus, non tamen audeo dicere, ex quo eam per baptismum regenerasti, nullum verbum exisse ab ore ejus contra præceptum tuum. Et dictum est a Veritate, Filio tuo, *Si quis dixerit fratri suo, Fatue, reus erit gehennæ ignis.* Et væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. Quia vero non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem apud te locum invenire indulgentiæ. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscant se homines homines; et qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur! Ego itaque, laus mea et vita mea, Deus cordis mei, sepositis paulisper bonis ejus actibus, pro quibus tibi gaudens gratias ago, nunc pro peccatis matris meæ deprecor te, exaudi me per medicinam vulnerum nostrorum, quæ pependit in ligno; et sedens ad dexteram tuam, te interpellat pro nobis..... Non se interponat nec vi nec insidiis Leo et Draco; neque enim respondebit illa nihil se debere, ne convincatur et obtineatur ab accusatore callido: sed respondebit dimissa debita sua ab eo, cui nemo reddet quod pro nobis non debens reddidit. Sit ergo in pace cum viro, ante quem nulli et post quem nulli nupta est, cui servivit fructum tibi afferens cum tolerantia, ut eum quoque lucraretur tibi. Et inspira, Domine meus, Deus meus, inspira servis tuis fratribus meis, filiis tuis, dominis meis; quibus et voce, et corde, et literis servio, ut quotquot hæc legerint, meminerint ad altare tuum Monichæ [al. Monnicæ] famulæ tuæ, cum Patricio quondam ejus conjuge.

before thee, what does he more than recount thy own gifts? O that all men would know themselves, and they that glory would glory in the Lord: I therefore, O my praise and my life, the God of my heart, setting aside a little her good actions, for which I joyfully give thee thanks, now make intercession for the sins of my mother. Hear me through the medicine of his wounds, who hanged upon the tree, and now sitteth at thy right hand to make intercession for us.' He adds a little after, 'that he believed God had granted what he asked:' yet he prays, 'that the lion and the dragon might not interpose himself, either by his open violence or subtlety. For she would not answer that she was no debtor, lest the crafty adversary should convict her and lay hold of her; but she would answer, that her sins were forgiven her by him, to whom no man can return what he gave to us without any obligation. Let her therefore rest in peace with her husband; and do thou, my Lord God, inspire all those thy servants that read this to remember thy handmaid Monicha at thy altar, with Patricius her consort.' This was not a prayer for persons in the pains of purgatory; but for such as rested in peace, only without dependence upon their own merits, and with an humble reliance upon God's mercy, that he would not suffer them to be devoured by the roaring lion, nor deal extremely with them for the sins of human frailty.

A fourth reason for these prayers is that which we have heard before out of Epiphanius [13], that it was to put a distinction between the perfection of Christ, and the imperfection of all other men, saints, martyrs, apostles, prophets, confessors, &c. He being the only person for whom prayer was not then made in the Church.

Fifthly, they prayed for all Christians, as a testimony both of their respect and love to the dead, and of their own belief of the soul's immortality; to show, as Epiphanius words it in the same place, that they believed that they who were deceased were yet alive, and not extinguished, but still in being and living with the Lord.

Sixthly, whereas the soul is but in an imperfect state of happiness till the resurrection, when the whole man shall obtain a complete victory over death, and by the last judgment

[13] Hær. 75. Aerian. n. 7. See s. 16. p. 311. nn. 80, 81.

be established in an endless state of consummate happiness and glory; the Church had a particular respect to this in her prayers for the righteous, that both the living and the dead might finally attain this blessed estate of a glorious resurrection. It is observed by some [14], that there are some prayers yet exstant in the Roman Mass which are conformable to this opinion, as that which prays 'that God would absolve the souls of his servants from every bond of sin, and bring them to the glory of the resurrection, &c.'

All these were general reasons of praying for the dead, without the least intimation of their being tormented in the temporary pains of a purgatory-fire. Besides which, they had some particular opinions, which tended to promote this practice.

For, first, a great many of the Ancients believed that the souls of all the righteous, except martyrs, were sequestered out of heaven, in some place invisible to mortal eye, which they called Hades, or Paradise, or Abraham's Bosom, a place

[14] Du Moulin, Novelty of Popery. Third Controversy of Book 7. ch. 1. (p. 459.) To that prayer many prayers are conformable, which are said in the Mass for the dead, &c. [See the *Absolutiones post Missam* at the end of the Second Book of the *Sacræ Ceremoniæ, &c. S. Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Colon. Agripp.* 1574. (fol. 282 vers. et seqq.), of which the following is an example: Absolve quæsumus, Domine, animabus famulorum tuorum ab omni vinculo delictorum, ut, in resurrectionis gloria, inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati, respirent per Dominum nostrum.—See other numerous examples in the *Missæ pro Defunctis*, as well as among the *Orationes Diversæ pro Defunctis*, near the end of the *Missale Romanorum ex Decreto Sancto Sancti Concilii Tridentini restitutum, S. Pii Quinti jussu editum, Clementis VIII. et Urbani VIII. Papæ auctoritate recognitum, et Novis Missis ex Indulto Apost. hucusque concessis auctum. Mechliniæ*, 1850. 8vo. In most of those *formulæ* there is no express recognition of purgatory or temporary torment: but they ask for *remissionem peccatorum*, and *ut mereantur evadere judicium ultionis, et lucis æternæ beatitudine perfrui.* They say *Requiem æternam dona eis*, and *Ut per hæc piæ placationis officia pervenire mereatur* [*anima*] *ad requiem sempiternam, &c.* They ask for *refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, et luminis claritatem, &c.*, after the manner of the more ancient *formulæ* in the Ordo Romanus and Gothic Missal, as mentioned by Mabillon. But among the *Missæ Quotidianæ Defunctorum* there is the following prayer, which is not found among the more ancient *formulæ*: (p. 116.) Domine Jesu Christe, Rex gloriæ, libera animas omnium fidelium defunctorum de pœnis Inferni et de profundo lacu: libera eas de ore Leonis, ne absorbeat eas Tartarus, ne cadant in obscurum: sed signifer Sanctus Michaël repræsentet eas in lucem sanctam, quam olim Abrahæ promisisti et semini ejus. Hostias et preces tibi, Domine, laudis offerimus. Tu suscipe pro animabus illis, quarum hodie memoriam facimus. Fac eas, Domine, de morte transire ad vitam. These citations justify every statement. ED.]

of refreshment and joy, where they expected a completer happiness at the end of all things. This is the known opinion of Hermes Pastor, Justin Martyr, Pope Pius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Caius Romanus, Victorinus Martyr, Novatian, Lactantius, Hilary, Ambrose, Gregory Nyssen, Prudentius, Austin, and Chrysostom.' Therefore in praying for the dead they may be supposed to have some reference to this, and to desire that the souls of the righteous thus sequestered for a time might at last be brought to the perfect fruition of happiness in heaven.

Secondly. Many of the Ancients held the opinion of the Millenium, or the reign of Christ a thousand years upon earth, before the final day of judgment: and they supposed likewise that men should rise, some sooner, some later, to this happy state, according to their merits and preparations for it. And therefore some of them prayed for the deceased on this supposition, that they might obtain a part in this resurrection, and a speedier admission into this kingdom: it being reckoned a sort of punishment not to be admitted with the first that should rise to this state of glory. Tertullian plainly refers to this [15] when he says, 'Every little offence is to be punished by delaying men's resurrection.' And therefore he says [16] they were wont to pray for the souls of the deceased, 'that they might not only rest in peace for the present, but also obtain part in the first resurrection.' And for this reason St. Ambrose [17] prayed for Gratian and Valentinian, 'that God would raise them with the first, and recompense their untimely death with a timely resurrection.' And he says elsewhere [18], 'that they who come

[15] De Anim. c. 58. (p. 307 b.)... Modicum quodque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum, &c.

[16] De Monogam. c. 10. See before, s. 16. p. 310. n. 72. [Conf. l. 3. cont. Marcion. c. 24. (p. 412 a.) Hæc ratio regni terreni [al. cœlestis *]; post cujus mille annos, intra quam ætatem concluditur sanctorum resurrectio, pro meritis maturius vel tardius resurgentium, &c.

[17] De Obit. Valentin. ad fin. (t. 2. p. 1196 b. n. 80.) Te quæso, summe Deus, ut carissimos juvenes matura resurrectione suscites et resuscites; ut immaturum hunc vitæ istius cursum matura [al. maturiore] resurrectione compenses.

[18] In Ps. 1. (t. 1. p. 763 d. n. 54.) .... Qui autem non veniunt ad primam resurrectionem, sed ad secundam reservantur, isti urentur donec impleant tempora inter primam et secundam resurrectionem: aut si

* [*Regni cœlestis* is the reading of the older editions. See, for example, the edition per Beatum Rhenanum, Basil. 1528. p. 228. Ed.]

not to the first resurrection, but are reserved unto the second, shall be burned until they fulfil the time between the first and second resurrection; or if they have not fulfilled that, they shall remain longer in punishment. Therefore let us pray that we may obtain a part in the first resurrection.' Bishop Usher[19] also shows out of some Gothic Missals that the Church had anciently several prayers directed to this very purpose.

Thirdly. Many of the Ancients believed that there would be a fire of probation, through which all must pass at the last day, even the Prophets and Apostles, and even the Virgin Mary herself not excepted. Which is asserted not only by Origen[20], Irenæus[21], and Lactantius[22], but also by St. Ambrose[23], who says, after Origen, 'that all must pass through the flames, though it be John the Evangelist, though it be Peter. The sons of Levi shall be purged by fire[24], Ezekiel,

non impleverint, diutius in supplicio permanebunt. Ideo ergo rogemus, ut in prima resurrectione partem habere mereamur.

[19] Answer to the Challenge, p. 151. (Works, v. 3. p. 223.).... [In a certain Gothic Missal I meet with two several exhortations made unto the people to pray after this form: the one, that God would 'vouchsafe to place in the bosom of Abraham the souls of those that be at rest, and admit them unto the part of the first resurrection:' the other, which I find elsewhere also repeated in particular, that he would 'place in rest the spirits of their friends, which were gone before them in the Lord's peace, and raise them up in the part of the first resurrection.'—Vid. ap. Bibl. Patr. Latin. (De la Bigne, Paris. 1589. t. 6. col. 251 c.) .... Ut quiescentium animas in sinu Abrahæ collocare dignetur, et in partem primæ resurrectionis admittat.—Ibid. infr. (col. 257 e.).... Ut eos Dominus in requie collocare dignetur, et in parte primæ resurrectionis resuscitet. ED.]

[20] Hom. 3. in Ps. 36. p. 446. (t. 2. p. 664 a.) Ut ego arbitror, omnes nos venire necesse est ad illum ignem. Etiam si Paulus sit aliquis vel Petrus, venit tamen ad illum ignem.

[21] L. 4. c. 9. [The title of the chapter cited (p. 281. 10.) is, *Ostensio quoniam Christus est, qui superinduxit diem velut clibanum ardentem*, with reference to Matth. 3, 11 and 12, or Luke 3, 16 and 17. The force of the citation seems to lie in the words of the Baptist, *Ipse vos baptizabit in Spiritu Sancto et igni, palam habens in manu ejus ad emundandam aream suam, et fructum congregabit in horreum, paleas autem comburet igni inextinguibili.* The chapter itself contains nothing expressly about a final fire of probation. ED.]

[22] Instit. l. 7. c. 21. (t. 1. p. 574.) Sed et justos cum judicaverit, etiam igni eos examinabit.

[23] In Ps. 118. Serm. 20. (t. 1. p. 1225 c. n. 12.) Omnes oportet transire per flammas, sive ille Ioannes Evangelista sit, quem ita dilexit Dominus, ut de eo diceret ad Petrum; *Si eum volo manere, quid ad te? tu me sequere.* De morte ejus aliqui dubitaverunt, de transitu per ignem dubitare non possumus, quia in Paradiso est, nec separatur a Christo. Sive ille sit Petrus, qui claves accepit regni cœlorum, qui supra mare ambulavit, oportet dicat, *Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et induxisti nos in refrigerium.*

[24] In Ps. 36. Hom. 3. (ibid. p. 789 e. n. 26.) Igne ergo purgabun-

Daniel, &c. But these having been tried by fire, shall say, We have passed through fire and water.' And St. Hilary[25] much after the same manner: 'They that are baptized with the Holy Ghost are yet to be perfected by the fire of judgment.' For so he interprets those words of the Evangelist, [Matth. 3, 11. Luke 3, 16.] "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." And again[26], 'Do we desire the day of judgment, in which we must undergo the exact scrutiny of fire: in which we must give an account of every idle word: in which those grievous punishments for expiating souls from sin must be endured? If the Virgin herself, who conceived God in her womb, must undergo the severity of judgment, who is so bold as to desire to be judged by God?' There are many like passages in Gregory Nazianzen[27], and Nyssen[28], and St. Jerom[29], and St. Austin[30], which the Romish writers commonly produce for the fire of purgatory, whereas they plainly relate to this 'purging sacrament,' as Origen[31] calls it, or in St. Austin's language[32], 'the purging pains of the fire of judgment at the last day.' And the fear of this was another reason of their praying for the dead.

tur filii Levi, igne Ezechiel, igne Daniel. Sed hi, etsi per ignem examinabuntur, dicent tamen, *Transivimus per ignem et aquam.*

[25] In Matth. c. 2. p. 148. (t. 1. p. 675 c. n. 4.).... Quia baptizatis in Spiritu Sancto reliquum sit consummari igne judicii.

[26] In Ps. 118. [al. 119.] voce Gimel. p. 254. (ibid. p. 294 b. n. 12.) An cum ex omni otioso verbo rationem simus præstituri, diem judicii concupiscemus, in quo nobis est indefessus ignis obeundus; in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia? Beatæ Mariæ animam gladius pertransibit, ut revelentur multorum cordium cogitationes. Si in judicii severitatem capax illa Dei virgo ventura est, desiderare quis audebit a Deo judicari?

[27] Orat. 42. (t. 1. p. 697 a.) Στήσαις τῷ σώματι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν τυραννίδα. Ὁρᾷς ὅσην, Κύριε, καὶ ὡς κάμπτουσαν, ἢ τὴν σὴν ψῆφον, εἰ παρὰ σοῦ καθαιροίμεθα.

[28] Orat. de Mort. (t. 3. p. 634 d.) ....Ἤτοι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ζωὴν, διὰ προσευχῆς τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐκκαθαρθεὶς, ἢ μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε μετανάστασιν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ καθαρσίου πυρὸς χωνείας.

[29] In Esai. 66. sub fin. (t. 4. p. 832 a.) Sicut Diaboli et omnium negatorum atque impiorum, qui dixerunt in corde suo, *Non est Deus*, credimus æterna tormenta; sic peccatorum atque impiorum et tamen Christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam arbitramur et mixtam clementiæ sententiam judicis.

[30] De Civitat. Dei, l. 20. c. 25. in Mal. 3, 1 et seqq. (t. 7. p. 609 d.) Ex his, quæ dicta sunt, videtur evidentius apparere, in illo judicio quasdam quorundam purgatorias pœnas futuras.

[31] Hom. 14. in Luc. p. 223. (t. 3. p. 948 a.) Ego puto, quod et post resurrectionem ex mortuis indigeamus sacramento eluente nos atque purgante.

[32] See n. 30, preceding.

Fourthly. Some of the Ancients thought likewise that the prayers of the Church were of some use to mitigate the pains of the damned souls, though not effectual for their total deliverance. And lastly, that they served to augment the glory of the saints in happiness. St. Austin[33] says, they were of use to render the damnation of the wicked more tolerable. And this was the opinion of Prudentius[34], and of Chrysostom[35], who advises men to pray for the dead upon this account, 'that it would bring some consolation to them, though but a little; or if none at all to them, yet it would be accepted of God as a pleasing sacrifice from those that offered it.' And the like may be read in Paulinus[36] and in the author of the Questions to Antiochus[37] under the name of Athanasius. St. Chrysostom[38] says further, 'that their prayers and alms were of use to procure an addition to the rewards and retributions of the righteous.'

These are all the reasons we meet with in the Ancients for praying for souls departed; none of which have any relation to their being tormented in the fire of purgatory, but most of them tend directly to overthrow it. Whence we may safely conclude, that though the Ancients generally prayed for the dead, at least from the time of Tertullian[39], who first speaks of

[33] Enchirid. c. 110. (t. 6. p. 238 d.) ... Aut certe ut tolerabilior fiat ipsa damnatio.

[34] Cathemer. Carm. 5. de Cereo Paschali. vv. 125—128. (v. 1. p. 94.)
Sunt et spiritibus sæpe nocentibus Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ,
Illa nocte, sacer qua rediit Deus Stagnis ad superos ex Acheronticis.

[35] Hom. 3. in Phil. p. 1225. (t. 11. p. 217 d.) Κλαίωμεν οὖν τούτους, βοηθῶμεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ δύναμιν, ἐπινοήσωμεν αὐτοῖς τινα βοήθειαν, μικρὰν μὲν, βοηθεῖν δὲ ὅμως δυναμένην. Πῶς καὶ τίνι τρόπῳ; αὐτοί τε εὐχόμενοι, καὶ ἑτέρους παρακαλοῦντες εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, πένησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδόντες συνεχῶς· ἔχει τινὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα παραθυμίαν· κ.τ.λ.—Conf. Hom. 21. in Act. and Hom. 32. in Matth. See n. 38, following.

[36] Ep. 19. ad Delphin. (p. 189.) Petimus ... ut orationibus tuis condonetur tibi, ut et illius animam, vel de minimo sanctitatis tuæ digito distillans, refrigerii gutta respergat.

[37] Quæst. ad Antioch. 34. (t. 2. p. 224 b.) Τί οὖν; Οὐκ αἰσθάνονταί τινος εὐεργεσίας καὶ αἱ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ψυχαὶ, γινομένων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν συνάξεων, καὶ εὐποιῶν, καὶ προσφορῶν; Εἰ μή τινος εὐεργεσίας μετείχον ἐκ τούτου, οὐκ ἂν ἐν τῇ προσκομιδῇ ἐμνημονεύοντο, κ.τ.λ.

[38] Hom. 32. [Bened. 31. al. 32.] in Matth. p. 307. (t. 7. p. 362 c.)... Εἰ δὲ δίκαιος, ἵνα προσθήκη γένηται μισθοῦ καὶ ἀντιδόσεως.—Conf. Hom. 21. in Act. (t. 9. p. 175 b.)... Εἰπὲ τοὔνομα· πάσας κέλευσον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δεήσεις καὶ τὰς ἱκετηρίας· δυσωπήσει τοῦτο τὸν Θεὸν, εἰ δὲ μὴ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτὸν ἕτερος αἴτιος γίνεται τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης.

[39] [De Cor. Mil. c. 3. De Monogam. c. 10. Exhort. ad Castitat. c. 11. See before, s. 16. p. 310. nn. 71, 72, 73. Ed.]

it; yet they did it not upon those principles, which are now so stiffly contended for in the Romish Church. Which is also evident from many ancient forms still remaining in the Mass-book, and the Liturgies of the modern Greeks, who continue to pray for the dead without any belief of purgatory; as it were easy to demonstrate out of their Rituals, but that it is wholly foreign to the design of the present discourse.

A short account of the diptychs, and their use in the ancient Church.

18. There is one thing more to be noted upon this matter, that sometime before they made oblation for the dead, it was usual in some ages to recite the names of such eminent bishops, or saints, or martyrs, as were particularly to be mentioned in this part of the service. To this purpose they had certain books, which they called *their holy books*, and commonly *their diptychs*, from their being *folded together;* wherein the names of such persons were written, that the deacon might rehearse them, as occasion required, in the time of divine service.

Cardinal Bona[39] and Schelstrate[40] make three sorts of these diptychs: one, wherein the names of bishops only were written, and more particularly such bishops as had been governors of that particular Church: a second, wherein the names of the living were written, who were eminent and conspicuous, either for any office and dignity, or some benefaction and good work, whereby they had deserved well of the Church; in this rank were the patriarchs and bishops of great sees, and the bishop and clergy of that particular Church, together with the emperors and magistrates, and others most conspicuous among the people: the third was the book containing the names of such as were deceased in Catholic communion. The first and the last of these seem to be much the same, and the consideration of them is only proper to this place. For the recital of the

[39] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 12. n. 1. (p. 306.) Invenio autem tria fuisse genera diptychorum sive tabularum, quibus nomina in singulis ecclesiis inscribebantur. Primum erat peculiare episcoporum, eorum præsertim, qui illam ecclesiam rexerunt, dummodo probitate ac sanctis moribus claruissent. Secundum vivorum, in quibus eorum nomina descripta erant, qui adhuc viventes, dignitate aliqua vel beneficiis illi ecclesiæ collatis conspicui, vel alio titulo bene meriti erant. In his primo loco Romanus pontifex, tum alii patriarchæ et proprius antistes, ac reliqui clero ascripti resensebantur: postea imperator, principes, magistratus, et populus fidelis. Tertium erat mortuorum, qui in Catholica communione decesserant.

[40] C. Antioch. Restitut. dissert. 4. c. 6. p. 12. De Canone. (p. 216.) Tria autem genera, &c.

names of the living, as benefactors by their oblations, has been spoken of already[41]; and here we are only concerned with the dead. Of this there is no mention made in the Constitutions, which seems to argue that the custom of rehearsing the diptychs was not brought into the rituals of that Church, whence the compiler of that book made his collections. But Cyprian[42] and Tertullian[43] speak of them under another name; and Theodoret[44] mentions them in the case of St. Chrysostom, whose name for some time was left out of the diptychs, because he died excommunicate, though unjustly, by Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, and other Eastern bishops, with whom the Western Church would not communicate till they had restored his name to the diptychs again.

The author under the name of Dionysius[45] gives this account of them: 'that after the salutation of the kiss of peace, the diptychs were read, which set forth the names of those who had lived righteously, and had attained to the perfections of a virtuous life; which was done, partly to excite and conduct the living to the same happy state by following their good example; and partly to celebrate the memory of them as still living, according to the principles of religion, and not properly dead, but only translated by death to a more divine life.' It appears from this author that these diptychs were then read before the consecration, immediately after the kiss of peace. And so it is in the Acts of the Council of Constantinople under

[41] B. 15. ch. 2. s. 4. v. 5. p. 245. and b. 2. ch. 20. s. 5. v. 1. p. 251.

[42] Ep. 66. [al. 1.] ad Pleb. Furnitan. (p. 170.) Quod episcopi, antecessores nostri, religiose considerantes et salubriter providentes, censuerunt, ne quis frater excedens ad tutelam vel curam clericum nominaret: ac si quis hoc fecisset, non offerretur pro eo, nec sacrificium pro dormitione ejus celebraretur. Neque enim apud altare Dei meretur nominari in sacerdotum prece, qui ab altari sacerdotes et ministros voluit avocare.

[43] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. See before, s. 16. p. 310. n. 71.

[44] L. 5. c. 34. (v. 3. p. 234. 40.) *Τελευτήσαντος τοῦ μεγάλου διδασκάλου τῆς οἰκουμένης, οὐ πρότερον οἱ τῆς ἑσπέρας ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τῇ Ἑῴᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ καὶ τῇ Θράκῃ, τὴν κοινωνίαν ἠσπάσαντο, ἕως ἐκείνου τοῦ θεσπεσίου ἀνδρὸς τοὔνομα τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ἐπισκόποις συνέταξαν.*

[45] Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. part. 3. n. 9. pp. 253, 254. (t. 1. p. 194 a.) *Τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν πτυχῶν ἡ μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀνάρρησις ἀνακηρύττει τοὺς ὁσίως βεβιωκότας, καὶ πρὸς ἐναρέτου ζωῆς τελείωσιν ἀμεταστάτως ἀφικομένους· ἡμᾶς μέν, ἐπὶ τὴν δι' ὁμοιότητος αὐτῶν μακαρίστην ἕξιν καὶ θεοειδῆ λῆξιν προτρέπουσα, καὶ χειραγωγοῦσα, τοὺς δὲ ὡς ζῶντας ἀνακηρύττουσα, καὶ, ὡς ἡ θεολογία φησὶν, οὐ νεκρωθέντας, ἀλλ' εἰς θειοτάτην ζωὴν ἐκ θανάτου μεταφοιτήσαντας.*

Mennas, [anno 536,] which makes frequent mention of them, and particularly in one place[46] notes the time of reading them, namely, 'after the reading of the Gospel and the Creed:' for by this time the Creed was also become a part of the communion-service in the Eastern Church: therefore it is said, after the reading of the Gospel, when the commnnion-service was begun, not *ended*, as the Latin translation falsely renders it, the Creed was read according to custom,—*τοῦ ἁγίου μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ συνηθὲς λεχθέντος*,—not the prayers and prefaces going before the oblation, as some learned men[47], not understanding the true meaning of the word *μάθημα*, render it *lectio*, and interpret it *prayers and prefaces*, which most certainly signifies *the Creed*[48] in this place; then, after the reading of the Creed, in the time of the diptychs, 'all the people ran and stood about the altar with great silence, to give attention; and when the deacon had named the four holy synods, and the archbishops of blessed memory, Euphemius, Macedonius, and Leo, they all with a loud voice cried out, Glory be to thee, O Lord! and after that with great tranquillity the divine service was piously performed.' It is here observable, that the recital of the diptychs was before the consecration-prayer, as it is represented in the Hierarchy of Dionysius, though in the Latin Church it seems to have been otherwise, and that now it was usual to mention the four first general Councils, to shew their approbation of them. Which may be also evidenced from one of Justinian's Letters to Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople,

[46] An. 536. Act. 5. (t. 5. p. 185 c.) *Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ ἁγίου Εὐαγγελίου, ἐξ ἔθους τῆς θείας λειτουργίας ἐπιτελουμένης, καὶ τῶν θυρῶν κλεισθεισῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Μαθήματος κατὰ τὸ σύνηθες λεχθέντος, τῷ καιρῷ τῶν διπτύχων, μετὰ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας συνέδραμον ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος κύκλῳ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ ἠκροῶντο· καὶ ὡς μόνον ἐλέχθησαν αἱ προσηγορίαι τῶν εἰρημένων ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὁσίᾳ τῇ μνήμῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπων, Εὐφημίου, καὶ Μακεδονίου, καὶ Λέοντος, μεγάλῃ φωνῇ ἔκραξαν ἅπαντες, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μετὰ πάσης εὐταξίας ἐπληρώθη σὺν Θεῷ ἡ θεία λειτουργία.* [The Latin version in Labbe, as cited in the verification above, has it, *Sancta lectione juxta consuetudinem lecta.* Ed.]

[47] Ibid. ut supr. n. 40. (p. 217.) ... Ex hoc loco [Concilii Constantinopolitani] insigne habemus testimonium ... post Evangelium finitam fuisse missam catechumenorum; tum clausis januis sanctam lectionem peractam, orationes utique cum præfatione et parte canonis, tumque a diacono in altari lecta esse diptycha, in quibus memoria erat episcoporum pie defunctorum; nec sola, sed etiam vivorum, qui dignitate aliqua excellebant, &c.

[48] See this proved before, b. 10. ch. 3. s. 3. v. 4. p. 498.

now exstant in the Code[49], wherein he assures him, 'that it was in vain for any one to trouble him upon any false hopes, as if he had done, or ever would do, or suffer any other to do any thing contrary to the four Councils, or allow the pious memory of them to be erased out of the diptychs of the Church.' These therefore were of use, partly to preserve the memory of such eminent men as were dead in the communion of the Church, and partly to make honourable mention of such general Councils as had established the chief articles of the faith: and to erase the names either of men or of Councils out of these diptychs, was the same thing as to declare that they were heterodox, and such as they thought unworthy to hold communion with, as criminals, or some ways deviating from the faith. Upon this account St. Cyprian[50] ordered the name of Geminius Victor to be left out among those that were commemorated at the holy table, because he had broken the rules of the Church. And Evagrius[51] observes of Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, that his name was struck out of the holy books, that is, the diptychs, upon the account of his heretical opinions, after death. And St. Austin[52], speaking of Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage, whom the Donatists falsely accused of being ordained by *traditores*, or men who had delivered up the Bible to be burned in time of persecution, tells them, that if they could make good any real charge against him, they would no longer name him among the rest of the bishops, whom they believed to be faithful and innocent, at the altar.

Next to the dead, prayer made for the living members of that part.

19. Having made this short digression concerning the diptychs of the Church, I now return to the order of the service laid down in the Constitutions. Where, next after prayer for the dead, supplication is made for the living members[53] of that

[49] Cod. Justin. l. 1. tit. 1. de Summa Trinitate. l. 7. (t. 4. p. 25. ad calc.) Μηδεὶς τοίνυν μάτην ἡμᾶς ταραξάτω ἐλπίδι ματαίᾳ κρατούμενος, ὅτι ἡμεῖς ἐναντίον τῶν εἰρημένων δ' συνόδων ἐπράξαμεν, ἢ πράξομεν, ἢ πραχθῆναι παρά τισι συγχωρήσομεν, ἢ περιαιρεθῆναι τὴν τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων δ' συνόδων ὁσίαν μνήμην ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας διπτύχων ἀνεξόμεθα.—Conf. Evagr. l. 4. c. 38. (t. 3. p. 418. 18.)... Ὡς καὶ πάλαι Θεόδωρος κατεκέκριτο, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπηλείφει δέλτων, κ. τ. λ.

[50] Ep. 66. [al. 1.] ad Pleb. Furnitan. See the last part of n. 42, preceding.

[51] L. 4. c. 38. See the second part of n. 49, preceding.

[52] Serm. 37. ex Editis a Sirmondo. t. 10. p. 840. [al. Serm. 359.] (t. 5. p. 1403 b.) Inventus sit prorsus reus... deinceps cum ad altare inter episcopos, quos fideles et innocentes credimus, non recitabimus.

[53] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 403.)

articular Church then assembled, and every distinct order of persons in it. 'We offer unto thee for this people, that thou wouldest make them, to the glory of thy Christ, a royal priesthood and an holy nation; for all that live in virginity and chastity; for the widows of the Church; for all that live in honest marriage; for the infants of thy people; that none of us may be a cast-away. We pray thee for this city, and all that dwell therein.' St. Austin[54] likewise speaks of these prayers at the altar for the faithful, that they by the gift of God may persevere in that wherein they have begun. Again[55], 'Who ever heard the priest praying over the faithful, and saying, *Grant, O Lord, that they may persevere in thee unto the end!* and durst either in word or thought reprehend that prayer, and not rather answer, *Amen!* to such a benediction?' Chrysostom[56] in like manner, describing the bishop's office, says, 'It is his business to pray for a whole city, and not for a whole city only, but as an ambassador for the whole world, that God would be propitious and merciful both to the sins of the living and the dead.' Which makes it the more probable, that the prayers of the like kind that occur in St. Chrysostom's Liturgy[57] are but a copy of such prayers as were then commonly used in the ancient Church.

ticular church, and every order in it.

20. The next petition in the Constitutions[58] is 'for all that are in affliction, whether by sickness, or slavery, or banishment, or confiscation and proscription: and for all that are exposed to any perils upon the account of their necessary travels by sea or by land.' Of these petitions I find no particular mention made in other writers, save only in Cyril of Jerusalem[59], who says, 'that after they had prayed for the common peace of the Church, and the tranquillity of the world, for kings, and for

For those that are in sickness, slavery, banishment, and proscription, and that travel by sea or by land.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, κ. τ. λ. See s. 1. p. 271, towards the latter part of n. 44.

[54] Ep. 107. ad Vital. See before, ch. 1. s. 3. p. 225. n. 20.

[55] De Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 23. t. 7. p. 571. See before, ch. 1. s. 4. p. 231. n. 31.

[56] De Sacerdot. l. 6. c. 4. p. 93. See before, s. 13. p. 306. n. 59.

[57] Liturg. t. 3. p. 616. (t. 12. p. 793 c.) Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ποίμνης ἡμῶν ταύτης, [τῆς πόλεως, Bened. et Savil.] ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν, καὶ πάσης πόλεως, καὶ χώρας, καὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, κ.τ.λ.

[58] See again, at p. 271, in the latter part of n. 44. Ἔτι ἀξιοῦμεν, κ. τ. λ.

[59] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 6. [al. 8.] (p. 328 a.).... Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων, καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμεθά [σου] πάντες ἡμεῖς. .... Εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, κ. τ. λ.

their armies and allies, they also besought God for all that were sick and afflicted, or in any kind of want: and last of all they prayed for the dead.' By which we may judge, that though the order of the petitions was a little varied in the liturgies of different Churches, yet the substance was the same. And there is little question but the sick and distressed were remembered in these prayers in all the Churches; since in the deacon's bidding-prayer before the oblation there is express direction given to the people to pray for the sick, and those that travel by sea or by land, and those that are in the mines, in banishment, in prison, in bonds and in slavery, as I have showed out of several passages in St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Austin, comparing them with the form of bidding-prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church in the Constitutions related before in the second and third sections of the first chapter of this Book.

r enemies and rsecutors, heretics d unbevers.

21. The next petition in the Constitutions[58] is 'for their enemies and persecutors, for heretics and unbelievers, those that are without the pale of the Church, and wandering in error; that God would convert them to good, and mitigate their fury:' and of this there are frequent examples in the writings of the Ancients. For nothing was more strictly observed by them, than to pray for their enemies and persecutors, for Jews, infidels, and heretics: of which Dr. Cave[59] has given several instances out of Cyprian[60], Justin Martyr[61], and Irenæus[62]: but because these may seem only to refer to their private prayers, I will add a few others, which more expressly relate to their public devotions.

[58] See again as before further on in n. 44. in p. 272. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κ. τ. λ.

[59] Primitive Christianity, part 3. ch. 2. p. 242. (p. 286.) We Christians, says Cyprian, &c.

[60] Vid. Pass. Cypr. (p. 12.) Nullos alios Deos novi, nisi unum et verum Deum, qui fecit cœlum, et terram, et mare, et quæ in eis sunt omnia. Huic Deo nos Christiani deservimus; hunc deprecamur, diebus ac noctibus, pro nobis, et pro omnibus hominibus, et pro incolumitate ipsorum imperatorum.

[61] Dialog. cum Tryph. (p. 254 b.) Ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐχθραινόντων ἡμῖν εὐχόμεθα.—Ibid. (p. 323 e.) Εὐχόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἵνα ἐλεηθῆτε ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Ibid. (p. 363 d.) Ἀδιαλείπτως καταρᾶσθε αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, πάντων ἡμῶν εὐχομένων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἁπλῶς ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδιδάχθημεν.

[62] L. 3. c. 46. (p. 270. 7.) Nos autem precamur non perseverare eos in fovea, quam ipsi foderunt, sed segregari ab hujusmodi matre... et legitime eos generari, conversos ad ecclesiam Dei, &c.

Tertullian[63] tells the Heathen, 'they were taught by the Scriptures, which they themselves might read, to exhibit a more than ordinary kindness toward men, in praying to God for their enemies, and wishing all good to their persecutors. For they had no greater enemies or persecutors in those days than those very emperors for whom they made supplications to God[64] as oft as they met in public, and for their officers, and for the state of the world, and for the peace and tranquillity of their affairs, and for the duration of their empire.' Arnobius[65] says, 'their churches were oratories, wherein they prayed for peace and pardon, for the magistrates and princes, for their armies, for their friends, and for their enemies.' St. Austin[66] particularly notes, 'that the priest was wont to exhort the people at the altar to pray for unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith.' And again[67], 'When does not the Church pray for infidels and her enemies, that they may believe?' In like manner Pope Celestine[68] says, 'the whole Church prayed with the priest for infidels, that faith might be given unto them; for idolaters, that they might be delivered from the errors of their impiety; for Jews, that, the veil being taken away from their heart, the light of truth might appear unto them; for heretics, that they might repent by returning to the Catholic faith; for schismatics,

[63] Apol. c. 31. (p. 27 c.) Qui ergo putaveris nihil nos de salute Cæsarum curare, inspice Dei voces, literas nostras:.... scitote ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, et persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis inimici et persecutores Christianorum, quam de quorum majestate convenimur in crimen? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeste, *Orate*, inquit, *pro regibus, et pro principibus, et potestatibus, ut omnia tranquilla sint vobis.*

[64] Ibid. c. 39. (p. 31 a.) Coimus [al. in cœtum et congregationem ut] ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus..... Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu sæculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis.

[65] Cont. Gent. l. 4. p. 181. See before, s. 15. p. 309. n. 69.

[66] Ep. 107. ad Vital. See before, ch. 1. s. 3. p. 225. n. 20. Audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, &c.

[67] De Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 23. (t. 10. p. 855 f.) Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus atque inimicis ejus ut crederent?

[68] Ep. 1. ad Episcopos Galliæ, c. 11. (ap. Crabb. CC. t. 1. p. 525.)... Postulant et precantur, ut infidelibus donetur fides, ut idololatræ ab impietatis suæ liberentur errore, ut Judæis, ablato cordis velamine, lux veritatis appareat, ut hæretici Catholicæ fidei perceptione resipiscant, ut schismatici spiritum redivivæ charitatis accipiant, &c. [The passage as cited is not found in Labbe, (t. 2. p. 1611.), but is given by Justellus, Biblioth. Jur. Canon. (t. 1. p. 218. im.) in the same words.—See the latter part of the next note. Ed.]

that they might receive the spirit of charity, reviving from the dead.' And the same is repeated by Gennadius, or whoever was the author of the book *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*[69], under the name of St. Austin. And in both places it is said 'that this practice was derived from the Apostles, and uniformly observed in the whole Catholic Church throughout the world.' Nay, it is evident they prayed for many heretics, whom they looked upon as guilty of the sin against the Holy Ghost. For they did not esteem that sin absolutely unpardonable, but only punishable in both worlds, on supposition that men did not repent of it. Therefore St. Austin[70] and others say, they prayed that they might repent and be saved; and accordingly admitted them to the peace and communion of the Church upon their repentance. In a word, as Chrysostom[71] says, 'they prayed for the whole world without exception;' they prayed that all men whatsoever might be converted.

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22. Next after heretics and unbelievers, prayer is made in the Constitutions[72] 'for the catechumens of the Church, that God would perfect them in the faith; for the energumens, that were vexed with evil spirits, that God would cleanse and deliver them from the power and agitation of the wicked one; and for the penitents, that God would accept their repentance, and pardon both them and the whole Church whatever offences they had committed against him.' Whence we

[69] C. 30. [Int. Oper. Aujustin. juxt. Ed. Froben. Basil. 1541. (t. 3. p. 200.), where the chapter is intitled *Preces Sacerdotum*, and reads as follows: Obsecrationum quoque sacerdotalium sacramenta respicimus, quæ ab Apostolis tradita in toto mundo atque in omni Catholica ecclesia uniformiter celebrantur, ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi. Cum enim sanctorum plebium præsules mandata sibimet legatione fungantur apud Divinam clementiam, humani generis agunt causam, et, tota sibi ecclesia congemiscente, postulant et precantur, &c. —The same will be found in later editions of this Father, but is omitted by the Benedictines in their edition of this Tract, (Oper. Augustin. t. 8. append. p. 79 a.) who reject this chapter and some others as *contra manuscriptorum fidem interjecta*. See their *Admoitio in Libros Citatos*. They publish it however, as part of Pope Cælestine's Epistle to the Bishops of Gaul. See c. 11. entitled *Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Orationes ad Deum*, (t. 10. append. p. 134 b.) where the same words occur as cited in the preceding note. ED.]

[70] Retractat. l. 1. c. 19. (t. 1. p. 31 a.).... Quoniam de quocunque pessimo in hac vita constituto non est utique desperandum; nec pro illo imprudenter oratur, de quo non desperatur.

[71] Hom. 6. in 1 Tim. p. 1550. (t. 11. p. 579 a.) Καὶ τοῦτο ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται, πῶς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γίνεται, καὶ ἐν ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ ἐν πρωΐᾳ· πῶς ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ βασιλέων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων, ποιούμεθα τὴν δέησιν.

[72] See still further on in n. 44. p. 272. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κ.τ.λ., in the left hand column.

may observe, that these several orders were three distinct times prayed for in divine service; first, in the prayers that were said for them in their presence, in the first service, called the service of the catechumens; secondly, in the deacon's bidding-prayer for the whole state of the Church before the oblation; and now again, thirdly, after the oblation, when all orders of men were prayed for at the sacrifice of the altar. This last is particularly noted by St. Austin[72], who says, 'the priest at the altar was used to exhort the people to pray for the catechumens, that God would inspire them with a desire of regeneration.' And so it is said by Celestine[73], and Gennadius[74], in the same words, 'that they prayed for the lapsers, that God would grant them the remedy of repentance; and for the catechumens, that God would bring them to the sacrament of baptism, and open to them the great treasure of his heavenly mercy.'

23. In the next place they prayed 'for health and provision; for the temperature of the air, and the increase of the fruits of the earth,' as the Constitutions[75] word it, 'that they, participating of the good things which God bestows upon men, might without ceasing praise him, who giveth food to all flesh.' St. Chrysostom, among other particulars of this prayer, notes the same, when[76] he says, they prayed for the earth and sea, for the air, and for the whole world. And though Tertullian does not particularly speak of this prayer, yet he intimates in general, that they were used to pray for temporal blessings, and among these for rain, as in the German expedition of Marcus Aurelius, when his army was saved from perishing for want of water by the prayers of the Christians[77], which never failed to drive away drought upon other occasions. The like observation

For healthful and fruitful seasons.

[72] Ep. 107. ad Vital. See before, ch. 1. s. 3. p. 225. n. 20.

[73] Ep. 1. ad Gallos. c. 11. See s. 21. n. 68, preceding.

[74] De Eccles. Dogmat. c. 30. (Cælestin. Ep. ut supra. int. Oper. Augustin. t. 10. append. p. 134 b.)... Ut lapsis pœnitentiæ remedia conferantur, ut denique catechumenis ad regenerationis sacramenta perductis cœlestis misericordiæ aula reseretur. See n. 69, preceding.

[75] As before, just afterward in n. 44. p. 272. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι, κ. τ. λ., left hand col.

[76] Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 745. (t. 10. p. 440 e.) ..... Ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ γῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης, κελευόμεθα προσιέναι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ.

[77] Ad Scapul. c. 4. (p. 71 b.) Quando non geniculationibus et jejunationibus nostris etiam siccitates sunt depulsæ?

is made by Cyprian[77], 'that they offered continually supplications and prayers night and day for victory over their enemies, for obtaining rain, for averting or moderating all adversities, and for the peace and safety of the public.' Which being their continual prayer night and day, it is not to be doubted but that it was part of those prayers, which they now more solemnly offered at the altar.

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24. The last petition mentioned in the Constitutions[78] 'is for all those that upon just and reasonable cause were then absent from the assembly, that God would preserve both the absent and present in godliness, and keep them without change, blame, or rebuke, and finally gather them all into the kingdom of his Christ, the universal King, and God of all things in nature both visible and invisible.' The like petition is mentioned by Chrysostom in one of his Homilies upon St. Matthew[79], according to the old translation of Anianus: 'The priest,' says he, 'when he stands at the altar, bids us give thanks, for the whole world, for those that are absent and those that are present, for those that are gone before us, and those that shall be after us, while the sacrifice lies upon the altar.'

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25. The conclusion of this long prayer in the Constitutions[80] is a doxology to the whole Trinity: and this was of old the constant custom of the Church, as is evident from what has been largely discoursed before[81], both concerning the adoration of the whole Trinity, as the true and only object of divine worship, and also concerning the use of divine hymns and doxologies to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Of which I need say no more in this place to confirm the order laid

[77] Ad Demetrian. p. 193. (p. 134.) .... Pro arcendis hostibus et imbribus impetrandis, et vel auferendis vel temperandis adversis, rogamus semper et preces fundimus, &c.

[78] As just before, in the last column of n. 44. p. 272.

[79] Hom. 26. in Matth. p. 259. [See the Latin Edition, Paris. 1588. (t. 1. p. 212 a. 11.) and the original Edition of Ducæus in Latin only, Paris. 1613. 6 tom. fol.] Idcirco enim altari assistens sacerdos, pro universo orbe terrarum, pro absentibus atque præsentibus, pro his, qui postea futuri sunt, sacrificio illo proposito, Deo nos gratias jubet offerre. [According to the Ed. Bened. Hom. 25. al. 26. (t. 7. p. 311 a.)...Ὁ *ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῶν νῦν, ὑπὲρ τῶν γεννηθέντων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ὑπὲρ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐσομένων εἰς ἡμᾶς, εὐχαριστεῖν κελεύει τῆς θυσίας προκειμένης ἐκείνης.*]

[80] As before, at the bottom of p. 272.

[81] B. 13. ch. 2. v. 4. p. 288. B. 14. ch. 2. s. 1. v. 5. p. 25.

down in the Constitutions, save only to observe, that two of the most ancient writers we have, Irenæus [80] and Tertullian [81], do both mention one part of this doxology as particularly used at the consecration of the eucharist. Irenæus says, the Valentinians made it an argument for their *Æones* that the Catholics used to say, Εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, in their eucharistical service, referring to the last words of this doxology, *World without end.* And Tertullian [82] particularly asks those who frequented the Roman games, 'How they could give testimony to a gladiator with that mouth wherewith they had answered *Amen!* at the eucharist? or say *World without end!* to any other but Christ their God?' Implying, that the glorification of Christ with this doxology was then a noted close of the consecration-prayer, as the Author of the Constitutions represents it.

To which the people with one voice answered *Amen!*

26. And from this passage of Tertullian it is no less apparent that the people were used to subjoin their Amen! to the end of this prayer. Which was a custom as ancient as the Apostles. For St. Paul seems plainly to allude to it: (1 Cor. 14, 16.) "When thou shalt bless with the spirit, (that is, bless the cup of blessing, or the eucharist, in an unknown tongue,) how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say *Amen!* at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" Justin Martyr [83], in describing the Christian rites in celebrating the eucharist, takes notice of this among the rest, that when the president had ended his prayers and thanksgivings over the bread and wine, all the people assented with their acclamations, saying, *Amen!* And Dionysius of Alexandria [84], speaking of one who had never been truly baptized, but had often notwithstanding been partaker of the eucharist, says, 'they would not rebaptize him, because he had for a long time heard the thanksgiving, and joined with the people

[80] L. 1. c. 1. (p. 16. 4.) Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας, Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἐκείνους τοὺς αἰῶνας σημαίνειν.

[81] De Spectacul. c. 25. (p. 83 b.) Quale est .... ex ore, quo Amen in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere? Εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος alii omnino dicere, nisi Deo [et] Christo?—See Chrysost. Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. in the next section, n. 85, following.

[82] See the preceding note.

[83] Apol. 2. See before, ch. 3. s. 9. p. 292. the last clauses of n. 8. Οὗ συντελέσαντος, κ. τ. λ.

[84] Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. (v. 1. p. 330. 13.) Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον, τὸ Ἀμὴν, ... οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς [al. ἀρχῆς] ἀνασκευάζειν ἔτι τολμήσαιμι.

in the common Amen!' And so Chrysostom[85], interpreting those words of the Apostle, "How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say *Amen!* at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?" plainly refers to this custom: for he says, ἰδιώτης, which we render, *unlearned*, signifies *a private man* or *lay-man*: 'And if thou blessest in an unknown tongue, not understanding what thou sayest, nor being able to interpret it, the layman cannot answer, *Amen!* for he not hearing those words, *World without end*, which is the close of the thanksgiving, cannot say *Amen!*' Where we may observe, both that the consecration-prayer ended with a known doxology to the Holy Trinity, whereof those words, *World without end*, were a part; and that the people hearing them answered, *Amen!*

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27. There is no mention made in the Constitutions of the formal rehearsing either of the Creed or the Lord's Prayer in this place immediately after consecration: and the reason is, that when that author made his collections, it was not yet become the custom to use the Creed in any other service, but only that of baptism, in any Church whatsoever. The first that brought the rehearsing of the Creed into the liturgy was Peter Fullo, bishop of Antioch, about the year 471. And after that, about the year 511, Timotheus, bishop of Constantinople, brought it into use in the liturgy of that Church, as we learn from the history of Theodorus Lector[86]. After that we find it mentioned in the Council of Constantinople[87] under Mennas, anno 536, as being rehearsed according to custom between the reading of the Gospel and the diptychs. After this, about the year 589, it was brought into the Spanish Church, at the petition of King Reccaredus, by the order of the third Council of Toledo[88], and that after the example of the Eastern

[85] Hom. 35. in 1 Cor. p. 640. (t. 10. p. 325 d.) Ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, καὶ δείκνυσι καὶ αὐτὸν οὐ μικρὰν ὑπομένοντα τὴν ζημίαν, ὅταν τὸ Ἀμὴν εἰπεῖν μὴ δύνηται· ὁ δὲ λέγει τοῦτό ἐστιν· ἂν εὐλογήσῃς τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἑρμηνεῦσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωνῆσαι τὸ Ἀμὴν ὁ λαϊκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ, Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ Ἀμήν.

[86] L. 2. (v. 3. p. 578. 17.) Τιμόθεος τὸ τῶν τριακοσίων δεκα καὶ ὀκτὼ πατέρων τῆς πίστεως Σύμβολον καθ' ἑκάστην σύναξιν λέγεσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.—Et infra (ibid. p. 582. 4.) Πέτρον φησὶ τὸν Κναφέα ..... ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει τὸ Σύμβολον λέγεσθαι.

[87] Act. 1. p. 41. Edit. Crabb., quæ est Act. 5. Edit. Labb. See before, s. 18. p. 329. n. 46.

[88] C. 2. (t. 5. p. 1009 e.) Consultu

Churches: and then it was ordered to be said with a loud voice after the consecration, immediately before the Lord's Prayer, to be an instruction, and declaration of the people's true faith, who were lately converted from Arianism, and to prepare their hearts, thus purified by faith, to the following reception of the body and blood of Christ. It was not thus used in the Gallican Liturgy till the time of Charles the Great, nor in the Roman Liturgy till the beginning of the eleventh century, as I have more fully showed[b9] in a former Book. But as it had earlier admittance in the Spanish Churches, so the rehearsal of it appears to have been appropriated to the time after consecration, between that and the Lord's Prayer, which in most Churches they were used to repeat also toward the conclusion of these prayers following the oblation.

And the Lord's Prayer.

28. For though there be no mention made of the Lord's Prayer in this part of the service in the Constitutions, (as probably not in use in that Church whence the author made his collections,) yet we are assured it was almost generally used in all Churches. For not only the forementioned Council of Toledo, and the fourth of the same name[90], speak of the Lord's Prayer as coming before the reception of the bread and wine in the Spanish churches; but St. Austin[91] says, the whole Church almost concluded the oblation-prayers with it. And I have already confirmed his observation from several other passages of St. Chrysostom, and Cyril of Jerusalem, and St. Jerom, and Gregory the Great[92], who was also of opinion that the Apostles used no other prayer to consecrate the eucha-

... Reccaredi Regis sancta constituit synodus, ut per omnes ecclesias Hispaniæ et [al.vel] Galliciæ, secundum formam Orientalium ecclesiarum, Concilii Constantinopolitani, hoc est, centum quinquaginta episcoporum Symbolum fidei recitetur: et priusquam Dominica dicatur oratio, voce clara prædicetur, [al. populo decantetur] quo fides vera manifesta sit et testimonium habeat, &c.

[89] B. 10. ch. 4. s. 17. v. 3. p. 542.

[90] C. 17. [al. 18.] (t. 5. p. 1711 b.) Nonnulli sacerdotes post dictam orationem Dominicam statim communicant, et postea benedictionem in populo dant: quod deinceps interdicimus: sed post orationem Dominicam, et conjunctionem panis et calicis, benedictio in populum sequatur, et tunc demum corporis ac sanguinis Domini sacramentum sumatur.

[91] Ep. 59. [al. 149.] ad Paulin. (t. 2. p. 509 c.)... Quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia Dominica oratione concludit.

[92] See these cited at large, b. 13. ch. 7. s. 3. v. 4. p. 483. nn. 72, 84.

rist[93] but the Lord's Prayer. In which he was something singular: for there is little question but that the Apostles consecrated it, as the Lord had done before them. As to the practice of the Church in using the Lord's Prayer at this time, Optatus[94] says it was become so customary by necessary prescript that the Donatists themselves did not pretend to omit it. And in some of the French Councils[95] an order was made, that no layman, even of those that did not communicate. should leave the assembly before the Lord's Prayer was said.

Absolution of penitents immediately before the Lord's Prayer, with occasional benedictions.

29. It appears from the last mentioned place of Optatus, that when any penitents were to receive a solemn absolution in the African Church, it was usually given them about this time, between the offering of the oblation and the Lord's Prayer. For he tells the Donatists[96] that the very moment after they had given penitents imposition of hands and pardon of sins, they were obliged to turn to the altar and say the Lord's Prayer. Which implies that absolution was commonly given at this season. And here we may suppose several of those prayers of thanksgiving or benediction, mentioned in the seventh and eighth books of the Constitutions, to have had their place; such as the benediction of the holy oil, and the thanksgiving for the first-fruits of the earth[97]; there being no time more proper for such things than the time of the oblation. But as nothing is said positively and expressly of this matter, I only mention it by way of conjecture.

Benediction after the Lord's Prayer.

30. But there is more evidence of another sort of benediction following the Lord's Prayer in many of the Western Churches. For the third Council of Orleans[98] has a canon which orders all laymen to stay till they had heard the Lord's Prayer, and received the bishop's benediction. Cardinal Bona[99] under-

[93] Vid. Greg. M. l. 7. Ep. 64. See before, s. 12. p. 301. n. 45.

[94] L. 2. p. 57. See n. 96, following.

[95] See n. 98, following.

[96] L. 2. p. 57. (p. 52) Inter vicina momenta, dum manus imponitis, et delicta donatis, mox, ad altare conversi, Dominicam orationem prætermittere non potestis.

[97] Vid. Constit. Apost. l. 7. c. 42. [al. 43.] (Cotel. v. 1. p. 380.) Περὶ χρίσματος τοῦ μυστικοῦ ἐλαίου εὐχαριστία.—L. 8. c. 40. (ibid. p. 417.) Ἐπίκλησις ἐπὶ ἀπαρχῶν.

[98] C. 28. (t. 5. p. 302 e.) De missis nullus laicorum ante discedat, quam Dominica dicatur oratio, et si episcopus fuerit præsens, ejus benedictio expectetur.

[99] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 16. n. 2. [n. 3?] (p. 316.) Hunc ritum ignorantes, &c.

stands this of the final benediction, which followed the communion: but Mabillon more truly interprets it of the benediction before communion[1], immediately following the Lord's Prayer. Concerning which there is a canon in the Council of Toledo[2], which censures some priests for communicating immediately after the Lord's Prayer, without giving the benediction to the people; and orders, that for the future the benediction should follow the Lord's Prayer, and after that the communion. And by this we are to interpret some other canons of the Councils of Agde[3] and Orleans[4], which order the people 'not to depart till the bishop has given his benediction.' Which is to be understood of the benediction before the communion, and not that which came after it. And this agrees with the order in the Constitutions; where, after the long prayer of the consecration and oblation is ended, the bishop is appointed to give this short benediction, *The peace of God be with you all.* And then after the deacon has rehearsed a bidding-prayer, much to the same purpose with the former, for the whole Church, and every order in it, and particularly for the sacrifice then offered, that God would receive it to his altar in heaven for a sweet-smelling savour by the mediation of Christ, the bishop again recommends the people to God in another prayer[5], which the Greeks call *παράθεσις*, and the Latins *commendatio*, and *benedictio, the commendation*, or *benediction*, beseeching God to sanctify their bodies and souls, and to make them worthy of the good things he has set before them; which relates both to their worthy reception of the eucharist, and their obtaining eternal life. This is what I conceive those Latin Councils call *the bishop's benediction*, of which there are some instances in the Mosarabic Liturgy, and many more in

[1] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 4. n. 14. (p. 35.) *De missis nullus laicorum, &c.* Walafridus id interpretatur de oratione, quæ post communionem dicitur. At repugnant verba Concilii Toletani, aliorumque. In Missali Mozarabico benedictio ubique communioni præmittitur, itemque in Gallicano passim apud Thomasium: et hactenus benedictio episcopalis ante communionem datur. Quippe licebat iis, qui non communicabant, accepta benedictione, ante communionem discedere, ut ex prædictis locis intelligitur, &c.

[2] Tolet. 4. c. 17. [al. 18.] See before, s. 28. n. 90, preceding.

[3] C. 47. (t. 4. p. 1391 a.) Missas die Dominico a sæcularibus totas teneri speciali ordinatione præcipimus: ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus non præsumat.

[4] Aurelian. 3. c. 28. See n. 98, preceding.

[5] L. 8. c. 13. See before, s. 1. p. 274, the second column of n. 45.

the old Gothic and Gallican Missals lately published by Mabillon. [*De Liturgia Gallicana, &c. Paris.* 1685. 4*to.*] where the prayer that follows the collect after the Lord's Prayer is always styled, [as at the 214th page of that work,] *Benedictio Populi, the Benediction of the People:* and these are commonly different prayers, composed with some respect to the several festivals to which they were appropriated, like the Collects before the Epistles and Gospels in our present Liturgy. But I return to the ancient service.

e dea- bid- rayer he ra-

31. There is one petition in the deacon's bidding-prayer after the consecration in the Constitutions[5], which is not to be passed over in silence; that is, 'that God would receive the gift that was then offered to him, to his altar in heaven as a sweet-smelling savour, by the mediation of his Christ.' This form seems as ancient as Irenæus: for he says[6], 'We have an altar in heaven, and thither our prayers and oblations are directed.' And so it is in all the Greek Liturgies, with a small variation: and frequently in the Mosarabic Liturgy[7], and the old Gothic Missal published by Mabillon[8], there are prayers for the

[5] L. 8. c. 13. See before, s. 1. p. 274, the first part of n. 45.

[6] L. 4. c. 34. (p. 328. 9.) Est ergo altare in cœlis, illuc preces nostræ et oblationes diriguntur.

[7] Miss. Mozarab. in Natal. Dom. cited by Bona, Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 13. n. 5. (p. 310.) Ita sæpius in Mozarabico.—In Die Natalis Domini: *In altare tuum panis ac vini holocausta proponimus, rogantes, ut has hostias Trinitas indivisa sanctificet.* —Dominica secunda, post octavam Epiphaniæ: *Quæsumus, ut oblationem hanc Spiritus tui permixtione sanctifices, et corpus ac sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi plena transformatione conformes.* — Dominica 3.: *Ut has hostias intendas propitius, sanctifices, et benedicas.*— Dominica 1. Quadragesimæ: *Emitte Spiritum tuum de sanctis cœlis tuis, quo sanctificentur oblata.* — Dominica 3.: *Digneris hæc oblata sanctificare.*— In die Paschatis: *Ut hic panis cum hoc calice in Filii tui corpus ac sanguinem, te benedicente, ditescat.*—Dominica 3. post Pascha: *His sacrificiis propitiatus illabere, hisque benedicturus descende.*

[8] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 3. Miss. 11. in Festo Assumptionis: (p. 214.) Post Mysterium descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis cœternus et cooperator Paraclitus Spiritus: ut oblationem, quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porrigimus, cœlesti permuneratione [leg. permutatione], te sanctificante, sumamus; ut translata fruge in corpore, calice in cruore, proficiat meritis, quod obtulimus pro delictis, &c.—Ibid. Miss. 7. in Circumcisione: (p. 202.) Hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima, &c.—Ibid. Miss. 20. in Cathedra Petri: (p. 228.) Immittere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum super hæc solemnia: ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo, Filiique tui nomine, et Spiritus Sancti, &c.—Ibid. Miss. 65. in Festo Leudegarii: (p. 285.) Descendat hic benedictio tua super hunc panem et calicem in transformatione Spiritus tui Sancti; uti hæc benedicendo benedicas, sanctificando sanctifices, &c.—Ibid. Miss. 77. Dominicalis: (p. 296.) Per quem [Jesum Christum] te.

descent of the Holy Ghost to sanctify the gifts, and make them the body and blood of Christ, even after the repetition of the words, *This is my body*, and, *This is my blood:* which evidently shows that the ancient formers of the liturgy did not think the consecration to be effected by the bare repetition of those words, but by prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the elements of bread and wine. And it is very remarkable, that even in the present Canon of the Roman Mass [9] there is still such a prayer as this remaining after what they call consecration: the priest offering the Host says, 'Be pleased to look upon these things with a favourable and propitious eye, as thou wert pleased to accept the gifts of Abel thy righteous servant.' He adds, 'We beseech thee, Almighty God, to command that these things may be carried by the hands of thy holy angels to thy altar on high.' Concluding, 'By Christ our Lord, by whom thou dost always create, sanctify, quicken, and bless these good things unto us.'

These words in this prayer, as our polemical writers [10] have rightly observed, were used before transubstantiation was invented, and when the consecration was thought to be made by prayer, and not barely by pronouncing the words, *This is my body*. And then they were good sense, when they were said over bread and wine, to consecrate them into the memorial and symbols of Christ's body and blood. But now they are become absurd and contrary to the primitive intention. For how can the real body and blood of Christ be called *these gifts?* Or be compared to the sacrifice of Abel, who offered a beast? How can men pray, without indignity to the Son of God, that the sacrifice of God's only Son may be as acceptable to God as the sacrifice of Abel was? Or how does Christ, who sits at the

Pater Omnipotens, deprecamur: ut supraposita altario tuo munera lætus aspicias: atque hæc omnia obumbres Sancti Filii tui Spiritu: ut quod ex hac tua benedictione acceperimus, æternitatis gloria consequamur.

[9] Missal. Rom. in Can. Miss. p. 300. Antwerp. 1574. (Paris. 1739. 8vo. p. 228.) Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris, ut accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel.. Supplices te rogamus, Deus Omnipotens, jube hæc perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum.... Per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem, Domine, hæc omnia semper nobis bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis.

[10] See Du Moulin, Novelty of Popery, Tenth Controversy of Book 7, ch. 5. (p. 730.) Neither do the Fathers only speak so, &c.—See also his Buckler of Faith. (p. 510.) For after the words of consecration, &c.

right hand of the Father, need the mediation of angels to be carried or presented to his Father at the heavenly altar? With what propriety of speech can Christ be called *all these good things?* and, *the good things which God createth always, and quickeneth and sanctifieth always?* Doth God create, and quicken, and bless Jesus Christ by Jesus Christ? It is proper to say all this of the gifts, supposing them still to be real bread and wine: but altogether improper, if they are transubstantiated into the natural flesh and blood of Christ. Whence we may conclude, that the first compilers of this prayer knew nothing of the new doctrine of transubstantiation, which makes this prayer absurd in every syllable of it; to enter here no further upon a debate concerning the change which is made in the elements by consecration, which every one knows where to find discussed at large in our polemical writers, and something will be said of it hereafter [11], under the head of adoration.

the form ncta notis! d the mn, Glo- be to id on igh!

32. Immediately after the benediction of the bishop, the deacon, in the Constitutions [12], is appointed to say, Πρόσχωμεν, *Let us give attention!* And then the bishop, calling to the people, says, Ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, *Holy things for those that are holy!* To which the people answer, 'There is one holy, one Lord, one Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father, who is blessed for ever, Amen! Glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed be God the Lord, that came in the name of the Lord, and appeared unto us; Hosanna in the highest!' Cyril of Jerusalem [13] takes notice of one part of this in the Church of Jerusalem, where it came immediately after the Lord's Prayer. 'After that,' says he, 'the priest says, Holy things for holy men. Holy are the elements which lie before us, when they have received the illapse of the Holy Ghost upon them. Holy are ye also, when ye are endowed with the Holy Ghost: and therefore holy things agree to holy men.

[11] See ch. 5. s. 5, following.

[12] Ubi supra. See s. 1. p. 275; the last part of n. 45. Ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω, κ. τ. λ.

[13] Catech. [23.] Mystag. v. n. 16. [al. 19.] (p. 331 a.) Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις· ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἅγιοι καὶ ὑμεῖς, Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καταξιωθέντες. Τὰ ἅγια οὖν τοῖς ἁγίοις κατάλληλα. Εἶτα ὑμεῖς λέγετε, Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἀληθῶς γὰρ Εἷς ἅγιος, φύσει ἅγιος· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἅγιοι, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ, καὶ ἀσκήσει, καὶ εὐχῇ.

Then ye say, There is one holy, one Lord Jesus Christ. There is one truly holy, who is holy by nature: ye also are holy, not by nature, but by participation, by exercise and prayer.' St. Chrysostom [13] also takes notice of the same, comparing the service of the Church to the Olympic exercises, where 'the herald stands and cries with a loud voice, Does any one accuse this man? Is he a thief? Is he a slave? Is he an immoral man? So the ecclesiastical herald, the priest, standing on high, calls some and rejects others, not with his hand, but with his tongue: for when he says, Holy things for holy men, he says this, If any one be not holy, let him not come here. He does not barely say, if he be free from sin, but, if he be holy; for it does not make a man holy, merely to be free from sin: but to be endowed with the Spirit, and to abound with good works. Therefore he says, I would not have you only free from mire, but white and beautiful.'

[13] Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1873. (t. 12. p. 171 b.) Ἔστηκε τοίνυν καὶ νῦν ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κήρυξ, οὐ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἕκαστον κατέχων καὶ παραγὼν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁμοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς τῆς ἔνδον κατέχων οὐκ ἐφίστησιν ἄλλους αὐτοῖς κατηγόρους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ λέγει, Μή τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ; ἀλλὰ τί; Εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ; ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοῦτο λέγει, Εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος, μὴ προσιέτω. Οὐχ ἁπλῶς, φησιν, ἁμαρτημάτων καθαρὸς, ἀλλ' ἅγιος· τὸν γὰρ ἅγιον οὐχ ἡ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀπαλλαγὴ ποιεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος παρουσία, καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων πλοῦτος. Οὐ βούλομαι μόνον, φησὶ, βορβόρου ἀπηλλάχθαι ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ λευκοὺς εἶναι, καὶ ὡραίους. — Conf. Hom. 123. Ed. Savil. * (t. 5. pp. 809, 810.) Τούτου χάριν ὑψηλὸς ἑστὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς, μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων εἰς ὕψος, πᾶσι κατάδηλος γεγονὼς, καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακράζων, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργει· οὐ τῇ χειρὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γλώττῃ τῆς χειρὸς τρανώτερον· ἡ γὰρ φωνὴ ἐκείνη εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐμπίπτουσα τὴν ἡμετέραν, καθάπερ χεὶρ, τοὺς μὲν ὠθεῖ καὶ ἐκβάλλει, τοὺς δὲ εἰσάγει καὶ παρίστησιν. Εἰπὲ δή μοι, παρακαλῶ, ἐν τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς ἀγῶσιν οὐχ ἕστηκεν ὁ κήρυξ βοῶν μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν λέγων, Εἴ τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ, μὴ δοῦλος ἐστὶ, μὴ κλέπτης, μὴ τρόπων πονηρῶν; καί τοι τὰ ἀγωνίσματα ἐκεῖνα οὐ ψυχῆς ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τρόπου, ἀλλὰ ῥώμης καὶ σώματος· εἰ τοίνυν ἔνθα σώματός ἐστιν ἄσκησις, πολλὴ προαιρέσεως ἐξέτασις γίνεται, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐνταῦθα, ἔνθα τὸ πᾶν ψυχὴ ἀθλεῖ; Ἔστηκε τοίνυν ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν κήρυξ, οὐ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἕκαστον κατέχων καὶ παράγων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ὁμοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔνδον κατέχων· οὐκ ἐφίστησιν ἄλλους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς κατηγόρους ἑαυτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ λέγει, Μή τις τούτου κατηγορεῖ; ἀλλὰ τί; Εἴ τις ἑαυτοῦ; ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃ, Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοῦτο λέγει, Εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος, μὴ προσιέτω· οὐχ ἁπλῶς, φησὶν, ἁμαρτημάτων καθαρὸς, ἀλλὰ ἅγιος, κ. τ. λ.

* [Ap. Ed. Bened. deest.—See the Editor's note, (t. 12. p. 185 d.) and compare Savil's annotation on the same, (t. 8. p. 750.) where this Homily is termed *Apanthisma consarcinatum ex Homm.* 20, 15, *et* 14 *in Epist. ad Hebr.* &c. Ed.]

St. Chrysostom also[14] often speaks of the hymn, *Glory be to God on High!* and tells us particularly that it was sung at the eucharist, as well as upon other occasions. 'God,' says he, 'first brought the angels down hither, and then carried men up to them. The earth was made an heaven, because heaven was about to receive the things of the earth. Therefore, εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, *when we give thanks*, or *celebrate the eucharist, we say*, Glory be to God on high, in earth peace, good will towards men.' And that by the thanksgiving he here means the eucharist, is evident from another place[15], where he more precisely specifies the time of using it in the communion-service: '"Ισασιν οἱ πιστοὶ, κ. τ. λ. *They who are communicants know* what hymn is sung by the spirits above; what the Cherubims say above; what the angels said; *Glory be to God on high!* Therefore our hymns come after our psalmody, as something more perfect.' Meaning that psalms were sung in the service of the catechumens; but these hymns, the cherubical hymn and the angelical hymn, more peculiarly in the communion-service.

33. St. Cyril[16] adds, that after the hymn *One Holy!* a psalm was sung, inviting them to participate of the holy mysteries, which was the thirty-first Psalm[17], and particularly those words, "Taste and see that the Lord is gracious." Which, he tells them, 'was not to be estimated or discerned by their corporeal taste, but by the certainty of faith. For they were not bid to taste bread and wine, but the antitype or sign of the body and blood of Christ.' This was a distinct psalm from those which were used to be sung afterward whilst the people were com-

[14] Hom. 3. in Col. p. 1337. (t. 11. p. 347 b.) Τούτους πρώτους κατήγαγεν ὧδε, καὶ τότε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνήγαγε πρὸς αὐτούς· οὐρανὸς ἡ γῆ γέγονεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῆς γῆς ἔμελλεν οὐρανὸς δέχεσθαι. Διὰ τοῦτο εὐχαριστοῦντες λέγομεν, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

[15] Hom. 9. in Col. p. 1380. (ibid. p. 393 d.) Τίς ὁ ὕμνος τῶν ἄνω, ἴσασιν οἱ πιστοί· τί λέγει τὰ Χερουβὶμ ἄνω, τί ἔλεγον οἱ ἄγγελοι; Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ. Διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ τὰς ψαλμῳδίας ὕμνοι, ἅτε τελειότερόν τι πρᾶγμα.

[16] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 17. [al. 20.] (p. 331 b.) Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μέλους θείου, προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Μὴ τῷ λάρυγγι τῷ σωματικῷ ἐπιτρέπητε τὸ κριτικόν· οὐχὶ, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀνενδοιάστῳ πίστει· γευόμενοι γὰρ οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[17] [The words cited are not found in the 31st Psalm, but in the 8th verse of the 34th, according to the Authorized Version. Ed.]

municating: for this was an invitatory to communicate, but the other were for meditation and devotion whilst they were actually partaking; of which there will be occasion to say something further in the next chapter.

34. Here we must note two things more which concern the consecration in general, in opposition to the corruptions of later ages. First, that as all divine service was in a known tongue, so particularly the consecration of the eucharist was ordered to be pronounced both intelligibly and audibly, that the people might hear it, and answer *Amen!* The contrary practice now prevails in the Roman Church: but both Habertus[17] and Bona[18] own it to be an innovation, of which there is no footstep till the tenth age, when first the ancient custom was superseded. It would be impertinent to produce authorities for a thing that is so plainly confessed and beyond dispute. And therefore I shall only note one thing upon this point, that when some little grumbling of this disease began to appear in the time of Justinian, he checked it in its first symptoms by a severe law[19], commanding 'all bishops and presbyters to make the divine oblation, and the prayers used in baptism, not in secret, or with a low and muttering voice, but so as all the faithful people might hear them, to the greater devotion of their souls, and the greater praise and glory of God. For so the holy Apostle teaches, saying in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, *If thou bless with the spirit only, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen! at thy*

The consecration always performed with an audible voice.

[17] Archierat. part. 8. observ. 9. (p. 145.) Primus [ritus] est ἐκφώνησις, alta voce edita pronuntiatio; in Liturgiis S. Blasii et S. Chrysostomi ἐκφώνως λέγων, ita ut non solum qui stant in sacrario sacerdotes, sed etiam populus universus audiat verba illa potentissima et augustissima, quibus corpus Christi conficitur. A quo sane ritu Romana nunc ecclesia dissidet, cujus ita rubricæ habent; *Secreto profert verba consecrationis super hostiam* .. Sane verba consecrationis alta voce ab initio pronuntiata teneant, necesse est, qui de eucharistia intelligendum volunt locum B. Pauli ex prima ad Corinthios Epistola, 14, 16. Ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς, κ. τ. λ.

[18] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 13. s. 1. (p. 308.) Græci et alii Orientales verba consecrationis elata voce pronuntiant, et populus respondet *Amen!* ..... Eundem morem servabat olim ecclesia Occidentalis, omnes enim audiebant sanctissima et efficacissima verba, quibus Christi corpus conficitur. ... Postea statutum est, ut canon submissa voce recitaretur, et sic desiit ea consuetudo sæculo decimo, ut conjicio, quia post Florum, qui nono labente vixit, ejus mentionem non reperi apud ævi posterioris scriptores.

[19] Novel. 137. c. 6. See b. 13. ch. 4. s. 1. v. 4. p. 343. n. 70.

giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. Therefore if any bishop or presbyter contemn this rule, they must give an account hereafter in the dreadful judgment of our God and Saviour Jesus Christ; and we, when they come to our knowledge, will not suffer them to remain quiet and unpunished.' It is well for the Roman Church that the Canon law is superior to the Civil; else such an horrible abuse of all righteous, both divine and human laws, would not go without its just revenges. This is one of those many good laws for which the Church is beholden to that learned emperor; whom yet Baronius[20], for the sake of these very laws, does bespatter and rally, as 'an ignorant *analphabetus*, an impious heretic, an invader of divine rights, a man sick of the common distemper of kings,' and whatever a partial historian could think of, that was indecent to be said, who was himself indeed sick with prejudice in favour of the common abuses and corruptions of his own Church; among which this is one of the most flaming and intolerable, to pray every day in an unheard and unknown tongue, so contrary[21] to the authority of the Apostle and the rules of the primitive Church, and the edification of Christian people, and the common sense and reason of mankind.

th g of o nt ri- ns-

35. The other ceremony to be noted in the practice of the Ancients is, that in consecrating the eucharist they always brake the bread in conformity to our Saviour's example, to represent his passion and crucifixion. Clemens Alexandrinus[22] speaks of this as a general custom, 'when the eucharist was divided or broken, to let every one of the people take his part.' And St. Austin[23] says the whole Church observed it, 'in blessing the bread, to break it for distribution.' The reader that

[20] An. 528. (t. 7. p. 144 e.) Quod vero ex Suida dictum est, &c.

[21] See Chamier against Bellarmin. [De Eucharist. l. 6. c. 9. s. 29. (t. 4. p. 340 g.) Ad hanc legem variæ sunt exceptiones; prima de auctore, post de re. Bellarminus negat ad imperatorem pertinere de ritu sacrificandi leges ferre: proinde non multum referre quid ille sanxerit. Ed.] See also Jewel against Harding upon this subject, Art. 11. (p. 327.) Of Dividing the Sacrament.

[22] Stromat. l. 1. (p. 318. 32.) Ἡ καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν τινὲς διανείμαντες, ὡς ἔθος, αὐτὸν δὴ ἕκαστον τοῦ λαοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν μοῖραν ἐπιτρέπουσιν.

[23] Ep. 59. [al. 149.] ad Paulin. (t. 2. p. 509 c.)...Cum benedicitur, et sanctificatur, et ad distribuendum comminuitur, &c.

pleases may find other testimonies collected by Hospinian[24] out of Irenæus[25], Dionysius the Areopagite[26], Theophilus of Alexandria[27], and Cyril of Alexandria[28], and St. Chrysostom[29]. Neither does Bona[30] himself deny this, but proves it further from Gregory Nazianzen[31], and Cæsarius Arelatensis, and all the older Ritualists, and Liturgies, of which he says there is not any that does not prescribe this breaking of bread, the Greeks into four parts, the Latins into three, and the Mosarabic Liturgy into nine parts. Which is also noted by Mabillon[32],

[24] Hist. Sacrament. (p. 30.) De Fractione Symbolici Panis.

[25] L. 5. c. 2. (p. 397. 2.) Quando mixtus calix et factus [al. fractus] panis percipit verbum Dei, fit eucharistia sanguinis ac corporis Christi. [In the Greek γεγονὼς ἄρτος, whence *factus* is the better reading. See Grischov. in loc. Ed.]

[26] Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. part. 3. n. 12. p. 299. (t. 1. p. 196 d.) Τὸν γὰρ ἐγκεκαλυμμένον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον ἄρτον ἀνακαλύψας, καὶ εἰς πολλὰ διελὼν, καὶ τὸ ἑνιαῖον τοῦ ποτηρίου πᾶσι καταμερίσας, συμβολικῶς τὴν ἑνότητα πληθύνει καὶ διανέμει, παναγεστάτην ἐν τούτοις ἱερουργίαν τελῶν.

[27] Ep. Paschal. 1. See before, b. 13. ch. 2. s. 4. v. 4. p. 318. n. 91.

[28] In Ioan. 1. 14. [Ita allegat Binghamus. Hospinianus habet, l. 4. c. 14. Utraque allegatio falsa. *Grischov.*]—[After devoting several hours to this citation, I find no clue to its correction. In l. 4. c. 2., on ch. 6. v. 54., our Lord's act of *breaking the bread* is mentioned by Cyril citing Matth. 26, 26. (t. 4. p. 360 e.)... Διακλάσας τὸν ἄρτον εἰδίδου, κ. τ. λ. Ed.]

[29] Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. 533. (t. 10. p. 213 c.) Διὰ τί δὲ προσέθηκεν, Ὃν κλῶμεν; τοῦτο γὰρ ἐπὶ μὲν εὐχαριστίας ἐστιν ἰδεῖν γινόμενον. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ σταυροῦ οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον τούτῳ· Ὀστοῦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φησιν, οὐ συντριβήσεται· ἀλλ' ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπαθεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦτο πάσχει ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς διὰ σὲ, καὶ ἀνέχεται διακλώμενος, ἵνα πάντας ἐμπλήσῃ.

[30] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 15. n. 3. (p. 315.) Hujus fractionis tanquam in ecclesia semper et ubique a temporibus Apostolorum usitatæ mentionem faciunt sancti patres, et alii ecclesiastici scriptores. Clemens Alexandrinus, Lib. 1. Stromat.: *Cum eucharistiam, ut mos est, diviserint, permittunt unicuique ex populo ejus partem sumere.* Dionys. c. 3. Eccles. s. 13. Pontifex, &c. (See n. 26, above.) Gregorius Nazianzenus, Epist. 240. ad Amphilochium: O Dei cultor sanctissime, &c. (See n. 31, below.) ... Omitto alios innumeros, præsertim recentiores. Liturgiæ quoque, quæcunque exstant, hanc fractionem præscribunt, ejusque mysteria edisserunt sacrorum rituum expositores, Amalarius, l. 3. c. 31.; Walfridus, c. 22.; Micrologus, c. 18. et 23.; Ivo Carnotensis, Tract. de Convenientia Vet. et Novi Sacrificii, prope finem; Hugo a S. Victore, l. 2. de Eccles. Offic. c. 39.; Honorius, in Gemma, l. 1. c. 63.; Germanus, in Expositione Liturgiæ; quibus addi possunt S. Thomas, part. 3. quæst. 83. art. 5., Ernulfus Roffensis episcopus, Epist. 2. t. 2. Spicilegii, quæst. 2., et alii passim. Latini dividunt in tres partes, Græci et reliqui Orientales in quatuor, Mozarabes in novem.

[31] Ep. 240. ad Amphiloc. (t. 1. append. p. 5 b.) Ὦ θεοσεβέστατε, μὴ κατόκνει καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καὶ πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν λόγῳ καθέλκῃς τὸν Λόγον· ὅταν ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τέμνῃς Δεσποτικὸν, φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος.

[32] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 2. n. 11. (p. 12.) Sub hæc frangit hostiam in novem particulas, quæ his nominibus designantur, *corporatio, nativitas, circumcisio, apparitio, passio, mors, resurrectio, gloria, regnum.*

who adds, 'that these nine parts in that Liturgy are characterized by so many several names, viz. *Incarnation*, *Nativity*, *Circumcision*, *Epiphany* or *Manifestation*, *Passion*, *Death*, *Resurrection*, *Glory*, and *Kingdom*.' Which is a little deviation from the simplicity of the ancient Church, yet not so culpable as the practice of the present Roman Church; where, instead of breaking bread for the communicants to partake of it, they only break a single wafer into three parts, of which no one partakes, only to retain a shadow of the ancient custom. Bona indeed calls this 'breaking of bread according to Christ's institution,' or 'rather breaking of Christ's body under the species of bread,' when yet, according to their doctrine, Christ's body is not broken, neither is it bread, but the species of bread, nor common bread, but a wafer, whereof the species is only broken, not the substance, and that not for communicating, but a show, to make men believe they are retainers of an ancient custom. The first disputers against the Reformation are more ingenuous. They freely own that the Roman Church has made an alteration[33], only they say she had good reasons for it, lest, in breaking the bread, some danger might happen, and some crumbs or particles of it perish; and then again, because the Pope has power to alter any thing relating to the sacrament, according to the exigency of time and place, if it only concerns the ornament or accidentals of it. As if Christ himself could not have foreseen any dangers that might happen, or given as prudent orders as the Pope concerning his own institution! But it is sufficient to have observed this variation of the Church of Rome, though in a smaller matter from the primitive practice, together with their reasons for such a change; of which the reader may see more in Chamier[34] or Bp. Jewel[35], who have more particularly canvassed and examined all the pleas that are offered on the other side by the advocates of that Church for this and many other alterations.

[33] Salmero, Tract. 30. in Act. ap. Chamier. de Eucharist. l. 7. c. 11. n. 26. (t. 4. p. 382 c.) *Christus quemadmodum unum calicem communem omnibus tradidit ad bibendum .... ita in una patina panem in duodecim bucellas fractum manibus suis dispensavit .... Nos vero corpus Christi de custodia profundiori porrigimus, ... ne per suspiria, aut auram, aut alia impedimenta communicantium, contingat de patina excidere.*

[34] See n. 21, preceding.

[35] Reply to Harding. See the last member of the same.

I now go on with the primitive account, which leads us next to consider the communicants themselves, who were allowed to receive this sacrament, and the manner of communicating and receiving it.

CHAP. IV.

Of communicants, or persons who were allowed to receive this sacrament, and the manner of receiving it.

All persons, except catechumens and penitents, obliged to receive the eucharist.

1. Now that we are come to the act of communicating, we must first consider what persons were allowed, or rather obliged, to receive this holy sacrament, and then after what manner they received it.

For the first, we are to remember, what has been often observed before, that as soon as the service of the catechumens was ended, a deacon was used to call upon all catechumens and those that were under penance to withdraw; and admonish all others to stay at the prayers of the faithful, and make their oblation, and receive the communion. Whence it is evident, that the most ancient and primitive custom was for all that were allowed to stay and communicate in prayers, to communicate in the participation of the eucharist also, except only the last class of penitents, who were admitted to hear the prayers, but not to make their oblation, nor receive the communion; whence they had the name of *consistentes, co-standers,* because *they might stay to communicate in the prayers,* but still δίχα προσφορᾶς, *without the oblation,* as the ancient canons word it. These only excepted, all other baptized persons were not only permitted, but by the rules of the Church obliged to communicate in the eucharist, under pain of ecclesiastical censure.

The most ancient canons are very express to this purpose. Among those called the Apostolical Canons there is one[36] runs in these words: 'All such of the faithful as come to church,

[36] C. 10. [Labb. 9.] (Cotel. [c. 7.] v. 1. p. 438.) Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἂν ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή.—See also c. 8., for the clergy, (Cotel. [c. 6.] ibid.) Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ, προσφερᾶς γενομένης, μὴ μεταλάβοι, τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπάτω· καὶ ἐὰν εὔλογος ᾖ, συγγνώμης τυγχανέτω· εἰ δὲ μὴ λέγῃ, ἀφοριζέσθω.

and hear the Scriptures read, but stay not to the prayers, and partake of the holy communion, ought to be suspended as authors of disorder in the church.' Which the Council of Antioch[37] repeats with a little enlargement: 'All such as come into the church of God, and hear the holy Scriptures read, but do not communicate with the people in prayer, and refuse to partake of the eucharist, which is a disorderly practice, ought to be cast out of the Church, till they confess their fault, and bring forth fruits of repentance; when if they ask pardon they may obtain it.' Martin Bracarensis puts this canon into his Collection[38] for the use of the Spanish Church. And Gratian[39] alleges a decree of Pope Anacletus, which orders 'all to communicate when the consecration was ended, if they would not be cast out of the Church: for so the Apostles appointed, and the holy Roman Church observed that order.' Which though it be a supposititious decree, yet it is made in conformity to the ancient discipline, and shows the practice that was then prevailing even in the Roman Church.

When and how this discipline began first to relax.

2. In St. Chrysostom's time some began to desire they might have liberty to stay during the performance of the whole office, and yet not be obliged to communicate. They were not willing to be accounted penitents, and be driven out with them; and yet they would not be communicants, and orderly partake with the Church. Against these St. Chrysostom[40] inveighs, after his usual manner, with a great deal of

[37] C. 2. (t. 2. p. 561 d.) Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν Γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατά τινα ἀταξίαν· τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τυχεῖν δυνηθῶσι συγγνώμης.

[38] C. 18. [al. 83.] (t. 5. p. 914 d.) Si quis intrat ecclesiam Dei et sacras Scripturas [non] audit, et pro luxuria sua avertat se a communione sacramenti et in observandis mysteriis declinat constitutam regulam disciplinæ: istum talem projiciendum de ecclesia Catholica esse decernimus; donec pœnitentiam agat, et ostendat fructum pœnitentiæ suæ, ut possit communionem, percepta indulgentia, promereri.

[39] De Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 10. (t. 1. p. 1917. 24.) Peracta consecratione omnes communicent, qui noluerint ecclesiasticis carere liminibus. Sic enim et Apostoli statuerunt, et sancta Romana tenet ecclesia.

[40] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a.) Οὐκ εἰ τῆς θυσίας ἄξιος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλήψεως; οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς. Ἀκούεις ἑστῶτος τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ λεγοντος, Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ, ἀπέλθετε πάντες. Ὅσοι μὴ μετέχουσιν, ἐν

eloquence, and becoming sharpness. 'Are you unworthy of the sacrifice, and unfit to partake of it?' (for that was their plea:) 'neither then are you worthy of the prayers. Do you not hear the Church's herald standing and proclaiming, All ye that are penitents, withdraw? All they that do not communicate, are penitents. If thou art of the number of the penitents, thou mayest not partake. For he that is not a partaker is a penitent. Why does he say, All ye that cannot pray, begone? and why do you impudently stay? You are not one of those, you will say, but of those that may partake. Consider, I pray, and seriously weigh the matter. The royal table is prepared, the angels stand ministering by, the Lord himself is present, and do you stand yawning as an idle spectator only? Your garments are defiled, and are you under no concern? Yea, but, say you, they are clean. Then sit down, and partake. The king comes daily to see the guests, and discourses with them all: and now he says in your consciences, Friends, how came you to stand here, not having a wedding garment? He said not, Why art thou set down? But before he was set

μετανοίᾳ εἰσίν· εἰ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἶ, μετασχεῖν οὐκ ὀφείλεις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ μετέχων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἐστί. Τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν λέγει, Ἀπέλθετε οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι δεηθῆναι; σὺ δὲ ἕστηκας ἰταμῶς; ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν δυναμένων μετέχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν φροντίζεις, οὐδὲν ἡγῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα; Σκόπει, παρακαλῶ· τράπεζα πάρεστι βασιλικὴ, ἄγγελοι διακονούμενοι τῇ τραπέζῃ, αὐτὸς πάρεστιν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, καὶ σὺ ἕστηκας χασμώμενος; ῥυπαρά σοι τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ οὐδείς σοι λόγος; ἀλλὰ καθαρά ἐστιν· οὐκοῦν ἀνάπεσον καὶ μέτεχε. Ἔρχεται καθ' ἑκάστην ἰδεῖν τοὺς ἀνακειμένους, πᾶσι διαλέγεται καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ συνειδότι ἐρεῖ, Ἑταῖροι, πῶς ἑστήκατε ὧδε, μὴ ἔχοντες ἔνδυμα γάμου; οὐκ εἶπε, Διὰ τί ἀνέπεσες, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως καὶ τῆς εἰσόδου ἀνάξιον αὐτὸν εἶναι φησίν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, Διὰ τί κατεκλίθης; ἀλλὰ, Τί εἰσῆλθες; Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς διαλέγεται, τοὺς ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἰταμῶς ἑστῶτας· πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μὴ μετέχων τῶν μυστηρίων, ἀναίσχυντος καὶ ἰταμῶς ἑστηκώς. Διὰ τοῦτο πρότεροι ἐκβάλονται οἱ ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τραπέζης, παραγενομένου τοῦ Δεσπότου, οὐ δεῖ τοὺς προσκεκρουκότας τῶν οἰκετῶν παρεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν γίνονται· οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ἐκφερομένης τῆς θυσίας, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τεθυμένου, καὶ τοῦ Προβάτου τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ, ὅταν ἀκούσῃς, Δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ· ὅταν ἴδῃς ἀνελκόμενα τὰ ἀμφίθυρα· τότε νόμισον διαστέλλεσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνωθεν, καὶ κατιέναι τοὺς ἀγγέλους. Ὥσπερ τοίνυν τῶν ἀμυήτων οὐδένα χρὴ παρεῖναι, οὕτως οὐδὲ τῶν μεμυημένων καὶ ῥυπαρῶν. Εἰπέ μοι, εἴ τις εἰς ἑστίασιν κληθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας νιψαιτο, καὶ κατακλιθείη, καὶ ἕτοιμος γένοιτο πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν, εἶτα μὴ μετέχοι, οὐχ ὑβρίζει τὸν καλέσαντα; οὐ βέλτιον τὸν τοιοῦτον μηδὲ παραγενέσθαι; οὕτω δὴ καὶ σὺ παραγέγονας. Τὸν ὕμνον ᾖσας μετὰ πάντων· ὡμολόγησας εἶναι τῶν ἀξίων τῷ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἀναξίων ἀνακεχωρηκέναι· πῶς ἔμεινας, καὶ οὐ μετέχεις τῆς τραπέζης; Ἀνάξιός εἰμι, φησίν· οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς.

down, before he was entered, he pronounced him unworthy. For he said not, Why art thou set down? but, Why camest thou in hither? The same now he says to every one of us that stand here with an impudent boldness. For every one that does not partake is shameless and impudent. They that are in sin are for this reason first cast out. As therefore none of those who are not initiated ought to be present; so neither any of those who are initiated, if they be defiled. Tell me, if any one that is invited to a feast washes his hands, and sits down, and is ready for the table, and yet after all eats not, does he not affront him that invited him? Were it not better that such a man should not be present? Likewise thou art present, thou hast sung the hymn, and made profession with the rest that thou art one of those that art worthy, in that thou didst not depart with the unworthy. How is it that thou remainest, and yet dost not partake at the table? Thou sayest, I am unworthy. Thou art then unworthy also of the communion of prayers.'

I have transcribed this long, but elegant passage of Chrysostom to show, that in his time, by the rules of the Church, none were allowed to refrain from partaking of the eucharist upon the pretence of unworthiness, who were not deemed unworthy to be present at the prayers also.

But in the very next age this discipline was a little relaxed, and men who would not communicate were not only permitted, but enjoined to stay during the whole service, till after the Lord's Prayer and the bishop's benediction; which, as has been showed in the twenty-ninth section of the last chapter, was not till the whole consecration was ended, immediately before the act of partaking: at which time this sort of non-communicants were dismissed with a solemn prayer, called the benediction, as appears from the Councils of Orleans and Agde before referred to. For the Council of Agde gives special order [41] 'that all secular men on the Lord's-day should stay to hear mass, and not depart before the bishop's benediction.' And the Council of Orleans [42] says the same, 'that

[41] C. 44. [al. 47. (t. 4. p. 1391 a.) Missas die Dominico sæcularibus audire speciali ordine præcipimus, ita ut ante benedictionem sacerdotis egredi populus non præsumat, &c.

[42] Aurelian. 1. c. 28. [al. 26.] (ibid. p. 1408 d.) Cum ad celebrandas missas in Dei nomine convenitur, po-

the people should not depart before the solemnity of the mass was ended, (that is, till the consecration prayers were completed,) and then, if the bishop were not present, they should receive the benediction of the priest.' So that, what in Chrysostom's time was reckoned a crime, was presently after accounted a piece of devotion, for the people to stay and hear the whole solemnity of the service to the time of communicating, and then they might depart without partaking of the communion. Which was plainly a relaxation of the ancient discipline, and a deviation from the primitive practice.

When first the use of *eulogiæ* came in, instead of the eucharist, for such as would not communicate.

3. And this brought in another innovation along with it, that such as would not communicate might yet partake of the *eulogiæ*, or *a sort of consecrated bread distinct from the eucharist*. The *eulogiæ* in the more ancient writers is the very same with the eucharist, and used by them to signify the same thing as St. Paul means, when he says, "The cup of blessing, ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας, which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" (1 Cor. 10, 16.) And so it is always used by Cyril of Alexandria and Chrysostom, as learned men [43] have observed out of many places of their writings. But in after-ages it was distinguished from the eucharist, as something that after a sort supplied the room of it. The Council of Nantes [44], about the year 890, ordered the presbyters to keep some part of the people's oblations till after the service, that such as were not prepared to communicate might on every festival and Lord's-day receive some of this *eulogia*, when blessed with a proper benediction. Some collectors [45] of the canons ascribe this decree to Pope Pius the

pulus non ante discedat, quam missæ solemnitas compleatur: et ubi episcopus [non] fuerit, benedictionem accipiat sacerdotis.

[43] Vid. Casaudon. Exercit. 16. in Baron. n. 33. (pp. 370. coll. 2, seqq.) Εὐλογία igitur est ipsum eucharistiæ sacramentum, et ita postea hæc vox est accepta, &c.—Albertin. de Eucharist. (p. 749. sub fin. c. 2.)—Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce, Εὐλογία. n. 4. 1. (t. 1. p. 1249.) Ipsa sacra cœna, &c.—And Bona himself owns it. [Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 12. al. 20. (p. 247.) Eulogiæ nomen pro ipsa eucharistia quandoque usurpatum reperitur, &c. Ed.]

[44] C. 9. (t. 9. p. 470 d.) ... Partes incisas habeat in vase nitido [et convenienti] ut post missarum solemnia, qui communicare non fuerint parati [al. rati], eulogias omni die Dominico et in diebus festis exinde accipiant, quæ cum benedictione prius faciat.

[45] Crabb. (t. 1. p. 87.) *Pii Papæ decretum ex Codice Quinque Librorum, libro 2. cap. 117. de Oblationibus Populorum.*—Ut de oblationibus, quæ offeruntur a populo, et conse-

Martyr, who lived in the second century: but Bona[46] ingenuously owns that to be a forgery, and says further, that the men who father this decree upon him considered not that in his time there was no such thing as this kind of *eulogia* in the Church, about which Tertullian, Cyprian, and all their contemporaries are altogether silent; because in those days all that were present at the sacrifice were wont to communicate: but these *eulogiæ* were invented in after-ages for those who could not or would not be partakers of the holy mysteries. This is an ingenuous confession of that learned writer, who, where the cause of his Church is not deeply concerned, commonly speaks his mind with a great deal of freedom, and uses a just liberty in taxing the innovations of the monks and schoolmen.

4. But in the business of private or solitary mass, where the credit and interest of the Roman Church is more immediately concerned, he acts a little more like an artist, and labours to palliate what he cannot either heartily or solidly defend. That we call *solitary mass* where the priest receives alone without any other communicants, and sometimes says the office alone without any assistants: such are all those private and solitary masses in the Roman Church, which are said at their private altars in the corners of their churches, without the presence of any but the priest alone, and all those public masses, where none but the priest receives, though there be many spectators of the action. As there is no agreement of either of these with the institution of Christ, but a direct opposition to it: for that was designed to be a communion among many; 'We being many are one bread and one body; for we are all partakers of that one bread." [1 Cor. 10, 17.]—Which is impossible where there are no communicants: so there is not the least footstep of any such practice in the primitive Church.

Bellarmin[47] offers faintly some poor conjectures about it,

crationibus, quæ supersunt, vel de panibus, quos deferunt fideles ad ecclesiam, vel certe de suis, presbyter convenienter partes incisas habeat, &c. See the preceding note.

[46] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 12. al. 20. (p. 247.) Quod decretum quidem canonum collectores S. Martyri et Pontifici Pio perperam tribuunt, &c.

[47] De Missa, l. 2. c. 9. p. 821. (t. 3. p. 903 d.) Etiamsi nusquam expresse legamus, a veteribus oblatum sacrificium sine communione alicujus, vel aliquorum, præter ipsum sacerdotem; tamen id possumus ex conjecturis facile colligere. Prima

whilst he fairly owns, that there is no express testimony to be found among the Ancients, that they ever offered the sacrifice without the communion of one or more persons beside the priest. All his conjectures are mere trifles, and the first of them directly against himself. For he would have his reader conjecture from the Council of Nantes cited by Ivo[48], that the Ancients allowed of solitary mass by the priest alone, because that Council takes occasion to mention the practice only to forbid and censure it. Which it does in very severe terms, which it will not be amiss here to transcribe, to show what opposition the corruption met with as soon as it began to appear among the monks, who were the first inventors of it. 'The holy council,' say they, 'gives strict order, that no presbyter shall presume to celebrate mass by himself alone. For to whom shall he say, *The Lord be with you!* or *Lift up your hearts!* or *Let us give thanks to our Lord God!* when there is none to answer him? or how shall he say those words in the canon itself, *All that are here present*, when there is no one present with him? Or whom does he invite to pray, when he says, *Let us pray!* when there is no one to pray with him? Therefore he must either pass over these things in silence: and so not only make the sacrifice imperfect and incur that terrible sentence which says, If any one shall take away from this, God shall take away his part out of the book of life: or else if he mutters these things to the bare stones and walls, it will be ridiculous. Therefore this dangerous superstition is by all means to be exterminated, especially out of the monasteries of the monks. And let all prelates take care that the presbyters in convents and other churches have always some fellow-workers or attendants in the celebration of mass.'

One must needs conclude, that Bellarmin was driven to very

conjectura ex Concilio Nannetensi, (c. 30.) quod citatur ab Ivone in Decret. (pt. 3. c. 70.), ubi jubentur presbyteri non celebrare soli missam, nisi habeant saltem unum secum, qui respondeat. Ex quo intelligimus, quosdam plane solos celebrare solitos missæ sacrificium: et proinde sine communicantibus.

[48] Part. 3. c. 70. (ap. Bonam, Rer. Liturg. lib. 1. cap. 13. n. 5. p. 204.) Definivit sanctum Concilium, ut nullus presbyter solus præsumat missam celebrare. Cui enim dicet, Dominus vobiscum, *Sursum corda!* aut *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro!* cum nullus sit qui respondeat? Si hæc muris et parietibus insusurraverit, ridiculosum erit. Quapropter illa periculosa superstitio maxime a monasteriis monachorum exterminanda est, &c.

hard shifts in defence of a desperate cause, when he was forced to allege this canon as a proof of the practice of solitary mass among the Ancients, which does not so much as prove it to be a lawful practice among the Moderns, but is such a flaming evidence against it, as a novelty that makes nonsense of all their service, and makes them speak to the walls, and is by all means to be exterminated out of the monasteries, where it first began, as a dangerous and ridiculous superstition.

Cardinal Bona is not much happier than Bellarmin in his management of this point. For in one chapter [49] he undertakes to prove solitary mass a novelty, unknown to the ancient Church, and against the very tenour of the present Roman canon: and in the next chapter he pretends to prove that private mass, without communicants or assistants, is a very ancient and laudable practice. First, he tells us that the very tenour of the mass and the practice of the ancient Church evince, that the sacrifice was originally instituted principally to be publicly and solemnly performed by the clergy and people standing, offering and communicating together. For all the prayers, and the very words of the canon are spoken in the plural number, as in the name of many. Hence it is that the priest, inviting the people to pray, says, *Let us pray!* And when he salutes them, he says, *The Lord be with you!* And then the people being admonished

[49] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 13. n. 2. (p. 203.) Et quidem ab initio sic sacrificium principaliter institutum fuisse, ut publice ac solemniter fieret, clero et populo adstante, offerente ac communicante, ipse tenor missæ et veteris ecclesiæ praxis evincunt. Omnes enim orationes, atque ipsa canonis verba in plurali numero, tanquam plurium nomine, proferuntur. Hinc sacerdos populum invitat ad orationem, dicens, *Oremus!* et cum eundem salutat, ait, *Dominus vobiscum!* Tum moniti fideles, ut corda erigant ad Deum; respondent, *Habemus ad Dominum!* Hinc etiam in canone collectæ plebis nomine semper orat, ut cum dicit, *Supplices rogamus et petimus: hanc oblationem cunctæ familiæ tuæ offerimus præclaræ Majestati tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum Filii tui corpus et sanguinem sumpserimus: nobis quoque peccatoribus;* et alia hujusmodi multa. Ex quibus liquet, nihil aliud esse missam, quam sacerdotis et totius cœtus actionem, cui plures circumstetisse indicant illa verba, *Et omnium circumstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio,* quæ alio detorqueri non possunt. Ad communionem vero adstantium ea spectant, quibus sacerdos Deum precatur, fieri corpus et sanguinem Domini omnibus sumentibus in vitam æternam. [illegible] post communionem ait, *Quod ore sumpsimus, pura mente capiamus, satiasti familiam tuam munere sacris:* suntque fere omnes ejus tenoris orationes, quæ peracta c munione recitantur; quia nim illi duntaxat intererant misse, possent offerre et de sacram participare.

to lift up their hearts unto God, answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord!* Hence it is, that in the very canon he always prays in the name of the people gathered together, of which giving several instances, he infers that from thence it is clear that the mass is nothing else but the action of the priest and whole congregation; which he says is proved further from those words of the prayer, *Omnium circumstantium, &c., All that stand here, whose faith and devotion is known to thee:* which cannot be wrested to any other sense. And that all that were present did communicate, he says appears from those words of the priest, when he prays, *that the body and blood of Christ may be to eternal life to all that receive.* And after the communion, he says, *What we have received with our mouths, let us receive with a pure mind:* and, *Thou hast filled thy gifts:* and almost all the prayers which are said after communicating are of the same tenour, because no others could be present but such as could offer and partake of the sacrament. Which he proves[50] from Cyprian and Pope Leo, and the Apostolical Canons, and the Council of Antioch. To these he adds[51] the

[50] [Ibid. (p. 203.) Cyprianus, Serm. de Lapsis, et Leo Papa, Serm. 4. de Quadrag., populi communicantis mentionem faciunt: et Can. 10. Apostol. ac 2 Concilii Antiocheni sub Julio I. decernitur, ut omnes fideles, qui ad ecclesiam conveniunt, communicent; recusantes ab ecclesia rejiciantur et excommunicentur.—Sciendum est, inquit Micrologus, c. 51., quod soli communicantes divinis mysteriis interesse consueverunt, unde et ante oblationem juxta canones jubebantur exire catechumeni et pœnitentes, videlicet qui nondum se paraverant ad communicandum. Hoc quoque ipsa sacramentorum innuit confectio, in qua sacerdos non pro sola sua oblatione et communicatione, sed et aliorum, rogat, et maxime in oratione post communionem pro solis communicantibus orare videtur. Nec propria communio dici potest, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participent.

[51] Ibid. n. 4. (p. 204.) Odo Cameracensis in Expositione Canonis ad illa verba, *Et omnium circumstantium, quam primitus,* inquit, *missæ sine collecta non fierent, postea mos inolevit ecclesiæ solitarias, et maxime in cœnobiis, fieri missas. Et cum non habeant, quam pluraliter collectam salutent, nec plurales mutare possint salutationes, convertunt se ad ecclesiam dicentes, se ecclesiam in ecclesia salutare.* Et, paucis interjectis, *Secundum quem sensum in hoc loco circumstantes accipiuntur omnes ubique fideles, qui in unitate totius corporis et sibi adhærent invicem et summo capiti.* Consonat Stephanus Eduensis ita scribens, L. de Sacram. Altaris, c. 13.: *Sciendum est, quod, si unus tantum sit præsens, [vel] nulli sint præsentes, ut in missis solitariis, non ideo mutantur, quæ pluraliter solent fieri orationes. Primo enim missæ non solebant celebrari sine collecta fidelium multitudine. Postea mos inolevit, solitarios sicut monachos celebrare solitarias, quod eis concessum est ex indulgentia. Inde etiam sæculares consueverunt missas cantare privatas. Tunc fiunt salutationes ad omnes fideles, qui assistunt quasi præsentes, fide et caritate sacramentis communicantes.*

testimonies of Micrologus [anno 1080], and Odo Cameracensis [anno 1105], and Stephanus Eduensis [anno 1113], concerning the same practice of the primitive Church, which they own was different from that of their own time, when solitary mass was brought in by the monks. Nay, he adds[52], that solitary mass was forbidden by several Councils and canons expressly, when it began to appear. Among which he relates the forementioned canon of the Council of Nantes and the Council of Mentz under Leo III, can. 43; and the Capitular of the Kings of France, collected by Benedictus Levita, lib. 5. cap. 93; and the Capitular of Theodulphus Aurelianensis, cap. 7; and the Synodical Epistle of Ratherius Veronensis, published by Dacherius, Spicileg. tom. 2[53]; and the Synod of Paris under Gregory IV, anno 829; which is most remarkable, because it shows us both the original and the grounds and motives that introduced this corruption. 'A very culpable custom,' say they[54], is crept in,

[52] Ibid. n. 5. (p. 204.) Concilium Moguntinum sub Leone III., c. 43., ait, *Nullus presbyter, ut nobis videtur, solus missam cantare valet recte. Quomodo enim dicet, Dominus vobiscum! vel sursum corda admonebit habere, et alia multa his similia, quum alius nemo cum eo sit?* Quæ verba transtulit in Capitulare Regum Franciæ Benedictus Levita (lib. 4. cap. 93.), et Synodus Parisiensis sub Gregorio IV. (lib. 1. cap. 48.) *Irrepsit, &c.*..... Exstat et decretum Concilii Nannetensis idem vetans apud Ivonem, (part. 3. c. 70.,) *Definivit sanctum Concilium, &c.* Similiter Theodulfus Aurelianensis episcopus in suo Capitulari ad Clerum, (c. 7.) ait, *Sacerdos missam solus nequaquam celebret. Esse enim debent, qui ei circumstent, quos ille salutet, a quibus ei respondeatur, et ad memoriam illi reducendum est illud Dominicum, Ubicumque fuerint duo vel tres in nomine meo congregati, et ego sum in medio eorum.* Ratherius item Veronensis Episcopus, editus a Luca Dacherio (tom. 2. Spicilegii), in Epistola Synodica ad Presbyteros, *Nullus solus missam cantet. Grischov.*]

[53] [According to the original edition, but I cannot find it in De la Barre's new edition, Paris. 1723. 4 tom. fol. See Fulcuinus de Gestis Abbatum Lobiensium, c. 24. (D'Acher. t. 1. p. 737.) where Ratherius is mentioned and his *Epistolæ Synodicæ* also. Ed.]

[54] C. Paris. l. 1. c. 48. (ap. Labb. C. Paris. 6. t. 7. p. 1628 e.) Irrepsit in plerisque locis, partim incuria partim avaritia, reprehensibilis usus et congrua emendatione dignus, eo quod nonnulli presbyterorum sine ministris missarum solemnia frequentent..... Unde conveniendus, immo interrogandus nobis videtur hujusmodi corporis et sanguinis Domini solitarius consecrator, quibus dicit, *Dominus vobiscum!* et a quo illi respondetur, *Et cum spiritu tuo!* vel pro quibus supplicando Domino inter cætera, *Memento, Domine, et omnium circumstantium!* cum nullus circumstēt, dicit? Quæ consuetudo, quia apostolicæ et ecclesiasticæ auctoritati refragatur, et tanto mysterio quandam dehonorationem irrogare videtur, omnibus nobis in commune visum est, ut deinceps hujuscemodi usus inhibeatur, provideatque unusquisque episcoporum, ne in sua parochia quisquam presbyterorum missam solus celebrare præsumat.

in many places, partly by negligence, and partly by covetousness, which ought by all means to be reformed, that some presbyters celebrate mass without any attendants. Whence it is proper to convene and ask every such busy consecrator of the body and blood of the Lord to whom he uses those words, *The Lord be with you?* and who answers him, *And with thy spirit?* or for whom he supplicates the Lord, when he says among other things, *Remember those that stand about me!* when there are none standing about him? Which custom therefore being contrary to apostolical and ecclesiastical authority, and bringing a reproach upon so great a mystery, it seems good to us all in common to inhibit it for the future; and that every bishop take care, that no presbyter within his diocese shall presume to celebrate mass by himself alone.' Bona owns that all these Councils prohibited solitary mass upon this ground, that it made all such expressions as those, *The Lord be with you!* and, *Lift up your hearts!* &c., to be nonsense and absurd. And he adds some canons out of Gratian[54] under the name of Pope Soter and Anacletus, which ordain that no presbyter should presume to celebrate mass, except there be at least two present beside himself. Upon which he takes occasion to make this just reflection[55], that these could not be the decrees of those ancient bishops, because solitary mass was a thing never heard of in their age, and he could not think they would make laws to take away an abuse which crept not in till some ages after among the monks.

Would it not now perfectly amaze a man after all this, to hear the same author declare in the very first words of his next chapter, that the laudable custom of private mass, without any communicants, or the presence of any but one priest, was always the practice of the Church? And that the heretics who hate liturgy (so he wrongfully slanders the Protestants[56]) could

[54] De Consecrat. distinct. 1. c. 61. ap. Bonam, ibid. n. 6. (p. 204.) Hoc quoque statutum est, *Ut nullus presbyterorum, &c.* Ab aliis tribuitur Anacleto, in cujus Ep. 1. leguntur hæc verba: *Sacerdotes, quando Domino sacrificant, non soli hoc agere debent, sed testes secum adhibeant, ut Domino perfecte in sacratis Deo sacrificare locis probentur.*

[55] Ibid. (p. 205.) Neutri convenire certissimum est; nihil enim magis alienum a praxi et spiritu illius sæculi, quam solitariæ missæ celebratio, nec puto voluisse sanctos illos pontifices edita lege abusum tollere, qui non nisi post aliquot sæcula inter monachos irrepsit.

[56] Ibid. c. 14. n. 1. (p. 205.) Semper viguit in ecclesia privatæ missæ,

never demonstrate that it was prohibited; when he himself has so fully demonstrated it to their hands? But now he will undertake to demonstrate on the contrary, that private mass, in whatever sense we take it, was always lawful and in use, from the most approved testimonies and examples of the primitive Fathers. And yet when he comes to the proof, he offers not so much as one instance of that sort of private mass, where the priest ministers alone without the presence of the people, which is called *solitary mass*, though he approves of it; nor says he any thing material for that sort of private mass where the priest partakes without any other communicants, though in the presence of all the people; but only urges a mistaken passage of Chrysostom [57], urged before by Bellarmin and Harding, and answered by Chamier, where he says, 'In vain do we stand at the altar, in vain is the daily sacrifice offered, there is no one that communicates.' As if Chrysostom had neither presbyter, nor deacon, nor any of the people to communicate with him above once a year in the great churches of Antioch or Constantinople, because many were so negligent as not to communicate oftener; whom he justly reproves in an hyperbolical way of speaking, which does not mean that he communicated by himself alone, but that many were guilty of a gross neglect, whilst others, as Chrysostom himself says, were more assiduous and zealous. And yet this is one of the best proofs Bona can give after all his boasts of demonstration, which shows that he was as hard put to it to defend an indefensible cause, as Pope Innocent III. was, when [58], to answer

uno saltem præsente et ministrante, laudabilis consuetudo, quam hæretici misoliturgi aliquando prohibitam fuisse nunquam poterunt demonstrare. Sive enim dicatur privata, ... ex eo quod solus sacerdos in ea communicet; [sive quia vel unus duntaxat vel pauci ei intersint,] sive alia quacunque ex causa: semper eam licitam, semperque in usu fuisse, probatissimis veterum patrum testimoniis et exemplis demonstrabo.

[57] Hom. 3. in Eph. (t. 11. p. 23 a.) .... *Εἰκῇ θυσία καθημερινή, εἰκῇ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων.*

[58] De Officio Missæ, l. 2. c. 25. ap. Juel. art. 1. (p. 51.) Pope Innocentius hath yet another fetch, &c. [Oper. Innocent. (t. 1. p. 344.) Statutum est autem in sacris canonibus, ut nullus presbyterorum missarum solemnia celebrare præsumat, nisi duobus præsentibus, sibique respondentibus, ipse tertius habeatur. Quia cum pluraliter ab eo dicitur, *Dominus vobiscum!* et illud in secretis, *Orate pro me!* apertissime convenit, ut illius salutationi respondeatur a pluribus. Verum aliud est necessitatis articulus, et aliud religionis contemptus. Pie quoque credendum est, et sacris auctoritatibus comprobatur, quod angeli Dei

the objection that is urged in this very argument, 'How the priest can say, *Orate pro me fratres. Pray for me, brethren!* seeing he is alone without assistants?' he is forced to say, 'that it is piously to be believed that the angels of God are our associates in prayer.' Which answer does not untie the knot [59], for though they are present, they are not present as communicants, to eat and drink with us the body and blood of Christ. Neither can the priest be supposed to say to the angels, *Take, eat, this is my body!* according to Christ's command.

Evident therefore it is beyond all contradiction, that whether we consider the institution itself, or the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church, or the tenor of all the ancient Liturgies, which the reader may find collected in Chamier [60], with the testimonies of the Fathers upon the subject; or even the tenor of the Roman Mass itself; or the opposition this corruption met with at its first appearance; the eucharist was not intended as a sacrifice to be offered by a single priest in a corner, without communicants or assistants, or for the intention or at the cost of some particular person paying for it; but for a communion to the whole Church, as the primitive Church always used it; and there is not an example to be found of the contrary practice.

Other corruptions countenanced in

5. But this was not the only abuse which crept into the Church in later ages against the ancient way of celebrating the holy communion. For Bona himself takes notice of two more [61],

comites assistant orantibus, secundum illud propheticum, *In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi, &c. Grischov.*]

[59] Bona says, This answer of the Pope is piously meant, but not solid and true.—Vid. Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 5. n. 1. (p. 282.) Hoc deinde antiquatum fuit, non quia celebranti adesse credantur angeli, ut pie scripsit Innocentius III., (Lib. 2. de Myst. Missæ, c. 25.) quasi ex hoc inferret, nunquam celebranti deesse adstantes, &c.

[60] De Eucharist. l. 7. cc. 17–19.

[61] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 15. n. 6. (p. 209.) Missa sicca ab indiscreta et privata quorundam devotione duxit originem, cui nimium indulgentes fuerunt sacerdotes. Larva est et simulatio quædam veræ missæ, sicca procul dubio et jejuna, utpote carens non solum consecratione, sed etiam sumptione corporis Christi, similis cœnæ ligneæ et lapideæ, quam Lampridius et alii referunt sæpe convivis suis Heliogabalum exhibuisse. Invaluit tamen adeo, ut aliquando viris sanctis et doctis non displicuerit. Gulielmus de Nangiaco monachus, in Libro Gestorum S. Ludovici, narrat, religiosissimum regem, cum e transmarinis partibus rediret in Galliam, corpus Christi in navi decentissime collocari, atque ibi officia divina et missam, excepto canone, quotidie celebrari fecisse. Eandem commendat Genebrardus, Libro de Liturgia Apostolica, c. 30.,

the Roman Church, as the *missa sicca* and *nautica*, and those called *bifaciata* and *trifaciata*, &c.

which he censures as heartily as one could wish, though they found great encouragement in their time. They are corruptions not commonly met with in other authors, and therefore I will give the reader an account of them from him.

'The one was called *missa sicca, dry mass*, which,' he says, 'took its original from the indiscreet and private devotion of some, to which the priests were too indulgent. It is a mere mask and counterfeit of the true mass, properly dry and jejune, as wanting not only the consecration, but the participation of the body of Christ, like that supper of wood and stones, which, Lampridius and other historians tell us was exhibited by Heliogabalus to his guests. Yet it so prevailed, that for some time it was not displeasing to holy and learned men. Gulielmus de Nangiaco, the monk, in his book of the Actions of St. Lewis, tells how that most religious king, returning from beyond sea into France, had the body of Christ in the ship with him, and there ordered all the whole divine office and the mass, except the canon, to be daily celebrated. Genebrard

pro his, qui mane integræ missæ interesse non possunt, pro navigantibus, pro infirmis, et quando defuncti post meridiem sepeliendi sunt, pro qua re in usu fuisse suis temporibus testatur, seque Taurini, anno 1587, in exsequiis viri nobilis, qui vespere sepeliebatur, hujusmodi missæ cum diacono et subdiacono cantatæ interfuisse. Modum eam celebrandi sic describit Durandus in Rationali: (l. 4. c. 1.) *Sacerdos, si ex devotione, non ex superstitione, velit totum officium missæ sine sacrificio dicere, accipiat omnes vestes sacerdotales, et missam suo ordine celebret usque ad finem offerendæ, dimittens secreta, quæ ad sacrificium pertinent. Præfationem vero dicere potest, licet in eadem videantur angeli invocari ad consecrationem corporis et sanguinis Christi. De canone vero nihil dicat, sed orationem Dominicam non prætermittat, et quæ ibi sequuntur, sub silentio dicenda, non dicat: calicem vel hostiam non habeat, nec de his, quæ super calicem seu eucharistiam dicuntur vel fiunt, aliquid dicat vel faciat. Potest etiam dicere, Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum! et exinde missæ officium suo ordine peragat. Melius est tamen alia omittere.* Hæc autem *missa nautica* dicitur, ut ait Durandus Lib. 2. de Ritibus Ecclesiæ, c. 4., ex Libro Sacerdotali, quia in mari et fluminibus celebrari solebat, in quibus propter motum et agitationem fluctuum vix potest sacrificium offerri sine periculo effusionis. Declamant acriter adversus eam Gulielmus Estius, Orat. 13. Theologica, et Laurentius Laudmeterus, l. 2. de Veteri Clerico et Monacho, c. 84., qui ambo existimant, paullo ante Guidonem de Monte Rocherii cœpisse, a quo laudatur et approbatur, Tractat. 4. c. 7. Manipuli Curatorum, quem scripsit anno 1333; sed errant; quia, ut vidimus, jam in usu erat vivente S. Ludovico rege, qui obiit anno 1270, eamque describit Durandus, qui eodem tempore vixit, et Petrus Cantor, qui floruit anno 1200, ejusdem meminit in Verbo Abbreviato, c. 29., ubi ait, *Missam siccam esse sine gratia et humore* [leg. *honore*] *confectionis eucharistiæ, et nihil fidelibus prodesse.*

commends the same in his book of the Apostolical Liturgy, (c. 30.) for those that cannot be in the morning at the whole mass, and for those that are at sea, and for the sick, and for any that are buried in the afternoon; to which purpose he says it was used in his time, and he himself was present at Turin, anno 1587, at the funeral of a nobleman, who was buried in the evening with such a mass sung by a deacon and a subdeacon. Durandus describes the manner of celebrating it in his Rationale, (l. 4. c. 1.) where he says, 'The whole office may all be used except the canon, although in the preface the angels seem to be invocated to the consecration of the body and blood of Christ. This Durandus [or Durantus] in his book *De Ritibus*, (l. 2. c. 4.) says, is called *the seamen's mass, missa nautica*, because it was used to be celebrated at sea and upon the rivers, where by reason of the motion and agitation of the waves the sacrifice could hardly be offered without danger of effusion. Estius declaims bitterly against it in his thirteenth Theological Oration, and so does Laurentius Laudmeter, l. 2. *De Veteri Clerico et Monacho*, (c. 84.) who both think it began a little before the time of Guido de Monte Rocherii, who commends and approves it in his book called *Manipulus Curatorum*, (tract. 4. c. 7.) which he wrote anno 1333. But they were mistaken, because, as we have seen, it was in use in the time of King Lewis the Saint, who died anno 1270, and Durandus describes it, who lived at the same time. And Petrus Cantor, who flourished anno 1200, mentions it in his book called *Verbum Abbreviatum*, (c. 29.) where he says, Dry mass is without the grace and moisture of the consecrated eucharist, and profits the faithful nothing.' Bona adds, 'that now by the provident care of bishops, he thinks this abuse is abrogated and destroyed all over the world.' But he forgets to tell his reader one thing, which Durantus[62] tells us freely out of Navarre, that the book called *Liber Sacerdotalis*, where this *missa nautica* is described, was approved by Leo X., and that St. Antonine speaks of it as used at Toulouse by way of funeral office in the after-

[62] De Ritibus, l. 2. c. 4. n. 8. (p. 117.) Exstat Liber Sacerdotalis a Leone X., ut ait Navarrus, libro de Oratione, Miscell. 53., probatus in eo, parte prima, tractat. 4. c. 34, &c. .... Antoninus, 3 parte, tit. 13. c. 6. s. 4. Hanc [missam nauticam] Tolosæ, dum post prandium defuncti sepulturæ dantur, celebrari consuetam dixi libro 1. capitulo, *De Cœmeteriis*.

noon. By which we may judge how great corruptions may creep into the Church, and then gain the approbation both of their popes and saints, by their own confession. And when it is so, they will never want advocates to plead their cause, and put the face of antiquity upon them. As in this very case, though Bona and others censure this abuse as an innovation, yet Durantus derives its original from the primitive Church, and tells us it was practised at Alexandria in the time of Socrates, because, he says[63], that on Wednesdays and Fridays they had the Scriptures read and expositions made upon them, and all other things belonging to religious assemblies, except the celebration of the mysteries: which indeed is very true; but altogether foreign to his purpose, unless we shall say that there can be no prayers, nor sermons, nor psalmody, nor reading the Scriptures in the Church, but presently it must be called *dry mass*, that is, using the consecration-service without a consecration.

The other corruption, which Bona censures as a detestable abuse, is that which they call *missa bifaciata* and *trifaciata*, which, he says, Petrus Cantor in the forementioned book sharply rebukes. For some priests in his time had got a trick of throwing many masses into one, saying the mass of the day, or some special mass, as far as the offertory, and then beginning another as far as the same place; and after that a third and a fourth in the same manner. After that they said as many secret prayers as they had begun masses, and then made one canon serve them all, adding as many collects in the end as they had repeated in the beginning. Petrus Cantor ascribes the original of this abuse to the covetousness of the priests, who, knowing it to be unlawful for them to celebrate more than once in one day, invented this grafting of many masses upon one stock, that by once celebrating they might satisfy the devotion of many together, who desired the sacrifice to be offered for them, by which means they got the pay of several masses for one sacrifice. These masses Petrus Cantor calls, by a barbarous name, *bifaciatas* and *trifaciatas*, because they

[63] L. 5. c. 22. (v. 2. p. 295. 31.) Αὖθις δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τῇ Τετράδι, καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ Παρασκευῇ, Γραφαί τε ἀναγινώσκονται, καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταῦτας ἑρμηνεύουσι, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται, δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς.

had *a double* and *a triple face:* which he abominates and detests, as monstrous, and contrary to the institution and custom of the Church.

It is great pity we have not this book of Petrus Cantor, called his *Verbum Abbreviatum*, or *Short Word*, here at hand in some of our libraries. It is a book so rare, that I find no mention made of it in Dr. Cave. But Du Pin[64] gives a short account of the author. He says, 'he was chanter of the Church of Paris in the beginning of the thirteenth century; that he composed a book, called *The Word Abridged;* a work of great renown among the authors of the next centuries, of which a part was written against the Proprietary Monks. He likewise wrote a Grammar for Divines, very necessary for understanding the Scriptures; a Book of Distinctions; a Treatise about some Miracles; three Books of the Sacraments, and divers Sermons, mentioned by Trithemius.' Du Pin adds, 'that in their libraries they had his Glosses upon the Bible, and A Collection of Cases of Conscience:' but none of them are printed, beside the *Verbum Abbreviatum*. Trithemius[65] says, he was a bishop afterwards, as he had heard reported, and he gives him this character, that he was excellently well learned in the Scriptures, and eminent in all philosophical knowledge; that he was rector of the Theological School of Paris for many years, where he trained up many eminent disciples. Were his books now to be seen, we might doubtless find many other such abuses of the

[64] Bibliothèque, cent. 13. p. 54. (Par. 1701. 8vo. v. 10. p. 202.) Pierre Chantre l'église de Paris, qui a fleuri et enseigné vers le même tems dans l'université de Paris, à composé un livre, intitulé Parole Abrégée, ouvrage fort célèbre parmi les auteurs de siècles suivans, dont on à imprimé une partie, écrite contre les Moines Propriétaires. Il avoit aussi composé un autre livre, intitulé la Grammaire des Théologiens, très utile pour l'intelligence de l'Ecriture: un Traité des Distinctions: un écrit touchant quelques Miracles: trois Livres de Sacramens; et des Sermons, dont Trithème fait mention. On trouve dans les bibliothèques de gloses de cet auteur sur les livres de la Bible, et une Somme de Cas de Conscience.

[65] De Scriptor. p. 81. (ap. Bibl. Eccles. Albert. Fabricii, p. 104. n. 1519.) Petrus Cantor Parisiensis: et postea, ut ferunt, episcopus: vir in divinis Scripturis eruditissimus, et in sæculari philosophia nobiliter doctus: theologicæ scholæ Parisiensis multis annis gloriose præfuit: et discipulos egregios multos erudivit. Scripsit etiam præclara opuscula: de quibus pauca ad manus nostras memini pervenisse. Volumen prænotatum: Verbum Abbreviatum: Distinctionum aliud: Grammaticum Theologorum: Sermones varios: De quibusdam Miraculis: De Sacramentis quoque.

monks as severely handled in them, as those which we have here noted out of Bona.

Whilst I am upon this head of abuses, the reader will not be displeased if I note another of this kind, which Baronius himself[66] takes notice of, out of the seventeenth Council of Toledo, where there is a canon to censure and correct it. Some priests in Spain were so corrupt, as to gratify revengeful men by saying the service of the dead for the living, for no other end but that they for whom the office was said might incur the danger of death, by having a sacrifice offered for them; and so that which was designed for men's salvation was perversely abused at the instigation of wicked men to their destruction. Against such compliers with the detestable requests of wicked men, the Council pronounces[67] the severe sentence of deposition and excommunication. We may also note another abuse, mentioned in the twelfth Council of Toledo[68], which was, that some priests,

[66] An. 694. n. 9. (t. 8. p. 623 c.) Succisa est pariter in eodem Concilio [Tolet. 17.] abusio illa, quæ in sacrosanctum missæ sacrificium irrepsisset cum superstitione conjuncta; dum scilicet aliquis, adversus inimicum suum odio flagrans, ut ille quam citius ex humanis subduceretur, pro ipso offerret vel offerendum curaret sacrificium pro defunctis offerri solitum.

[67] C. Tolet. 17. c. 5. (t. 6. p. 1366 e.).... Nam missam pro requie defunctorum promulgatam fallaci voto pro vivis student celebrare hominibus, non ob aliud, nisi ut is, pro quo idipsum offertur officium, [al. sacrificium,] ipsius sacrosancti libaminis interventu, mortis ac perditionis incurrat periculum: et quod cunctis datum est in salutis remedium, illi hoc perverso instinctu quibusdam esse expetunt in interitum. Obinde nostræ elegit unanimitatis conventus, ut si quis sacerdotum deinceps talia perpetrasse fuerit detectus, a proprio deponatur gradu; et tam ipse sacerdos, quam etiam ille, qui ad talia peragenda incitasse perpenditur, exsilii perpetui ergastulo religati, excepto in supremo vitæ curriculo, cunctis vitæ suæ diebus sacræ communionis eis denegetur perceptio, quam Deo se crediderunt fraudulento delibasse studio.

[68] C. 5. (ibid. p. 1230 a.) Relatum nobis est, quosdam de sacerdotibus, non tot vicibus communionis sanctæ gratiam sumere, quot sacrificia in uno die videantur Deo offerre: sed in uno die, si plurima per se Deo offerant sacrificia, in omnibus se oblationibus a communione [al. communicando] suspendunt, et in sola tantum extremi sacrificii oblatione communionis sanctæ gratiam sumunt: quasi non sit toties reus illius veri et singularis sacrificii, quoties participator corporis ac sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse destiterit. Nam ecce Apostolus dicit, *Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris?* Si ergo, qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris, certum est, quod hi, qui sacrificantes non edunt, rei sunt Dominici sacramenti. Quicunque ergo sacerdotum deinceps divino altario sacrificium oblaturus accesserit, et se a communione suspenderit, ab ipsa, qua se indecenter privabit, gratia communionis, anno uno repulsum se noverit. Nam quale erit illud sacrificium, cui nec ipse sacrificans participasse cognoscitur? Ergo hoc modis omnibus est tenendum, ut

having occasion to consecrate the eucharist more than once in a day, would not communicate themselves every time, but only at the last consecration. Which was another sort of private mass, but as it were the reverse of that of the Romish Church. For as now the priest communicates without the people, (pardon the absurdity of the expression, when I call that communicating where there is no communion,) so then the people were forced to communicate without the priest: both which the Council thought preposterous and absurd, and therefore reinforces the ancient discipline, that both priest and people should communicate together: which was ever the constant and universal practice of the whole primitive Church, to whose laws and rules about communicants, leaving these abuses and innovations, I now return.

The communion not given to heretics and schismatics without confession and reconciliation.

6. As all persons were obliged to receive the communion constantly, who were within the pale of the Church in the largest acceptation of the word, except catechumens and excommunicate persons: so we must note, to avoid ambiguity, that heretics and schismatics were commonly ranked in the same class with excommunicate persons; sometimes being formally cut off from the Church by her censures, and sometimes voluntarily by their own separation; and therefore, till they had made confession and renunciation of their errors, and were reconciled by imposition of hands and absolution, they were reckoned in the number of those to whom the communion of prayers and this holy sacrament was denied; and that whether they had been baptized in the Church, or were baptized in heresy and schism. Sometimes they were allowed with all others to hear the Scriptures read, and the sermon preached, as has been shown in a former book[69]; but then, when the service of the catechumens was over, they were obliged to depart with them; the deacon's admonition commonly running in these terms, as we have often heard before, 'Let no catechumen, no penitent, no unbeliever, no heretic or heterodox person, be present at the holy mysteries!' After what manner they were received and reconciled upon their confessions, be-

quotiescunque sacrificans, corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi, Domini nostri, in altario immolat, toties perceptionis corporis et sanguinis Christi se participem præbeat.—Vid. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 10. [al. 11.] (t. 1. p. 1917.) The same words.

[69] B. 13. ch. 1. s. 2. v. 4. p. 262.

longs to another subject; which has in some measure been handled already[70], and will come again under consideration in the next volume, when we treat of the discipline of the Church. At present it is sufficient to observe, that whilst they continued in heresy or schism, they were of the number of those to whom the Church refused to give the sacrament, as persons not being in full communion with her.

Yet given to infants and children for several ages.

7. On the other hand, it is beyond dispute, that as she baptized infants, and gave them the unction of chrism with imposition of hands for confirmation, so she immediately admitted them to a participation of the eucharist as soon as they were baptized, and ever after without exception. Some evidence has been given of this already[71], for at least eight centuries, in speaking of confirmation, out of Gennadius, and Alcuin, and the Ordo Romanus, and Jesse Ambianensis, and other public offices of the Church, containing the rules of baptism and confirmation, where orders are also given to communicate infants as soon as they were baptized. Here I will add the testimony of the more ancient writers, that it may not be thought a novelty and invention of later ages.

Cyprian often mentions it as the common practice. In his book *De Lapsis*[72] he speaks of some parents who took their little children in their arms, when they went to sacrifice at the Heathen altars: and he brings in those infants thus complaining: 'We did nothing ourselves, neither did we leave the bread and cup of the Lord to run of our own accord to the profane contagions: it was the treachery of others that destroyed us, we fell by the hands of our parents.' A little further[73] he speaks of another infant, who was carried by her

[70] Scholastic History of Lay-Baptism, part 1. ch. 1. s. 21. [Published by the Author in 1712. His original sixth volume of the Antiquities, containing this fifteenth Book, did not appear till 1719. Ed.]

[71] B. 12. ch. 1. s. 2. v. 4. p. 198.

[72] De Lapsis, p. 125. (p. 90.)... Infantes quoque parentum manibus vel impositi vel attracti, amiserunt parvuli, quod in primo statim nativitatis exordio fuerant consecuti. Nonne illi, cum judicii dies venerit, dicent: Nos nihil fecimus, nec delicto cibo et poculo Domini ad profana contagia sponte properavimus. Perdidit nos aliena perfidia, parentes sensimus parricidas.

[73] Ibid. p. 132. (p. 94.) Parentes forte fugientes, dum trepidi minus suis consulunt, sub nutricis alimento parvulam filiam reliquerunt; relictam nutrix detulit ad magistratus. Illi ei apud idolum, quo populus confluebat, quod carnem necdum posset edere per ætatem, panem mero mixtum, quod tamen et ipsum de immolatione pereuntium super-

nurse, unknown to her parents, to the magistrates, to partake of the idol-sacrifice; who, when she was brought by her mother afterwards to receive the eucharist, vomited up the wine that was given her to drink in the communion. By which it is undeniable that infants were then admitted to communicate in both kinds, if they were capable of receiving them. Upon this account the Author of the Constitutions[74], in his invitation of the faithful to the communion, bids mothers bring their children with them. And again[75], describing the order in which they communicated, he says, 'First let the bishops receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ascetics; among the women, the deaconesses, virgins, and widows; after that, the children, and then all the people in their order.' The author, under the name of Dionysius[76], says the same, 'that children were admitted, not only to baptism, but the eucharist, though they did not understand the reasons of either mystery.'

St. Austin[77] not only mentions the practice in Cyprian's time, citing the foresaid passages out of his book *De Lapsis;*

erat, tradiderunt. Recepit filiam postmodum mater. Sed facinus puella commissum tam loqui et indicare non potuit, quam nec intelligere prius potuit, nec arcere [al. cavere]. Ignoratione igitur obreptum est, ut, sacrificantibus nobis, eam secum mater inferret. Sed enim puella mixta cum sanctis, precis nostræ et orationis impatiens, nunc ploratu concuti, nunc mentis æstu cœpit fluctuabunda jactari, et velut tortore cogente, quibus poterat indiciis, conscientiam facti in simplicibus adhuc annis rudis anima fatebatur. Ubi vero solemnibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit, et accipientibus cæteris locus ejus advenit; faciem suam parvula instinctu divinæ majestatis avertere, os labiis obturantibus premere, calicem recusare. Perstitit tamen diaconus, et reluctanti licet de sacramento calicis infudit. Tunc sequitur singultus et vomitus. In corpore atque ore violato eucharistia permanere non potuit. Sanctificatus in Domini sanguine potus de pollutis visceribus erupit.

[74] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 398.) Τὰ *παιδία προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες.*

[75] Ibid. c. 13. (p. 405.) .... Καὶ *μετὰ τοῦτο μεταλαμβανέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ οἱ ἀναγνῶσται, καὶ οἱ ψάλται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταὶ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι, καὶ αἱ παρθένοι, καὶ αἱ χῆραι, εἶτα τὰ παιδία, καὶ τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν.*

[76] Hierarch. Eccles. c. 7. part. 3. n. 11. p. 360. (t. 1. p. 270 d.) Τὸ *δὲ καὶ παῖδας, οὔπω τὰ θεῖα συνιέναι δυναμένους, τῆς ἱερᾶς μετόχους γίνεσθαι θεογενεσίας, καὶ τῶν ἱερωτάτων τῆς θεαρχικῆς κοινωνίας συμβόλων, δοκεῖ μὲν, ὡς φὴς, τοῖς ἀνιέροις εὐλόγου γέλωτος ἄξιον, κ. τ. λ.*

[77] Ep. 23. [al. 98.] ad Bonifac. (t. 2. p. 265 b.) Quod si Sanctus Cyprianus arbitraretur, non eorum defensionem continuo subjiceret dicens, Nonne illi, cum judicii dies venerit, dicent, Nos nihil fecimus, &c. See n. 72, preceding.

but also seems to say[78] it was necessary for infants, in order to obtain eternal life; grounding upon that saying of our Saviour, (John 6, 53.) "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." Which, he says, is to be understood not of the sacrament of baptism, but of the sacrament of the Lord's table, where no one is rightly admitted but he that is baptized. 'And dare any one be so bold as to say, that this sentence does not appertain to little children, or that they can have life without partaking of this body and blood?' He repeats the same frequently in his disputes with the Pelagians[79], and in his Sermons on the Words of the Apostle[80], and in his Epistle to Boniface[81], written jointly by him and Alipius against the Pelagians. And Pope Innocent, his contemporary, seems to have had the same opinion: for he argues in his Epistle to St. Austin and the Council of Milevis[82] for the necessity of baptizing infants, from the necessity of their eating the flesh and drinking the blood of the Son of Man.

There is great dispute among the Romish doctors about the sense of St. Austin and this Pope Innocent upon this point. Bona[83] and others think it would be a great reproach to their Church to have it thought that the Council of Trent should condemn the opinion of the necessity of communicating infants, whilst two such great men as St. Austin and their own Pope

[78] De Peccat. Merit. l. 1. c. 20. (t. 10. p. 15 c.) Dominum audiamus, inquam, non quidem hoc de sacramento [sancti] lavacri dicentem, sed de sacramento sanctæ mensæ suæ, quo nemo rite nisi baptizatus accedit, *Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam, &c.* (d.) An vero quisquam etiam hoc dicere audebit, quod ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat, possintque sine participatione corporis hujus et sanguinis in se habere vitam?

[79] Cont. Duas Epistol. Pelag. l. 1. c. 22. (t. 10. p. 429 e.) Nec illud cogitatis, eos vitam habere non posse, qui fuerint expertes corporis et sanguinis Christi, dicente ipso, *Nisi manducaveritis, &c.*

[80] Serm. 8. de Verb. Apost. p. 110. [al. Serm. 174.] (t. 5. p. 834 a.) Infantes sunt, sed mensæ ejus participes fiunt, ut habeant in se vitam.

[81] Ep. 106. [al. 186.] ad Bonifac. p. 185. (t. 2. p. 673 d.).. Nullus, qui se meminit Catholicæ fidei Christianum, negat aut dubitat parvulos, non accepta gratia regenerationis in Christo, sine cibo carnis ejus et sanguinis potu, non habere in se vitam, &c.

[82] Ep. 93. [al. 182.] inter Epp. Augustin. (t. 2. p. 640 b.).. Parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis etiam sine baptismatis gratia donari posse, perfatuum est: *nisi enim manducaverint carnem filii hominis, et biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semetipsis.*

[83] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19. n. 1. (p. 325.) Quid supra de communione puerorum mentio? &c.

Innocent were conceived to be of that opinion: and therefore they say, though the Ancients gave the communion to infants, yet they did not think it necessary to salvation. This is the salvo which the Council of Trent put into their mouths: for having condemned the opinion itself as heretical, yet to bring off the ancient Church, which was known to practise it, she adds[84]; 'We do not hereby intend to condemn antiquity for observing this custom in some places. For as those holy fathers had a probable reason, considering the state of the times they lived in, for their practice; so it is certainly, and without all controversy, to be believed that they did not do it upon any opinion of its being necessary to salvation.' But Maldonat would not take the Council's word for this: for, without any regard to their interpretation or authority, he asserts[85] roundly that the Ancients, and particularly St. Austin and Pope Innocent, did believe that infants could not be saved without partaking of the eucharist, and that they were induced to believe this by those words of our Saviour, (John 6, 53.) "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And indeed any one that reads but with half an eye the testimonies of St. Austin now alleged, which Bona thought fit to conceal from his reader, only making a short reference to some of them, may easily perceive what was his opinion in the matter. And it were absurd to think that the whole primitive Church, Greek and Latin, from St. Cyprian's time, should give the communion to infants without imagining any manner of necessity from any divine command to do it. But Bona endeavours to support his and the Council's sense from the authority of Fulgentius, who was one of St. Austin's disciples, and who, as he represents him, says that actual communion after baptism is not necessary to salvation. But he only abuses his reader with a false state of the case, and a false assertion grounded on it. For Fulgentius[86] does not say

[84] Sess. 21. c. 4. (t. 14. p. 847 c.) Neque ideo tamen damnanda est antiquitas, si eum morem in quibusdam locis servavit. Ut enim sanctissimi illi patres sui facti probabilem causam pro illius temporis ratione habuerunt; ita certe eos nulla salutis necessitate id fecisse sine controversia credendum est.

[85] In Ioan. 6, 53. p. 286. (pp. 316, 317.) Audacius nunc dico, &c. Ad Innocentium veniamus, &c.

[86] De Baptismo Æthiopis, c. 11. p. 611. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 9. p. 177 d. 3.) Nullus debet moveri fidelium in illis, qui etsi legitime sana mente

that the actual participation of the eucharist is not necessary after baptism for infants: for he is not speaking of infants, but adult persons, who die as soon as they are baptized, without having opportunity to receive the communion: concerning whom he concludes favourably, that though they die before they receive outwardly the elements of bread and wine, yet they are not to be despaired of, because they were made partakers of the body and blood of Christ in baptism, which in such cases of great necessity was sufficient to answer the end of the communion, when men were desirous of it, but had no opportunity to receive it. So that he believed the eucharist ordinarily to be necessary both for infants and adult persons, but in extraordinary cases of extreme necessity, not to be necessary for either.

But, to set aside the question of right, and only pursue matter of fact, we find that this custom continued, even in the Roman Church, for many ages: Maldonat says, for six centuries; but Bona makes it double the number; for he says, it was not abrogated in France till the twelfth century. In Gregory's Sacramentarium[87] there is an order concerning infants, 'that they should be allowed to suck the breast before the holy communion, if necessity so required.' And the old Ordo Romanus[88], a book composed in the ninth century, has a direction to the same purpose; 'that infants, after they were baptized, should not eat any food, nor suck the breast, without great necessity, till they had communicated in the sacrament of the body of Christ.' So Alcuin[89], or whoever wrote under his name, in

baptizantur, præveniente velocius morte, carnem Domini manducare, et sanguinem bibere non sinuntur, propter illam videlicet sententiam Salvatoris qua dixit, *Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis, &c.* Quod quisquis... mysterii veritatem considerare poterit, in ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit.

[87] In Officio Sabbati Sancti. (t. 3. p. 73. n. 10.).. Qui illam non prohibentur lactari ante sacram communionem, si necesse fuerit.

[88] Ap. Bibl. Patr. [Paris. 1654.] t. 10. p. 84. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 13. p. 697 g. 8.) Illud autem parvulis providendum, ne postquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur sine summa necessitate, antequam communicent sacramento corporis Christi.

[89] De Officiis, cap. De Sabbato Sancto, ibid. p. 259. (Oper. p. 1064 a.) Si episcopus adest, statim confirmari oportet [infans tinctus] chrismate, et postea communicare: et si episcopus deest, communicetur a presbytero, &c. Sed et hoc providendum est ut nullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur antequam communicent.

the time of Charles the Great, says the order then was, 'that when infants were baptized, they were immediately confirmed by the bishop, if he were present, and admitted to communicate; but if the bishop was absent, they should receive the communion from the presbyter.' Baluzius[90] alleges two manuscript Pontificals of the same age, which have Rubrics to the same purpose. And the orders of Jesse, bishop of Amiens[91], call it 'confirming children with the body and blood of Christ,' as they were confirmed before with imposition of hands and chrism. And it is remarkable of Walter, bishop of Orleans, in the same age, that among his Synodical Rules there is one[92] to this purpose: 'that a presbyter shall always have the eucharist ready by him, that in case any one be infirm, or a young child sick, he may give him the communion, and not let him die without his *viaticum*,' or *provision for his journey* into the next world. The second Council of Mascon[93], which was held anno 588, and the third Council of Tours[94], in the time of Charles the Great, order the remains of the eucharist to be given to innocent children. Radulphus Ardens[95], who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, speaks of it still as the custom to 'give little children the sacrament, at least in the

[90] Not. in Rheginon. l. 1. c. 69. (p. 551.) Immo ex vetustissimo libro Pontificalis, &c.

[91] Ep. de Ord. Bapt. ap. Baluz. ibid. (p. 552.) Episcopus puerum chrismate confirmet in fronte; novissime autem corpore et sanguine Christi confirmetur seu communicetur, ut Christi membrum esse possit.

[92] Cap. 7. (CC. t. 8. p. 639 b.) Presbyter eucharistiam semper habeat paratam, ut quando quis infirmatus fuerit, aut parvulus ægrotaverit, statim eum communicet, ne sine viatico moriatur.—The same is in Ansegisus Abbas de Legibus Francorum, l. 1. c. 155. al. 161. Vid. ap. Capitul. Reg. Francor. (t. 1. p. 731.) Nearly the same words.

[93] C. 6. (t. 5. p. 982 b.) Quæcunque reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad ecclesiam adducantur, et, indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.

[94] C. 19. (t. 7. p. 1264 a.) Presbyteri omnino admonendi sunt, ut cum sacra missarum solemnia peregerint, atque communicaverint, pueris aut aliis quibuslibet personis adstantibus corpus Domini indiscrete non tribuant. Qui, si forte majoribus peccatis fuerint irretiti, magis sibi damnationem quam remedium comparant, juxta sententiam Apostoli, dicentis, *Quicunque manducaverit panem, vel biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini. Probet autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de calice bibat.*

[95] Sermo, in Die Paschæ, de Eucharist. Necessit. [al. Hom. in die Sancto Paschæ, juxt. Ed. Antwerp. 1567. 8vo. fol. 121. vers.] Statutum est ut pueris mox baptizatis saltem in specie vini tradatur, ne sine necessario discedant sacramento.

species of wine, immediately after they were baptized, that they might not go without the necessary sacrament.' And Hugo de Sancto Victore[96] at the same time recommends the giving of it to children, if it might be done without danger: though he intimates now the custom was almost generally laid aside; there being only a mere form and shadow of it remaining, which was to give children newly baptized common wine, instead of consecrated, which he thinks a superfluous rite that ought to be laid aside. And so it was, not long after: for Odo[97], bishop of Paris, anno 1175, ordered, 'that neither consecrated nor unconsecrated bread should by any means be given to little children.' And so, says Bona[98], the custom of giving the communion to infants was superseded in the twelfth age in the Gallican Church. It continued a little longer in Germany, if Suicerus[99] does not mistake in his author: for he quotes Johannes Semeca, surnamed Teutonicus, who wrote the Gloss upon Gratian, as saying, 'that the custom prevailed in

[96] De Sacrament. l. 1. c. 20. (ap. Bonam, Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19. n. 2. p. 326.)...Asserit tamen loco supra citato (vid. n. 1.) jam suo tempore desiisse, aliquo ejus vestigio remanente: nam presbyteri retinentes veterem formam, sed non rem, vinum commune pueris recens baptizatis dabant pro sanguine, quod Hugo superfluum et dimittendum arbitrabatur.

[97] Statut. Synod. c. 39. (ap. Bonam, ibid. (p. 326. col. dextr. ad im. pag.)...Præcepit presbyteris, ne hostias licet non sacratas dent pueris ullo modo.

[98] Ibid. (p. 326.)...Sic desiit in Gallicana ecclesia, sæculo duodecimo, mos pueros communicandi.

[99] Thes. Eccles. voce, Σύναξις, c. 5. n. B. (t. 2. p. 1138.) Joannes etiam Teutonicus, qui Scholia scripsit in Gratianum, (de Consecrat. dist. 4. c. 4.) testatur, eam quibusdam in locis consuetudinem sua ætate adeo invaluisse, ut sacramentum infantibus darent.—[John Semeca flourished about 1250, of whom says Cave, (Hist. Liter. Oxon. 1740. p. 301.) *Scripsit Glossam in Decretum Gratiani, una cum Decreto sæpius impressam.* But of the gloss referred to by my learned ancestor, on the authority of Suicer, I can discover no trace in the oldest copy I have seen, viz. Argentinæ, 1472, in the King's Library at the British Museum, C. 11. e. 1 and 2. Suicer's citation, however, of *De Consecrat. distinct.* 4. c. 4. may be erroneous: for in that place, chapter 28, (Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugdun. 1671. t. 1. p. 1985. 40.) I find the following passages: Non iteratur baptisma, quod in nomen Sanctæ Trinitatis ministratur. Si vero parvuli sunt vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi: et sic, per manus impositionem, chrismate communicati, eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur. Upon this the marginal note K, at the word *eucharistiæ*, says: *Hoc de adultis, quia parvulis non datur corpus Christi...nisi forte ubi consuetudo est quod infunditur per ora eorum sanguis Christi, non corpus secundum quosdam.* I conceive that *this* must be the gloss of Semeca to which Suicer alluded; and that he mistakes in the citation (of 4 for 28) as my ancestor thinks he may have done. See the next note. Ed.]

some places in his time to give the eucharist to children.' But there is no such gloss in the place he alleges in the Roman edition[1]; so that either he mistakes the place, or else some fraud has been used to expunge the passage by the Roman correctors. Zuinglius[2] speaks of the custom continuing long among the Helvetians; for he says, in the Ritual Book of Claron, called their Obsequial, there was this rubric: 'that a newly-baptized child should have the eucharist in both kinds ministered unto him.' And Hospinian[3] assures us from his own knowledge, 'that in Lorrain and the adjacent parts it was usual for the priest, when he had baptized a child, to dip his fingers in the cup, and drop the wine into the child's mouth, saying, The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be of advantage unto thee to eternal life.'

The Greek Church was a little more tenacious of the ancient custom. For not only Basilius Cilix[4], and Evagrius[5], and Johannes Moschus[6], mention the communion of children, and the giving the remains of the eucharist to children after the com-

[1] Corp. Jur. Canon. Romæ, 1582. fol. tom. 4. De Consecrat. distinct. 4. c. 4. (Lugdun. 1671. t. 1. p. 1977. 15.) cited also by Hospinian, Hist. Sacrament. l. 2. c. 2. See also n. 3, following.

[2] Explanat. Artic. 18. (Oper. t. 1. p. 34. 21.) Nam quum minister essem apud Claronam Helvetiorum, librum ibidem reperi (*Obsequiale* vocant pontificii) in Mollis vetustissimum, sed integrum adhuc, et nulla parte, quod ad literas attinet, vitiatum. Titulus erat (*Rubricam* vocant) in eo loco, quo de ritu baptizandi præscribit, hujusmodi verbis scriptus, *Baptizato puero mox detur eucharistiæ sacramentum.* Similiter poculum sanguinis.

[3] Hist. Sacrament. l. 2. c. 2. (p. 60. ad summ.)...Et ante paucos adhuc annos consuetudinis hujus in Lotharingia et vicinia exstiterunt reliquiæ aliquæ. Nam ubi baptizatus est illic infans, sacrificulus, qui illum baptizavit, e sacrario acceptam capsulam, in qua sacramentum asservatur, ad altare detulit, et hostiam, ut vocant, unam ostentavit populo: deinde in capsulam reposuit; et duos digitos, quibus eam prehenderat, vino lavandos porrexit ædituo, et ex illo vino distillavit in os baptizati infantis, dicens, *Sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi tibi in vitam æternam proficiat.*

[4] Ap. Photii Biblioth. cod. 107. (p. 281. 14.) Writing against John of Scythopolis he remarks,—Οὐδέποτε ἐκοινώνει τῆς ἱερουργίας τελειουμένης· ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον παισὶν ἅμα τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλάμβανε, καὶ παραυτίκα πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπέτρεχε.

[5] L. 4. c. 36. (v. 3. p. 416. 20.) Ἔθος παλαιὸν βούλεται ἀνὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, ὅτ' ἂν πολύ τί χρῆμα τῶν ἁγίων μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐναπομείνοι, παῖδας ἀφθόρους μεταπέμπτους γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐς χαμαιδιδασκάλου φοιτώντων, καὶ ταῦτα κατεσθίειν.

[6] Prat. Spirit. c. 196. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 1151 b. 7.)... Ἡ συνήθεια ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδραμεν, ὥστε τοὺς παῖδας ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἁγίου ἱερατείου ἵστασθαι ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις συνάξεσιν, καὶ πρώτους μετὰ τοὺς κληρικοὺς τῶν ἁγίων μεταλαμβάνειν μυστηρίων.

munion was ended; but also Nicephorus[7], who lived in the fourteenth century, mentions the same: and Suicerus[8] tells us out of Metrophanes Critopulus, a modern Greek writer, that they still continue to observe the custom to this day. As he also observes[9] out of Osorius *De Gestis Emanuelis*, (lib. 9,) that it continues to be the practice of the Ethiopic or Abyssin Churches. And he cites Sigismundus Baro's History of Muscovy for the same in the Russian Churches. Mr. Brerewood[10] notes the like of the Russian Churches, out of Guaguinus. And Dr. Smith[11] tells us, for the present Greek Church, that they give the eucharist in both kinds to little children of one or two years of age, and sometimes to new-born infants after baptism, in case of imminent danger of death, grounding their belief of an absolute necessity of this sacrament upon the words of our Saviour, (John 6, 53,) "Except ye eat the flesh, &c." and pleading the practice of the primitive Church in their own justification.

I have not said any thing of all this to reduce the custom into practice again, though Bishop Bedel and some others have declared entirely for it: because, as learned men[12] have

[7] L. 17. c. 25. (t. 2. p. 772 b. 4.) Ἔθος κεκράτηκεν ἐκ πολλοῦ τῇ βασιλίδι τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐπειδὰν πολύ τι τῶν μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου καὶ θείου σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐναπολειφθείη, μετιστέλλεσθαι τοὺς ἱερέας παῖδας ἀφθόρους ἐκ τῶν ἐς χαμαιδιδασκάλου φοιτώντων, καὶ ταύτας νήστεις ἐσθίειν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ πολλάκις νεωτέρῳ κομιδῇ γε ὄντι ἐπισυνέβη γενέσθαι.

[8] Thes. Eccles. ubi supr. n. 99. (t. 2. p. 1138.) Testatur hoc Metrophanes Critopulus, in Confess. Eccles. Oriental. c. 9. p. 98. Postquam enim dixisset, panem et calicem, tam ecclesiasticos quam laicos accipere, statim subjicit: Ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ βρέφη, ἀρξάμενα εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος, μετέχει τοῦ λοιποῦ, ὁσάκις οἱ γονεῖς βούλονται... Et mox: Ὥσπερ δεῖ τὰ νήπια βαπτίζεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ Κυριακοῦ δείπνου μετέχειν.

[9] [Ibid. (supr.) Infantes eo die, quo salutaribus sacris initiati sunt, eucharistiam in panis mica sumpserunt. ED.]

[10] Inquiry, ch. 18. (p. 167.)..... Receiving children after seven years old to the communion, saying that at that age they begin to sin against God.

[11] Account of the Greek Church. (p. 161.) If it be objected against them, that these words are not to be understood of a sacramental manducation, and that the custom which they retain seems to be so far from being necessary, that it is scarce proper and justifiable, children not possibly having any actual faith or understanding of these mysteries; they will appeal, for their justification, to the universal practice of the Church in the primitive times for several ages, wherein the communicating of infants was looked upon as a necessary and essential point of the Christian religion.

[12] Vid. Hospin. et Suicer. locis supra citatis, nn. 3, 8.

shown, there are good reasons to persuade the contrary. 1. Because it has no firm foundation in the Word of God. 2. Because infants which are baptized are in effect thereby partakers of the body and blood of Christ, which are exhibited spiritually in baptism as well as the eucharist, according to St. Austin himself and all the ancient Fathers, of which I have made full proof in another place[14]. 3. Because infants cannot do this in remembrance of Christ, which he requires all that partake in this sacrament to do. 4. Because there is the same analogy and agreement between the Paschal lamb and the Lord's supper, as there is between circumcision and baptism: an infant Israelite had a right to enter the covenant by circumcision, as it was the seal of it: but he was not to partake of the Passover till he could ask his parents the meaning of the mystery. (See Exod. 12, 26.) So an infant may enter the Christian covenant by baptism, but not partake regularly of the eucharist till he can do it in remembrance of Christ.

What I have therefore discoursed upon this head, by deducing the matter historically from first to last, is rather to show the vanity of that pretence to infallibility and unerring tradition in the Church of Rome, in matters of doctrine and necessary practice, since they themselves have thought fit to alter one point, which their infallible Popes and forefathers for so many ages observed as necessary, in communicating infants upon a divine command; and withal to show that any other Church has a better pretence than they to reform any practice, however generally observed, if upon better examination it be found not to be grounded upon a good foundation in the word of God. I now return to the business of the ancient Church.

Sent to the absent members of their own or of other Churches.

8. Where we find that not only the present members were all communicants, but they that were absent had it sent to them by the hands of a deacon, to testify that, while they were absent upon any lawful occasion, they were still reputed to be in the communion of the Church. Thus Justin Martyr[15] says, the same eucharist which was received by them that were

[14] B. 11. ch. 10. s. 4. v. 4. p. 172.

[15] Apol. 2. (p. 98 e.) Καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἑκάστῳ γίνεται, καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι διὰ τῶν διακόνων πέμπεται.—Conf. Justinian. Novel. 123. c. 36. (t. 5. p. 558.).... Aut sanctam eis communionem portandam.

present was carried by the deacons to the absent. For as they prayed for those that were absent upon a probable or reasonable cause, so they allowed them to communicate in the same sacrament also. Upon this account, as we have seen before[16], the eucharist at Rome, in the time of Melchiades, Siricius, and Innocent, was usually sent from the bishop's church to the *tituli*, or lesser churches, for the presbyters ministering in those churches to communicate with him, and, as some[17] think, for the whole congregations also. For they suppose that at first there was but one altar in a city, and that at the mother-church, where the bishop ministered, and consecrated the eucharist, and sent it thence to the lesser congregations. And so they understand even that passage in Justin Martyr. I rather think the presbyters had the privilege to consecrate the eucharist in their own churches; but however a portion of the eucharist was for all that sent them by the bishop from his own church, to testify that they were in communion with him: he did not send to the country-churches, 'because the sacraments were not to be carried to places at too great a distance,' as Innocent words it in his letter to Decentius. Yet in case of testifying their communion with foreign bishops, they were wont to send it to far distant churches. As Irenæus in his Epistle to Pope Victor[18], when he menaced the Asiatic Churches with excommunication for their different way of observing Easter, tells him his predecessors never thought of such rough proceedings against them, but notwithstanding this difference always sent them the eucharist, to testify their communion with them. Valesius[19] and others observe the same in the Acts of Lucian the Martyr[20], and Paulinus's Epistle[21] to Severus.

[16] Ch. 2. s. 5. of this Book, p. 250. nn. 90, 91.

[17] Maurice, Defence of Diocesan Episcopacy, (p. 39.) So that it seems not probable, &c.

[18] Ap. Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. (v. 1. p. 248. 17.) ... Αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες, οἱ πρὸ σοῦ πρεσβύτεροι, τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν.

[19] In loc. Euseb. citat. (ibid. n. 8.) Illustre etiam hujus moris exemplum exstat in Actis Luciani martyris.

[20] Ap. Metaphrast. 7. Januar. [See this in Surius, (t. 1. p. 157.) where we read how the disciples of the confessor coming from Antioch and other places, conveyed the eucharist to him while in prison at Nicomedia, and for want of a legitimate table, which the historian distinctly terms *mensa*, laid the blessed elements on Lucian's breast, which he had assured them would suffice admirably for the purpose: ***Mensa quidem, inquit, erit vobis hoc meum***

This was chiefly, if not solely, done at the Paschal festival in token of their unity, love, and charity. But the Council of Laodicea[22], for some inconveniences attending the practice, absolutely forbad it; ordering that the holy sacraments should not be sent from one diocese to another under the notion of *eulogiæ* or *benedictions*, at the Easter festival. Yet in some places the custom continued for several ages after. For Johannes Moschus[23] speaks of the communion being sent from one monk to another at six miles' distance; not to mention again the custom of sending the eucharist by Paulinus, and by the bishops of Rome, from the mother-church to all the other churches throughout the city in every region. But where they left off this custom of sending the eucharist, they introduced another way of testifying their mutual love and amity to one another by certain symbols of bread, which they blessed and sanctified also in imitation of the eucharist, but with a different benediction. And to these also they gave the names of *eulogiæ*, and *panis benedictus, consecrated bread*, which the modern Greeks call *ἀντίδωρα, vicarious gifts*, because they were given in many cases *instead of* the eucharist. It has been observed already[24], that they were often given to such as would not communicate, when the ancient fervour of popular and general communions began to decay. Here we are to observe, that they were used to be sent from one country to another instead of the eucharist, as testimonies of their amity and affection.

Some[25], not improbably, thus understood that canon of the

pectus, &c. See also in Philostorgius as cited in s. 10. See n. 44 following. ED.]

[21] Ep. 1. ad Sever. (p. 15.) Panem Campanum de cellula nostra tibi pro eulogia misimus, tantum meritis in Domino tuis freti, ut plena ad te perferendum sui gratia crederemus; tu, licet uberioribus micis a Domini mensa jam saturatus sis, dignare et a peccatoribus acceptum in nomine Domini panem in eulogiam vertere.

[22] C. 13. [al. 14.] (t. 1. p. 1500 a.) *Περὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ ἅγια εἰς λόγον εὐλογιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Πάσχα εἰς ἑτέρας παροικίας διαπέμπεσθαι.*

[23] Prat. Spirit. c. 29. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 1067. ad summ.) Quasi triginta milliaribus ab Ægina, civitate Ciliciæ, Stylitæ duo erant, separati ab invicem sex millibus passuum..... Ille vero, divinitus inspiratus, petiit ab eo, ut partem sibi mitteret communionis suæ.

[24] See before in this chapter, s. 3. p. 355.

[25] Habertus, Archierat. part. 11. observ. 3. (p. 289.) Atque ut ad Græcorum ritus oculos adjiciamus, fuerunt apud eos eulogiæ etiam duplices, privatæ et publicæ. De privatis præsertim agitur altero canone 37 [C. Laodic.] *Οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τῶν*

Council of Laodicea[26], which 'forbids any to receive the *eulogiæ*, or *blessings* of heretics, which were to be reckoned curses and absurdities rather than blessings.' As also that other canon[27], which 'forbids them to receive, either from Jews or heretics, *τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορταστικὰ*, *such gifts* or *presents as were used to be sent in festivals*.' Of this kind was that bread which Paulinus and Therasia sent to St. Austin as a testimony of their unanimity and cordial affection, which they desire him[28] to bless by his acceptance. Some learned men mistake when they say the sending of the eucharist came in the room of this: for it was plainly the reverse: these *eulogiæ* were invented in the room of the eucharist[29], as appears from the testimony of Irenæus[30], which speaks of sending the eucharist as the more ancient custom.

And to those that were sick, or in prison, or under any confinement, or in penance at the point of death.

9. Among the absent members of the Church they had a more especial regard to those that were sick, or in prison, or under any confinement, as the martyrs and confessors, who daily expected their dissolution; and such also of the penitents as being seized with sickness were in imminent danger of death. To all these they commonly sent the eucharist, which in this case is more peculiarly styled the *ἐφόδιον*, or *viaticum*, their *preparation* or *provision for their journey* into the next world. Thus in the Council of Nice there is a canon[31], which orders, 'that all penitents should have their necessary and final *ἐφόδιον*, or *viaticum*, when they were at the point of death.' Which though Albaspinæus[32] interpret only of absolution, yet all others with better reason understand it of the eucharist,

'Ιουδαίων, κ. τ. λ. . . . . Et revera canone 31. clare: Οὐ δεῖ αἱρετικῶν, κ. τ. λ.

[26] C. 31. [al. 32.] (t. 1. p. 5001 e.] Οὐ δεῖ αἱρετικῶν εὐλογίας λαμβάνειν αἵτινές εἰσιν ἀλογίαι μᾶλλον ἢ εὐλογίαι.

[27] C. 37. (ibid. p. 1504 b.) Οὐ δεῖ παρὰ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων, ἢ αἱρετικῶν τὰ πεμπόμενα ἑορταστικὰ λαμβάνειν.

[28] Paulin. Ep. 31. [al. 25.] inter Epp. Augustin. (t. 2. p. 38 b.) Panem unum, quem unanimitatis indicio misimus caritati tuæ, rogamus accipiendo benedicas.—[Vid. Augustin. Ep. 34. [al. 31.] ad Paulin. (ibid. p. 58 c.) Panis, quem misimus, uberior benedictio fiet, dilectione accipientis vestræ benignitatis.

[29] See before, s. 3. p. 355.

[30] [Fragment. Ep. ad Vict. Pap. Rom. ex Euseb. Hist. l. 5. c. 24. (p. 466. 10.) 'Αλλ' αὐτοὶ μὴ τηροῦντες . . . . τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικιῶν τηροῦσιν ἔπεμπον εὐχαριστίαν. ED.]

[31] C. 13. (t. 2. p. 36 b.) Ὥστε, εἴ τις ἐξοδεύοι, τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι.

[32] In loc. (ibid. p. 82 b.) Sententia ergo hujus canonis hæc est, in morte pœnitenti absolutionem negari non debere.

because it is added in the end of the canon, 'that the bishop shall impart the oblation to them.' And so the Council of Agde[33] says, 'the *viaticum* shall not be denied to any penitents at the point of death.' The first Council of Vaison[34] makes a provision for such penitents as were snatched away by sudden death, without the *viaticum* of the sacrament, whilst they were preparing for it, that their oblations should be received, and their funerals and memorials celebrated according to the rites of the Church. And the eleventh Council of Toledo[35] makes another provision for such as by reason of extreme weakness could not take the whole *viaticum* of the communion, nor swallow the bread, but only drink the cup, that since this proceeded not from any infidelity, but from mere infirmity, they should not be cut off from the body of the Church. The fourth Council of Carthage[36] mentions it in several canons, and in one canon particularly speaks of a very remarkable case which sometimes happened, that a penitent who desired to be admitted to penance in time of sickness was sometimes suddenly taken speechless, or turned delirious by the paroxysm of his distemper, before the priest could come to

[33] C. 15. (t. 4. p. 1386 a.).... Viaticum tamen omnibus in morte positis non est negandum.

[34] [Al. 2.] c. 2. (t. 3. p. 1457 b.) Pro his, qui pœnitentia accepta, in bonæ vitæ cursu satisfactoria compunctione viventes, sine communione inopinato nonnunquam transitu in agris aut itineribus præveniuntur, oblationem recipiendam, et eorum funera, ac deinceps memoriam ecclesiastico affectu prosequendam; quia nefas est eorum commemorationes excludi a salutaribus sacris, qui ad eadem sacra fideli affectu contendentes, dum se diutius reos statuunt, indignos salutiferis mysteriis judicant, ac, dum purgatiores restitui desiderant, absque sacramentorum viatico intercipiantur: quibus fortasse nec absolutissimam reconciliationem sacerdos denegandam putasset.

[35] C. 11. (t. 6. p. 552 b.) Solet enim humanæ naturæ infirmitas in ipso mortis exitu prægravata, tanto siccitatis pondere deprimi, ut nullis ciborum illationibus refici; sed vix tantumdem illati delectetur poculi gratia sustentari. Quod etiam in multorum exitu vidimus, qui, optatum suis votis sacræ communionis expetentes viaticum, collatam sibi a sacerdote eucharistiam rejecerunt; non quod infidelitate hoc agerent, sed quod, præter Dominici calicis haustum, traditam sibi non possent eucharistiam deglutire. Non ergo hujusmodi a corpore ecclesiæ separandi sunt, qui talia non infidelitate, sed necessitate fecerunt; præsertim hi, de quibus nihil fidei sinistræ sentitur.

[36] C. 76. (t. 2. p. 1205 e.) Is, qui pœnitentiam in infirmitate petit, si casu, dum ad eum sacerdos invitatus venit, oppressus infirmitate obmutuerit, vel in phrenesim versus fuerit, dent testimonium qui eum audierunt, et accipiat pœnitentiam. Et si continuo creditur moriturus, reconcilietur per manus impositionem, et infundatur ori ejus eucharistia, &c.

him; in which case, if they that heard him could testify his desire, he was to be admitted: and if it was thought he would immediately die, he was to be reconciled by imposition of hands, and then the eucharist was to be poured into his mouth. Which is called the *viaticum* of the eucharist in the two following canons[37]. As it is also in the Councils of Orange[38] and Gironne[39], and many other places.

The eucharist in these cases was commonly carried and delivered by a presbyter or a deacon, as has been noted out of Justin Martyr: yet in cases of great necessity it might be carried and given by any other. As appears from that case in Eusebius[40] related out of an Epistle of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, to Fabian, bishop of Rome, where he tells of 'one Serapion, who having sacrificed in time of persecution, could not die till he had sent for the presbyter to reconcile him: but the presbyter being sick sent him a small portion of the eucharist by the hands of the messenger that came for him, giving him orders to dip it first and put it into his mouth, which he had no sooner done, but the man gave up the ghost in peace.' But this was forbidden by the canons[41] in ordinary cases.

[37] C. 77. (ibid. p. 1206 b.) Pœnitentes, qui in infirmitate sunt, viaticum accipiant.—C. 78. (ibid. b.) Pœnitentes, qui in infirmitate viaticum [eucharistiæ] acceperint, non se credant absolutos sine manus impositione, si supervixerint.

[38] Arausican. 1. c. 3. (t. 3. p. 1448 d.) Qui recedunt de corpore, pœnitentia accepta, placuit sine reconciliatoria manus impositione eis communicari, quod morientis sufficit consolationi, secundum definitiones patrum, qui hujusmodi communionem congruenter viaticum nominarunt.

[39] C. 9. (t. 4. p. 1569 a.) Is, qui ægritudinis languore depressus pœnitentia benedictionem, quam viaticum deputamus, per communionem acceperit, &c.

[40] L. 6. c. 44. (v. 1. p. 317. 4.) Δέομαι, σπεύσατε, καί με θᾶττον ἀπολύσατε· τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μοι τινὰ κάλεσον· καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πάλιν ἦν ἄφωνος. Ἔδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον· νὺξ δὲ ἦν· κἀκεῖνος ἠσθένει· ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη. ... Βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἐπέδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέξαι κελεύσας· καὶ τῷ πρεσβύτῃ κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. Ἐπανῆκεν ὁ παῖς φέρων... Ἀπέβρεξεν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ἅμα τε ἐνέχεε τῷ στόματι· καὶ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνος καταβροχθίσας εὐθέως ἀπέδωκε τὸ πνεῦμα.

[41] Vid. Gratian. de Consecrat. dist. 2. c. 29. ex C. Rhemens. c. 2. (t. 1. p. 1924. 70.) Pervenit ad notitiam nostram, quod quidam presbyteri in tantum parvi pendant divina mysteria, ut laico vel fœminæ sacrum corpus Domini tradant ad deferendum infirmis: et quibus prohibetur, ne sacrarium ingrediantur, nec ad altare appropinquent, illis sancta sanctorum committuntur. Quod quam sit horribile, quamque detestabile, omnium religiosorum animadvertit prudentia. Igitur interdicit per omnia synodus, ne talis temeraria præsumptio ulterius fiat,

The eucharist sometimes consecrated in private houses for these purposes.

10. Sometimes indeed they used private consecrations of the eucharist in the houses of sick men, or in prisons, to answer these pious ends and purposes: but most commonly they reserved some small portion of it in the church from time to time for this use, as most expeditious and convenient for sudden accidents and emergencies. There are very ancient instances and examples of both kinds. Cyprian speaks of private consecrations made in prisons for the martyrs and confessors in time of persecution. For he gives orders[42], 'that neither should the people visit them *glomeratim, in great multitudes,* to raise envy; nor the presbyters, who went to offer the eucharist with them, go more than one at once, and that by turns, accompanied only with a single deacon, to decline envy and observation.' There is nothing more certain than that in times of persecution the Christians performed all divine offices in every place whither necessity drove them: 'every place was then a temple,' as Dionysius of Alexandria words it in Eusebius[43], 'for them to hold religious assemblies in, whether it were a field, or a wilderness, or a ship, or an inn, or a prison.' Lucian's prison[44] was his church, and his own breast his altar to consecrate the eucharist upon for himself and those that were with him in confinement. In such a case, Tertullian[45]

sed omnimodis presbyter per semetipsum infirmum communicet. Quod si aliter fecerit, gradus sui periculo subjacebit.

[42] Ep. 5. ad Cler. p. 11. (p. 176.) Etsi fratres, pro dilectione sua, cupidi sunt ad conveniendum et visitandum confessores bonos, quos illustravit jam gloriosis initiis divina dignatio, tamen caute hoc, et non glomeratim, nec per multitudinem simul junctam, puto esse faciendum: ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, et introëundi aditus denegetur, et, dum insatiabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus. Consulite ergo et providete, ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit: ita ut presbyteri quoque, qui illic apud confessores offerunt, singuli cum singulis diaconis per vices alternent: quia et mutatio personarum et vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam.

[43] L. 7. c. 22. (v. 1. p. 347. 10.) .... Καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῆς καθ' ἕκαστον θλίψεως τόπος πανηγυρικὸν ἡμῖν γέγονε χωρίον· ἀγρὸς, ἐρημία, ναῦς, πανδοχεῖον, δεσμωτήριον.

[44] Vit. Lucian. ap. Philostorg. l. 2. c. 13. (v. 3. p. 484. 3.) Ὅτι τὸν μάρτυρα Λουκιανόν φησι μέλλοντα τελευτᾷν, καὶ μήτε ναὸν μήτε θυσιαστήριον τῆς τυραννικῆς βίας παρεχούσης, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀντικινεῖσθαι τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ πληγῶν συγχωρούντων, ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ στέρνῳ ἀνακείμενον τὴν φρικτὴν θυσίαν τελεσάμενον, οὕτω τε αὐτὸν μετασχεῖν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μεταλαβεῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου θύματος ἐπιτρέψαι· ἐτελέσθη δὲ ἡ ἱερουργία ἐν τῇ εἱρκτῇ, τοῦ κυκλώσαντος αὐτὸν ἱεροῦ χοροῦ ὡς ἤδη ἀποβιοῦντα, ἐκκλησίας σχῆμα καὶ ἀσφάλειαν τοῦ μὴ καθορᾶσθαι τὰ δρώμενα παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβούντων ἀναπληροῦντος.

[45] De Fug. c. 14. (p. 543 b.) Non potes discurrere per singulos, sit tibi et in tribus ecclesia.

says, 'three were enough to make a church, when necessity would not allow them a greater number.' It is as evident, that private consecrations were made in private houses upon the account of sickness. St. Ambrose was thus invited to offer the sacrifice in a private house at Rome, as we are told by the writer[46] of his Life. And Paulinus, bishop of Nola, is said[47] to have ordered an altar to be prepared for himself in his chamber, where he consecrated the eucharist, in his sickness, not many hours before his death. Thus Gregory Nazianzen[48] tells us, that his father consecrated it in his own chamber; and that his sister, Gorgonia[49], had a domestic altar. Therefore we have no dispute with Bona upon this point, nor should we have any with his Church, if this were all that were meant by private mass in the Roman communion.

The reader may hence observe the mistake of those learned men[50], who assert, that the primitive fathers, though passionately indulgent towards their sick brethren in granting them their spiritual *viaticum*, yet always took a care that the elements should be consecrated in the church. For the instances that have been given, both concerning the martyrs and the sick, are undeniable evidence to the contrary. And there want not some instances of private consecrations upon other occasions. Such as that, mentioned by St. Austin[51], in a pri-

[46] Paulinus, Vit. Ambros. (t. 2. præfix. append. p. 3 f. n. 10.) Per idem tempus, cum trans Tyberim apud quendam clarissimum invitaretur, ut sacrificium in domo offerret, &c. [al. invitatus offerret.]

[47] Vid. Uranium, Vit. Paulin. affix. Oper. (part. 3. p. 726.) Et quasi profecturus ad Dominum jubet sibi ante lectulum suum sacra mysteria exhiberi. Scilicet ut, una cum sanctis episcopis oblato sacrificio, animam suam Domino commendaret.

[48] Orat. 19. de Laud. Patr. (t. 1. p. 305 b.) Ὃς, ὡς βακτηρίᾳ τῇ χειραγωγίᾳ χρησάμενος, μιμεῖται τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους Μωϋσέα, καὶ, τὰς παρειμένας χεῖρας εἰς εὐχὴν σχηματίσας, συντελεῖ προθύμως ἢ προτελεῖ τοῦ λαοῦ τὰ μυστήρια, ῥήμασι μὲν ὀλίγοις, καὶ ὅσοις ἔσθενεν, διανοίᾳ δὲ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ λίαν τελεωτάτῃ· ὦ τοῦ θαύματος! ἄνευ βήματος ἐπὶ βήματος, ἄνευ θυσιαστηρίου θύτης, ἱερεὺς πόρρῳ τῶν τελουμένων.

[49] Orat. 11. de Gorgonia. (ibid. p. 187 a.) Τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἑαυτῆς προσθεῖσα, μετὰ τῆς ἴσης βοῆς, καὶ δάκρυσι τοῦτο πλουσίοις, ὥσπερ τις πάλαι τοὺς πόδας Χριστοῦ καταβρέχουσα, καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀνήσειν, ἢ τῆς ὑγιείας τυχεῖν ἀπειλοῦσα, κ. τ. λ.

[50] Hamon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 10. p. 299. (Reprint, p. 451.) Though circumstances of time and place &c.

[51] De Civitat. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. p. 1485. (t. 7. p. 666 f.) Vir tribunitius Hesperius apud nos est, habet in territorio Fussalensi fundum Zubedi appellatum, ubi cum afflictione animalium et servorum suorum domum suam spirituum malignorum vim noxiam perpeti comperisset, rogavit nostros, me absente, presbyteros, ut

vate house at Zubedi, a place in his diocese, which was vexed with evil spirits, whither one of his presbyters went to pray and offer the sacrifice of the body of Christ, at the request of the owner, that it might be delivered from them. And what the historians[52] tell us of Constantine's tabernacle, which he carried about with him in his camp, where all divine offices and the holy mysteries were celebrated, may be reckoned another instance of such private consecrations.

And commonly reserved in the church for the same use.

11. It was also very usual for the ministers to reserve some part of the consecrated elements either in the church, or with them at their own house, to be in great readiness upon all such pressing occasions. As is evident from the forementioned story of Serapion in Eusebius[53]. And Optatus[54] intimates as much in that remarkable story which he tells of the Donatist bishops, who in their mad zeal against the Catholics threw the eucharist, which they found in their churches, to the dogs, but not without an immediate sign of divine vengeance: for the dogs, instead of devouring the elements, fell upon their masters, as if they had never known them, and tore them to pieces, as robbers and profaners of the holy body of Christ. The same is evident from the like complaint of Chrysostom[55] concerning the tumult that happened in his church at Constantinople, when the soldiers broke into the sanctuary, where the holy mysteries were reposited, and many of them, who were not initiated, saw the secrets that were concealed within, and the holy blood of Christ was spilt upon the soldiers' clothes, as is usual in such tumult and confusion. We may collect the

aliquis eorum illo pergeret, cujus orationibus cederent. Perrexit unus, obtulit ibi sacrificium corporis Christi, orans quantum potuit, ut cessaret illa vexatio: Deo protinus miserante cessavit.

[52] Euseb. Vit. Constant. l. 4. c. 56. (v. 1. p. 658. 17.) *Ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σχήματι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου τοῦ πολέμου παράταξιν σὺν πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ κατειργάζετο· ἐν ᾗ τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ τῆς νίκης δοτῆρι, τὰς ἱκετηρίας ἅμα τοῖς ἐπισκόποις ποιεῖσθαι ἐπενόει.*—Sozom. l. 1. c. 8. (v. 2. p. 19. 32.) .... *Σκηνὴν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν εἰκασμένην περιέφερεν, ἡνίκα πολεμίοις ἐπεστράτευεν· ὥστε μηδὲ ἐν ἐρημίᾳ διάγοντα αὐτὸν, ἢ τὴν στρατίαν, ἱεροῦ οἴκου ἀμοιρεῖν, ἐν ᾧ δέοι τὸν Θεὸν ὑμνεῖν, καὶ προσεύχεσθαι, καὶ μυστηρίων μετέχειν.*

[53] L. 6. c. 44. See before, s. 9. n. 40, preceding.

[54] L. 2. p. 55. (p. 49.) Ut omnia sacrosancta supra memorati vestri episcopi violarent, jusserunt eucharistiam canibus fundi, &c.

[55] Ep. ad. Innocent. t. 4. p. 681. (t. 3. p. 519 a.) .... *Ἔνθα τὰ ἅγια ἀπέκειντο εἰσελθόντες οἱ στρατιῶται, ὧν ἔνιοι, καθ' ὡς ἔγνωμεν, ἀμύητοι ἦσαν, πάντά τε ἑώρων τὰ ἔνδον, καὶ τὸ ἁγιώτατον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς ἐν τοσούτῳ θορύβῳ, εἰς τὰ τῶν προειρημένων στρατιωτῶν ἱμάτια ἐξεχεῖτο.*

same from what Victor Uticensis[55] says of Valerian, an African bishop, that he was banished by Geisericus, king of the Vandals, because he would not deliver up the sacrament that was kept in his church. Cyril of Alexandria, in one of his Epistles[56], reproves those who said the eucharist was not to be reserved to the next day. And in the Council of Constantinople under Mennas[57] there is mention made of silver and golden doves hanging at the altar, which most probably were then used as the repositories of the sacrament kept in the churches. Which is also mentioned in Amphilochius's Life of St. Basil[58], but no stress need be laid upon that, because it is a spurious writing; nor need we descend to the second Council of Tours[59], or other modern decrees for the proof of that, which has so good authority among the more ancient writers.

nd also for ublic use pon some ays when ey made o new con- ecration. his called *issa præ- nctifica- rum.* Its e and ori- nal.

12. It appears also from a canon of the Council of Trullo, that the eucharist was sometimes reserved for the public use of the Church, to be received some days after its consecration, particularly in the time of Lent, when they communicated on such elements as had been consecrated the Saturday or Sunday in the foregoing week, which were the only days in Lent on which they used the consecration-service, though they communicated on other days on such elements as they reserved out of the former consecration. The words of the canon[60] are these, 'that on every day in the holy fast of Lent, except Saturdays and Sundays, and the feast of the Annunciation, the *liturgy of the pre-sanctified gifts* shall be performed.' This is best understood from another canon of the Council of Laodicea[61], which orders, 'that the eucharist should not be offered

[55] De Persecut. Vandal. l. 1. ap. Bibl. Patr. t. 7. p. 593. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 678 f. 10.) Tunc etiam sanctus Valerianus, Abensis civitatis episcopus, dum viriliter, sacramenta divina ne traderet, dimicasset, foras civitatem singularis jussus est pelli.

[56] Ep. ad Calosyr. in Præf. Lib. cont. Anthropomorph. (t. 6. p. 365 b.) Ἀκούω, ὅτι εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ἀπρακτεῖν φασὶν τὴν μυστικὴν εὐλογίαν, εἰ ἀπομένοι λείψανον αὐτῆς εἰς ἑτέραν ἡμέραν· μαίνονται δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες, κ.τ.λ.

[57] Act. 5. (t. 5. p. 160 b.) Τὰς γὰρ εἰς τύπον τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος χρυσᾶς τε καὶ ἀργυρᾶς περιστερὰς κρεμαμένας ὑπεράνω τῶν θείων κολυμβηθρῶν, καὶ θυσιαστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐσφετερίσατο.

[58] See before, b. 8. ch. 6. s. 19. v. 3. p. 102. n. 63.

[59] C. 3. (ibid. p. 853 e.) Ut corpus Domini in altari, non *in* imaginario ordine, sed *sub* crucis titulo, componatur.

[60] C. 52. (t. 6. p. 1166 e.) Ἐν πάσαις τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς τῶν νηστειῶν ἡμέραις, παρεκτὸς Σαββάτου καὶ Κυριακῆς καὶ τῆς ἁγίας τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ ἡμέρας, γινέσθω ἡ τῶν προηγιασμένων ἱερὰ λειτουργία.

[61] C. 49. (t. 1. p. 1505 a.) Ὅτι οὐ

in Lent on any other day except the Sabbath and the Lord's-day.' Not that they prohibited the communion to be received on other days, for it was received every day, but on these days they received only that which had been consecrated before on the Sabbath and Lord's-day, and what was reserved for the communion of these days without any new consecration. This is commonly reckoned by learned men the beginning of this sort of communions upon reserved hosts, though it is hard to guess at the reason of the observation. Leo Allatius[61], who has written two peculiar dissertations upon this subject, tells us the reason, which the Greeks themselves allege for it, is, that the consecration-service is proper only for festivals, and therefore all other days in Lent besides Saturdays and Sundays being fast-days, they did not consecrate on those days, but only communicated in the elements which had been consecrated before. This he shows at large[62] out of Alexius Aristenus, Matthew Blastares, Balzamon, Zonaras, Michael Cerularius, and Simeon Thessalonicensis. Whether this was the true reason, or whether it be a good reason, is none of my business to inquire; I only observe, that it was an ancient practice in the Greek Church, as it continues to be at this day[63], though the Latin Church never adopted it into her service: for they used to consecrate, as well as communicate,

δεῖ Τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν Σαββάτῳ καὶ Κυριακῇ μόνον.

[61] Ep. ad Naudæum de Libr. Eccles. Græcor. (Paris. 1645.) Dissert. de Missa Præsanctificatorum, ad calc. Libri de Consensu Eccles. Orient. et Occident. (Col. Agrippin. 1648.)

[62] De Miss. Præsanctif. n. 12. (pp. 1570, seqq.) Sed quænam causa &c.

[63] See Dr. Smith's Account of the Greek Church, (p. 175.) During the solemn time of Lent, set apart for the severe exercises of penance, there is no consecration of the sacrament, except on Saturdays, Sundays, and the feast of the Annunciation; for which cause the other days are called *ἀλειτουργητοί*. But lest, by this intermission, there should seem to be a neglect of our blessed Saviour's institution, which it concerns the Christian Church to observe every day, to implore God's mercy, by the oblation and merit of this unbloody sacrifice, there is this provision made for it, yet so that the severities of the Lenten fast shall be preserved; that there shall be only celebrated in the intermediate space *τῶν προηγιασμένων λειτουργία*, or *missa præsanctificatorum*. Thus, at this day, according to the ancient custom, about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the fast is ended, about the time of vespers, (though, sometime, the old severe discipline being somewhat relaxed as to this circumstance, they do it sooner,) the priest does receive and exhibit the elements which were before consecrated; so that this solemnity is nothing but an image and repeated celebration of the former consecration, except that there are peculiar prayers allotted for this service, which are to be found in the office.

about three in the afternoon, all the days of Lent, as is evident from Tertullian[64], St. Ambrose[65], and many others, of which there will be occasion to speak more fully when we come to the fasts and festivals of the Church. Leo Allatius thinks this *missa præsanctificatorum* is intended by Socrates[66], when he says, 'on Wednesdays and Fridays, at Alexandria, they had all divine service except the consecration of the eucharist:' but it does not appear that they communicated at all upon those days, much less upon pre-consecrated elements. However, he rightly concludes, that Durantus and others, who confound this *missa præsanctificatorum* with the *missa sicca*, or *dry mass*, as they called it, are wholly mistaken: because dry mass was a corruption peculiarly crept into the Latin Church, which was condemned by many of their own divines, Eckius, Estius, Laudmeter, and the Belgic bishops[67], as 'a mere novelty, a

[64] De Orat. c. 14. (p. 135 a.) Similiter et [*al.* de] stationum diebus, non putant plerique sacrificiorum orationibus interveniendum, quod statio solvenda sit accepto corpore Domini. Ergo devotum Deo obsequium eucharistia resolvit? an magis Deo obligat? Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepto corpore Domini et reservato [al. re servata], utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii. Si statio de militari exemplo nomen accipit, (nam et militia Dei sumus,) utique nulla lætitia sive tristitia obveniens castris stationes militum rescindit. Nam lætitia libentius, tristitia solicitius, administrabit disciplinam.

[65] In Ps. 118. Serm. 8. p. 656. (t. 1. p. 1073 d. n. 48.) Etsi te fames quotidianum cogit ad prandium, aut intemperantia declinat jejunium; tamen cœlesti magis te servato convivio. Non epulæ paratæ extorqueant, ut cœlestis sis vacuus sacramenti. Differ aliquantulum, non longe finis est diei: immo plerique sunt ejusmodi dies; ut statim meridianis horis adveniendum sit in ecclesiam, canendi hymni, celebranda oblatio. Tunc utique paratus adsiste; ut accipias tibi munimentum; ut corpus edas Domini Jesu, in quo remissio peccatorum est, postulatio divinæ reconciliationis et protectionis æternæ. .... Admonet etiam sacrificium vespertinum, ut nunquam Christum obliviscaris. Non potes oblivisci, cum lectum ascendis, ejus Domini, cui in occasu diei precem fuderis, qui esurientem te sui corporis epulis expleverit.

[66] L. 5. c. 22. ap. Allat. Ep. ad Naudæum. (ut supra p. 23.) Non desunt hujusce missæ vestigia apud antiquos et potissimum Socratem, l. 5. Hist. c. 22. Αὖθις δὲ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, κ.τ.λ. See before, s. 5. p. 366. n. 63.

[67] Vid. Allat. de Miss. Præsanctif. s. 10. (p. 1566.) Cum hac præsanctificatorum missa missam, cui *siccæ* nomen est, confundunt; multis tamen *parasangis* diversam esse facile quisque intelliget, qui utramque conferet. Nam missa sicca est, ut tradit Eckius in Annotat. ad Librum oblatum Cæsari, Art. 21., missæ simulatio, sacerdote agente quæ sunt celebrantis, cum introitu, collecta, epistola, evangelio, et canticis, tamen, quia non vult communicare, non consecrat: ac proinde vere missa sicca est, sine corpore et sanguine Domini. In præsanctificatis corpus Christi, antea oblatum, absumitur; quæ nonnullorum opinione verum sacrificium est, tantorum virorum ac

counterfeit, and a perfect pageantry;' whereas this *missa præsanctificatorum* was an ancient and approved usage of the Greek Church, upon the account of which a certain portion of the consecrated elements were reserved for the public use of the Church upon those days of Lent on which they made no new consecration.

13. But besides this reservation of the elements for public use by the ministers of the Church, there was another private reservation of them allowed sometimes to religious persons; who were permitted to carry a portion of the eucharist home with them, and participate of it every day by themselves in private. This custom seems to owe its original to the times of persecution, when men were willing to communicate every day, but could not have the convenience of daily assemblies. To compensate for the want of which, they took a portion of the eucharist home with them, and participated thereof every day in private. This seems very plainly to be intimated by Tertullian[68], when speaking of a woman marrying an Heathen husband, he asks her, 'Whether her husband would not know what it was that she eat before all her other meat?' And in another place[69], answering the objection which some made against receiving the eucharist on a fast day, for fear of breaking their fast, he tells them, according as some copies read it, 'they might take the body of the Lord and reserve it; and so they might both participate of the sacrifice and fulfil their duty of fasting.' But I lay no stress on this because it is a doubtful reading. The testimony of Cyprian[70] is more full and preg-

The eucharist sometimes reserved in private for daily participation.

sanctorum auctoritate patrum suffulta, ubi sicca a plerisque theologis, Estio, Eckio, Laudmetero, et episcopis Belgis, tamquam recens, et non ante tempora Guidonis Rocheriani, auctoris Manipuli Curatorum, simulata et histrionica, condemnatur, conferturque cum cœnis Heliogabali, in quibus exhibebantur videnda de diversa materia, quæ ille cœnabat: suos nihilominus et ipsa habuit defensores.

[68] Ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 5. (p. 169 b.) Non sciet maritus quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes?

[69] De Orat. c. 14. (p. 136 a.) Accepto corpore Domini, et reservato [others read it, re servata] utrumque salvum est, et participatio sacrificii, et executio officii. [Oehler in his new edition of Tertullian, Lips. 1853, retains the reading *reservato*, citing the following words from Murator: (t. 1. p. 572. n. e.) Et hoc eruditis compertissimum est, veteres Christianæ religionis cultores interdum consuevisse corpus Christi a sacerdote acceptum deferre, secum ut domi et in privatis precibus manducarent; quæ consuetudo a Conciliis postea sublata est. Ed.]

[70] De Laps. p. 132. (p. 94.) Cum quædam [mulier] arcam suam, in qua Domini sanctum fuit, indignis

nant, who tells us a remarkable story of a woman, who having sacrificed at the Heathen altars, when she came afterward to open her chest, where she kept the holy sacrament of the Lord, was so terrified with a sudden eruption of fire that she durst not touch it. And the ancient author, who writes against the Roman shows, under the name of Cyprian[71], brings in one going immediately from church, as soon as he was dismissed, to the theatre, carrying the eucharist with him, according to custom, even among the obscene bodies of harlots. Gregory Nazianzen[72] also speaks of his sister, Gorgonia, having the eucharist in her chamber. And Basil[73] says, it was customary in times of persecution for Christians, when they could not have a priest or deacon present with them, to take the eucharist with their own hands. As they who led a solitary life, at a great distance from the priest, commonly took the eucharist with their own hands also. And it was customary at Alexandria, and throughout Egypt, for the people every one to take the sacrament home with them. St. Jerom[74] also intimates the same, when he asks those who thought they might safely take the sacrament at home, when they were not prepared to do it in the church, 'Whether they thought there was one Christ in public, and another in private? Why they were afraid to go to church? If it was not lawful to receive it in the church, it was not lawful to receive it at home.' St. Ambrose[75] like-

manibus tentasset aperire, igne inde surgente deterrita est, ne auderet attingere.

[71] De Spectaculis, p. 3. in append. (p. 4.)... Qui festinans ad spectaculum, dimissus, et adhuc gerens secum, ut assolet, eucharistiam inter corpora obscœna meretricum tulit.

[72] Orat. 11. See before, s. 10. n. 49, preceding.

[73] Ep. 289. [al. 93.] ad Cæsar. Patric. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 267 e.) *Τὸ δὲ, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιροῖς, ἀναγκάζεσθαί τινα, μὴ παρόντος ἱερέως ἢ λειτουργοῦ, τὴν κοινωνίαν λαμβάνειν τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, μηδαμῶς εἶναι βαρὺ, περιττόν ἐστιν ἀποδεικνῦναι, διὰ τὸ καὶ μακρὰν συνήθειαν τοῦτο δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων πιστώσασθαι· πάντες γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὰς ἐρήμους μονάζοντες, ἔνθα μή ἐστιν ἱερεὺς, κοινωνίαν οἶκοι κατέχοντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν· ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἕκαστος καὶ τῶν ἐν λαῷ τελούντων, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον, ἔχει κοινωνίαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ. . . . Ταυτὸν τοίνυν ἐστὶ τῇ δυνάμει, εἴτε μίαν μερίδα δέξεταί τις παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, εἴτε πολλὰς μερίδας ὁμοῦ.*

[74] Ep. 50. ad Pammach. [al. 48.] (t. 1. p. 225 d.)... Quare ad martyres ire non audent? Quare non ingrediuntur ecclesias? An alius in publico, alius in domo Christus est? Quod in ecclesia non licet, nec domi licet.

[75] Orat. de Obit. Fratr. t. 3. p. 19. (t. 2. p. 1125 c. n. 43.) Qui, priusquam profectioribus esset initiatus mysteriis, in naufragio constitutus, cum ea, qua veheretur, navis scopuloso illisa vado, et urgentibus hinc atque inde fluctibus solveretur, non mortem metuens, sed ne

wise, in his Funeral Oration upon his brother Satyrus, says of him, that he obtained the body of Christ of some that had it in the ship, wherein he suffered shipwreck. It is true, indeed, this custom was discouraged in Spain in the beginning of the fifth century, upon the account of the Priscillianists, who made use of it as a pretence to cover themselves among the Catholics, and yet never eat the eucharist at all. In opposition to whom the Council of Saragossa[76], about the year 381, made a severe decree, that if any one was found to take the eucharist in the church, and not eat it, he should be anathematized. And this was seconded by a like decree in the first Council of Toledo[77]. But as these canons were only made upon a particular occasion, and for a particular country, they did not much affect the rest of the world. Insomuch that Bona himself[78] observes, out of Johannes Moschus and Anastasius Bibliothecarius, several instances of the custom continuing in the seventh and eighth centuries. And doubtless it was the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the adoration of the host, that perfectly abolished this custom, which was thought inconsistent with them.

Yet this never allowed in the public service.

14. It must be noted under this head, that though the Church, for the reasons aforesaid, allowed the people to carry the eucharist home with them, and participate of it in private by themselves, yet she never permitted any layman to have any hand in the administration of it in her public service. As the bishops and presbyters were the only persons that were allowed to consecrate the eucharist, so it was the ordinary

vacuus mysterii exiret e vita; quos initiatos esse cognoverat, ab his divinum illud fidelium sacramentum poposcit; non ut curiosos oculos inferret arcanis, sed ut fidei suæ consequeretur auxilium.

[76] C. 3. (t. 2. p. 1009 e.) Eucharistiæ gratiam si quis probatur acceptam in ecclesia non sumpsisse, anathema sit in perpetuum.

[77] C. 14. (ibid. p. 1225 d.) Si quis acceptam a sacerdote eucharistiam non sumpserit, velut sacrilegus propellatur.

[78] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 4. (p. 321.) Philippicus, gener Mauritii imperatoris, ut Anastasius Bibliothecarius in Historia scribit, noctu ab eo accersitus, timens vitæ suæ, corpus Christi percipere quæsivit, utique domi asservatum, antequam pergeret ad imperatorem. Seleuciæ sub Dionysio episcopo miraculum accidisse narrat Johannes Moschus in Prato Spirituali: quidam enim servus fidelis sumptam communionem in die cœnæ Domini, secundum consuetudinem illius provinciæ, linteo mundissimo involvit, et reposuit in armario; dominus autem ejus aperiens armarium, vidit omnes sanctas particulas culmos et spicas germinasse.

office of deacons[79] to minister it to the people. And when any laymen presumed to administer it to themselves in the church, they were corrected for it[80] by ecclesiastical censures. And more especially women were debarred from this[81] and all other offices in the public ministrations, except what belonged to the inferior service of the deaconesses, of which I have given a full account in another place[82].

Here I cannot omit the pertinent observation made by Morinus[83], and approved by Bona[84], as a judicious and true re-

[79] See b. 2. ch. 20. ss. 7, 8. v. 1. pp. 253, 254.

[80] Vid. C. Trullan. c. 58. (t. 6. p. 1167 e.) *Μηδεὶς τῶν ἐν λαϊκοῖς τεταγμένων ἑαυτῷ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταδιδότω παρόντος ἐπισκόπου, ἢ πρεσβυτέρου, ἢ διακόνου· ὁ δέ τι τοιοῦτον τολμῶν, ὡς παρὰ τὰ διατεταγμένα ποιῶν, ἐπὶ ἑβδομάδα μίαν ἀφοριζέσθω, ἐντεῦθεν παιδαγωγούμενος μὴ φρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν.*

[81] Vid. Firmilian. Ep. 75. int. Epp. Cypr. (p. 323.) Atqui illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cætera, quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium Domino non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offerret. — Conf. C. Paris. anno 829. l. 1. c. 45. [ap. Labb. C. Paris. 6.] (t. 7. p. 1626 c.) Quidam nostrorum verorum virorum relatu, quidam etiam visu didicimus, in quibusdam provinciis, contra legem divinam canonicamque institutionem, fœminas sanctis altaribus se ultro ingerere, sacrataque vasa impudenter contingere, et indumenta sacerdotalia presbyteris administrare, et, quod his majus, indecentius, ineptiusque est, corpus et sanguinem Domini populis porrigere, et alia quæque, quæ ipso dictu turpia sunt, exercere. Miranda sane res est, unde is illicitus in Christiana religione irrepserit usus, ut quod viris sæcularibus illicitum est, fœminæ, quarum sexui nullatenus competit, aliquando contra fas sibi licitum facere potuerint: quod quorundam episcoporum incuria et negligentia provenisse nulli dubium est..... Quod autem mulieres ingredi ad altare non debeant, et in Concilio Laodicensi, capitulo 45., et in Decretis Gelasii Papæ, titulo 26., copiose invenitur. Hoc ergo tam illicitum factum, quia ex toto a religione Christiana abhorret, ne ulterius fiat, inhibendum est.

[82] B. 2. ch. 22. v. 1. p. 284.

[83] De Pœnitent. l. 8. c. 14. s. 2. (p. 553 d. 9.) Nec enim in ecclesia conservabatur corpus Christi alium in finem quam propter infirmos, una scilicet ex pane consecrato particula. Quocirca sanis non erat, extra sacrificii actionem, communicandi locus. Consuetudo hodierna corpus Christi propter fidelium communionem reservandi recens est a monachis Mendicantibus primum introducta, deinde ab aliis plerisque usurpata, quæ nondum tamen Romani ritus rubricas expungere potuit.

[84] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 6. (p. 322.) Recte observat Morinus, l. 8. de Pœnitentia, c. 14., servatum antiquitus in ecclesia corpus Christi propter infirmorum communionem, addens hodiernam consuetudinem plures particulas reservandi ad fideles in ipsa ecclesia etiam extra sacrificium communicandos, a Mendicantibus primum introductam, et ab aliis deinde usurpatam, ipso Romano rituali refragante, in quo nunc etiam decernitur propter infirmos asservari. Sanis veteri ritu nullus erat communionis usus extra sacrificii actionem, nisi cum per-

mark, that the Mendicants were the first that introduced the custom of keeping the sacrament in the church for private men in health to partake of *extra sacrificium, out of the time of public service*, in the church. They freely own this to be a novelty, and that against the rules of the Roman ritual, which orders the sacrament to be kept in the church only for the sick. They say the Ancients kept it in the church only upon this account, for the sake of the sick; and that they allowed no use of the communion to men in health out of the time of the oblation, save only when they permitted the people to carry it home with them and participate thereof in private, which was a different thing[85] from public communicating in the church.

A novel custom noted, of reserving the eucharist for days, and the inconveniences attending it.

15. Whilst we are speaking of reserving the sacrament, it may not be amiss to make a remark by the way upon a novel custom, which is related by some of the Roman ritualists about the time of Charles the Great. They tell us, it was usual in those days, in the ordination of a bishop or presbyter, not only to give the new ordained person the communion at that time, but also as much of it in reserve as would serve him to partake of for forty days after. This custom is mentioned by Alcuin[86], and the Ordo Romanus[87], and Fulbertus Carnotensis[88], and

misit ecclesia, ut accepta mysteria domum deferrent.

[85] The reader, that would see more abuses crept into the Roman service, may consult the twenty-first Session of the Council of Basil, Cap. *De Spectaculis in Ecclesia non faciendis.* (CC. t. 12. p. 555 b, c.) Or Mr. Gregory's Dissertation, called *Episcopus Puerorum*, (int. Oper. Posthum. Lond. 1683. 4to.) or, *A Discovery of an Ancient Custom in the Church of Sarum, making an Anniversary Bishop among the Choristers*, where he will see how the episcopal office was used to be mimicked in pageantry on Innocent's Day in many Churches.

[86] De Officiis, c. 37. (ap. Bonam, Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 9. al. 17. p. 245. Oper. Alcuin. p. 1084 e.) Pontifex ad communicandam porrigit ei formatam et sacram oblationem, cum accipiens communicat super altare, cætera vero reservat sibi ad communicandum usque ad dies quadraginta.

[87] [In Ordinat. Episcopi. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 13. p. 712 e.) Cum autem venerit ad communicandum, dominus pontifex porrigit ei formatam atque sacratam oblationem integram: suscipiensque eam episcopus, ipse ex ea communicet super altare. Quod vero residuum fuerit sibi reservet denuo ad communicandum unoquoque die usque quadraginta dies expletos: et postmodo jussus a domino pontifice communicet populum cum cæteris episcopis. ED.]

[88] Ep. ad Finard. ap. Bonam, ibid. p. 245. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 6 f. 14.) Episcopus, qui vices Christi tenet, sacerdotales viros in plebem subjectam missurus, sacri corporis eucharistiam per quadragenos dies sumendam distribuit; et dum, verbi

Bona[89] does not pretend to find it in any more ancient writers. It is hard to guess at the reason of this custom, and therefore I content myself barely to mention it, without further inquiry into the mystery of it. I only observe, that sometimes great inconveniencies followed upon this long reservation of the sacrament: for it would often grow mouldy, corrupt, and stink, and then they were hard put to it to determine which way to dispose of it. Sometimes by the negligence of the priest it was devoured by mice or other animals, in which case the priest was to do penance forty days for his neglect, as Gratian[90] cites a canon out of some Council of Arles or Orleans to this purpose. But if it grew stale and corrupted, then it was to be burnt, by other canons cited by Ivo[91], and Burchardus[92], out of the Council of Arles, ordering, that in this case 'it should be burnt, and the ashes of it buried under the altar.' Which Algerus[93] assures us was the custom in his time, as Bona[94] confesses out of him. And the very Canon of the Mass[95] has a rubric still in being, 'that if a fly or spider, or any such animal, falls into the cup after consecration, the priest, when mass is ended, must take it out and wash it with wine, and burn it in the fire.' And so he must do, if it be spilt upon the ground, 'he must gather up the earth and burn it.' And yet some of the Schoolmen[96] cry out against this as an horrible sacrilege, to burn the consecrated host, though it

gratia, quotidie cœlestis panis alimonia reficiuntur, tempus illud in mente habeant, quo per quadraginta dies Dominus discipulis apparens, et convescens, desideratæ visionis satietate refecit.

[89] Ibid. (p. 245.) where the foregoing authorities are cited.

[90] De Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 94. (t. 1. p. 1964. 30.) Qui bene non custodierit sacrificium, et mus vel aliquod aliud animal illud comederit, quadraginta diebus pœniteat.

[91] Decret. part. 2. c. 36. (fol. 66. vers.) Si vero per negligentiam, &c.

[92] L. 5. c. 50. (p. 99. col. dextr.) Omne sacrificium sordida vetustate perditum igne comburendum est, et cinis juxta altare sepeliendus.

[93] De Eucharist. l. 2. c. 1. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Paris. 1624. t. 6. p. 325 b. 10.) Quod autem etiam a religiosis incendio tradi, &c.

[94] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19. n. 2. (p. 327.) Quod si contingeret, ut ministrorum incuria putrescerent, statuit Concilium Arelatense apud Ivonem, (part. 2. c. 56.) ut igne comburantur, et cinis juxta altare sepeliatur; idque in usu fuisse docet Algerus, l. 2. c. 1.

[95] Missal. Rom. de Defectibus Missæ, c. 5. (Paris. 1739. cap. 10. can. 5.) Si musca vel aranea vel aliquid aliud ceciderit in calicem ... sacerdos extrahat eam et lavat cum vino, finitaque missa comburat, &c.

[96] Petrus Paludanus, in Sentent. l. 4. dist. 9. quæst. 1. art. 3. (fol. 36. vers. col. dextr.) Hostias consecratas quamvis mucidas comburere immane sacrilegium. [The exact words

be grown mouldy, which, according to their opinion, would be to burn the body of God.

He that would see to what difficulties the Roman casuists are driven upon this point, to tell what becomes of the body of Christ when the sacrament happens to be thus corrupted, and how they distress and confute one another, may consult the learned Aubertin [97], who has particularly considered their several different answers, no less than seven in number, and showed the vanity of them all, in that elaborate work of his upon the Eucharist against the doctrine of the Romish Church. I will not lead my reader too far out of his way with long digressions about such things, but return to the business of the ancient Church.

The eu rist son times g to ener mens in interval their di temper.

16. Though they did not receive energumens, or persons vexed with evil spirits, promiscuously to the communion, yet neither did they wholly reject them; but in the intervals of their distemper, if they showed any signs of piety and sobriety, they admitted them to partake of it. This we learn from the Canons of Timothy, bishop of Alexandria, who proposes this question [98], 'Whether a communicant may communicate, if he be possessed?' And answers it, 'If he does not expose or blaspheme the mysteries, he may communicate now and then.' And Cassian [99] says, the same resolution was given to the question by the Egyptian fathers, who did not use to interdict them the communion, but rather desired they should, if possible, communicate every day. For by this means they had relieved one Abbot Andronicus and many others of their distemper. So that though the canons and rules of the Church seem to drive away the energumens together with the catechumens and penitents, they are to be understood with this

are, Sicut fecit [comburendo] aliquis sacerdos de hostiis muscidis consecratis; quia hoc est immane sacrilegium. Ed.]

[97] De Eucharist. l. 1. c. 19. (pp. 122, 123, 124.)

[98] Respon. Canonic. c. 3. (ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. part. 1. p. 165 f.) Ἐρώτησις· Ἐὰν πιστός τις ὢν δαιμονίζεται, ὀφείλει μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, ἢ οὔ; Ἀπόκρισις. Ἐὰν μὴ ἐξαγορεύσῃ τὸ μυστήριον, μήτε ἄλλως πῶς βλασφημῇ, μεταλαμβανέτω· μὴ μέν τοι καθ' ἑκάστην· ἀρκεῖ αὐτῷ κατὰ καιροὺς μόνον.

[99] Collat. 7. c. 30. (p. 330.) Communionem vero eis sacrosanctam a senioribus nostris nunquam meminimus interdictam: Quin immo, si possibile esset, etiam quotidie eis impertire eam debere censebant... Hoc namque modo curatum et abbatem Andronicum nuper aspeximus, aliosque complures.

exception: or at least we must say, the Church observed a different discipline in different places.

All men debarred from it, that were guilty of any notorious crime, of what rank or degree soever.

17. It would be endless to enumerate here all the particular crimes for which men were debarred the holy communion; we shall have a more proper occasion to specify them in the next volume, when we come to treat more perfectly and distinctly of the Church's discipline: it may be sufficient to note here in general, that all who were guilty of any notorious crimes were rejected from participating at the holy table, whatever rank or degree they were of, even though it were the emperor himself; as appears from the case of Theodosius, whom St. Ambrose resolutely and absolutely refused, for a barbarous murder committed by his authority upon seven thousand men at Thessalonica, till he had both confessed his fault, and made ample satisfaction, as the reader may find the story at large excellently related by Theodoret [1], in his history, and which I will relate from him in the next volume in its proper place. Some other particular cases are proposed and answered in the canons of Dionysius [2], and Timothy [3], and by St. Jerom [4], for which, because they are rather private cases of conscience than matters of public discipline, I refer the reader to their proper authors.

The question of digamy, or second

18. There is one question in a doubtful case, which the obscurity of some ancient canons has made very perplexed and intricate in the resolutions of learned men, which therefore

[1] L. 5. c. 17. tot. See afterwards, b. 16. ch. 3. s. 5.

[2] C. 2. (ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. part. 1. p. 4 e.) Περὶ τῶν ἐν ἀφέδρῳ γυναικῶν, εἰ προσῆκεν αὐτὰς οὕτω διακειμένας εἰς τὸν οἶκον εἰσιέναι τοῦ Θεοῦ, περιττὸν καὶ τὸ πυνθάνεσθαι νομίζω· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὰς οἶμαι, πιστὰς οὔσας καὶ εὐλαβεῖς, τολμήσειν οὕτως διακειμένας, ἢ τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσελθεῖν, ἢ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσάψασθαι.—Ibid. c. 4. (ibid. p. 7 a.) Οἱ δ' ἐν ἀπροαιρέτῳ νυκτερινῇ ῥύσει γενόμενοι καὶ οὗτοι τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι κατακολουθείτωσαν, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, εἴτε διακρίνονται περὶ τούτου, εἴτε μὴ, σκοπείτωσαν, κ. τ. λ.

[3] Ut supra, c. 5. (ibid. p. 166 d.) Ἐρώτησις. Ἐὰν γυνὴ συγγένηται μετὰ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς τὴν νύκτα, ἢ ἀνὴρ μετὰ γυναικὸς, καὶ γένηται μίξις, ὀφείλουσι μεταλαβεῖν, ἢ οὔ; Ἀπόκρισις. Οὐκ ὀφείλουσι, τοῦ Ἀποστόλου βοῶντος, Μὴ ἀποστερῆτε ἀλλήλους, κ.τ.λ. —C. 6. (ibid.) Ἐρώτησις. Εἰ γυνὴ ἴδῃ τὸ καθ' ἕδος γυναικείων αὐτῆς, ὀφείλει προσέρχεσθαι τοῖς μυστηρίοις αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἢ οὔ; Ἀπόκρισις. Οὐκ ὀφείλει, ἕως οὗ καθαρισθῇ.

[4] Ep. 50. [al. 48.] ad Pammach. c. 6. (t. 1. p. 225 a.) Paulus Apostolus dicit, quando coimus cum uxoribus nos orare non posse. Si per coitum, quod minus est impeditur, id est, orare; quanto plus, quod majus est, id est, corpus Christi prohibetur accipere?

may not be silently passed over: that is, the question about digamy or second marriage, in what sense it excluded men for some time from the holy communion? The penalty inflicted upon them is 'abstinence from the sacrament for one year or two;' which I freely own, as it is ordered and worded by the canons of Neocæsarea[5], Laodicea[6], and St. Basil[7], is one of the hardest cases we meet with in all the history of the ancient Church. Bishop Beveridge and some others think they mean only second marriages that are contracted whilst the first remains undissolved. And if so, there would be no difficulty in the case: for a severer penance might be laid upon such as retain two wives at once. And therefore others think they intended to discourage, though not absolutely to forbid, second marriages made successively, after the obligation of the first was cancelled by death: but then, how to reconcile this with the apostolical rules, is not very easy to determine. Neither can it be excused from inclining to the errors of the Novatians and Montanists, for which Tertullian pleads so stiffly against the Church in his book *De Monogamia*, and other places. I should rather think these canons intended no more than to discountenance marrying after an unlawful divorce, which was a scandalous practice, however allowed by the laws of Jews and Gentiles. And this the rather, because Tertullian's arguments against the Catholics imply that they allowed of second marriages successively in all except the clergy, and many

marriage, stated. Whether debarred men at a time from the communion.

[5] C. 7. (t. 1. p. 1481 d.) *Πρεσβύτερον εἰς γάμους διγαμούντων μὴ ἑστιᾶσθαι· ἐπεὶ μετάνοιαν αἰτοῦντος τοῦ διγάμου, τίς ἔσται ὁ πρεσβύτερος, ὁ διὰ τῆς ἑστιάσεως συγκατατιθέμενος τοῖς γάμοις;*

[6] C. 1. (ibid. p. 1496 b.) *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν κατὰ τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνα τοὺς ἐλευθέρως καὶ νομίμως συναφθέντας δευτέροις γάμοις, μὴ λαθρογαμίαν ποιήσαντας, ὀλίγου χρόνου παρελθόντος, καὶ σχολασάντων ταῖς προσευχαῖς καὶ νηστείαις, κατὰ συγγνώμην ἀποδίδοσθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν ὡρίσαμεν.*

[7] Ep. Canonic. c. 4. [ap. Oper. Basil. Ep. 188. Canonic. Prim.] (CC. t. 2. p. 1721 b.) *Περὶ τριγάμων καὶ πολυγάμων τὸν αὐτὸν ὥρισαν* [al. *ὡρίσαμεν*] *κανόνα, ὃν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἀναλόγως. ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν διγάμων, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἔτη· τοὺς δὲ τριγάμους ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τετράσι πολλάκις ἔτεσιν ἀφορίζουσιν· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἔτι γάμον, ἀλλὰ πολυγαμίαν· μᾶλλον δὲ πορνείαν κεκολασμένην.... Συνήθειαν δὲ κατελάβομεν, ἐπὶ τῶν τριγάμων πενταετίας ἀφορισμόν· οὐκ ἀπὸ κανόνων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν προειληφότων ἀκολουθίας. Δεῖ δὲ μὴ πάντῃ αὐτοὺς ἀπείργειν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλ' ἀκροάσεως αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν ἐν δύο του ἔτεσιν ἢ τρισί· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέπειν συστήκειν μέν, τῆς δὲ κοινωνίας τοῦ ἁγιάσματος ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ οὕτως ἐπιδειξαμένους καρπόν τινα μετανοίας ἀποκαθιστᾶν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς κοινωνίας.*

Churches admitted digamists in that sense even into orders too, as I have shown out of Tertullian himself, and Chrysostom, and Theodoret more fully in another place[8]. And if these canons intended any thing more, they must be looked upon as private rules, which could not prescribe against the general sense and practice of the Catholic Church.

The corrupt custom of some who gave the eucharist to the dead censured by the Ancients.

19. There was one very corrupt and superstitious practice that began to creep pretty early into the African Churches and some others, which the Fathers censure very heartily, as it justly deserved; that was, giving the eucharist to the dead. The third Council of Carthage has a canon[9] to this purpose, 'that the eucharist should not be given to the bodies of the dead: for the Lord said, *Take this and eat.* But dead bodies can neither take nor eat. Caution is also to be used that the brethren may not, through ignorance, believe that dead bodies may be baptized, seeing the eucharist may not be given to them.' And this with a little variation is repeated in the African Code[10], where the cause of both errors, as well in baptism as the eucharist, is ascribed to the ignorance of the presbyters misguiding the people. A like canon was made in the Council of Auxerre in France[11], anno 578, a little before the time of Gregory the Great. Which shows that the same abuse had got some footing there also. St. Chrysostom[12] also speaks against it, though he does not intimate that it was practised by any Catholics, but rather, if by any, by the Marcionite heretics, who, as they gave a vicarious baptism to the living for the dead, so perhaps might give the eucharist to the dead themselves: both which absurdities he refutes at once, from the words of

[8] B. 4. ch. 5. s. 4. v. 2. p. 66. nn. 42, 43, 44.

[9] C. 6. (t. 2. p. 1168 a.) Placuit ut corporibus defunctorum eucharistia non detur. Dictum est enim a Domino, *Accipite et edite*: cadavera autem nec accipere possunt nec edere. Cavendum est etiam, ne mortuos baptizari posse fratrum infirmitas credat, quibus nec eucharistiam dari licitum est [al. cum eucharistiam mortuis non dari animadverterit].

[10] C. 18. (ibid. p. 1058 d.) Ἤρεσεν, ἵνα τοῖς σώμασι τῶν τελευτώντων εὐχαριστία μὴ δοθῇ· γέγραπται γάρ, Λάβετε, φάγετε· τὰ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δύναται, οὐδὲ φαγεῖν· καὶ ἵνα μὴ τοὺς ἤδη τελευτῶντας βαπτισθῆναι ποιήσῃ ἡ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἄγνοια.

[11] C. 12. (t. 5. p. 958 e.) Non licet mortuis nec eucharistiam nec osculum tradi, &c.

[12] Hom. 40. in 1 Cor. p. 688. (t. 10. p. 378 e.) Τίσι δὲ ἔλεγεν, Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητέ μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ πίητέ μου τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς; τοῖς ζῶσιν, ἢ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν; εἰπέ μοι. Καὶ πάλιν· Ἂν μή τις ἀναγεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ Πνεύματος, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

our Saviour. 'To whom did he say, *Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye have no life in you?* Did he speak to the living or to the dead? And again, *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot see the kingdom of God.*' It appears also, that long after St. Chrysostom's time there were some remains of this error in the Greek Church: for the Council of Trullo[13] repeats the prohibition in the words of the Council of Carthage: 'Let no one impart the eucharist to the bodies of the dead; for it is written, *Take, and eat;* but the bodies of the dead can neither take nor eat.'

Parallel to which is the abuse of burying the eucharist with the dead.

20. Bona does not undertake to defend this abuse, but he does another which is no less absurd, because he found it in the practice of St. Benedict, and related with approbation by Gregory the Great: that is, the custom of burying the eucharist with the dead. Bona[14] says this was done by St. Basil in the Greek Church, as is reported in his Life[15]: but all men know the author of that Life to be both a spurious and a legendary writer. That which he alleges out of Gregory[16] is

[13] C. 83. (t. 6. p. 1178 d.) Μηδεὶς τοῖς σώμασι τῶν τελευτώντων τῆς εὐχαριστίας μεταδιδότω· γέγραπται γὰρ, Λάβετε, φάγετε· τὰ δὲ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα οὐδὲ λαβεῖν δύνανται, οὐδὲ φαγεῖν.

[14] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 6. (p. 322.) Notabile est, quod in præcitata Basilii Vita refertur; cum enim precibus a Deo gratiam obtinuisset, ut suis verbis sacrificium offerre posset, accepto divinitus pane et vino, ipsisque consecratis, tempore confractionis panem divisit in tres partes, et unam quidem cum multo timore et veneratione sumpsit, alteram vero una secum sepeliendam servavit, tertiam denique in columba aurea depositam desuper sacrum altare suspendit. Quod ideo hoc loco annotandum censui, quia olim viguit hic mos consepeliendi mortuis eucharistiam, non solum apud Græcos, sed etiam apud Latinos. Extat siquidem exemplum S. Benedicti, qui, ut Gregorius scribit, Lib. 2. Dialog. cap. 23. [al. 24.], puerum monachum extra claustra defunctum sepulturæ tradi jussit, posito super pectus ejus Dominico corpore, quod ad hunc effectum ipsemet dedit, ne terra defossum cadaver projiceret, sicut antea bis acciderat. Sive autem id fecerint sancti patres peculiari instinctu, ne unquam a Domino separarentur, sive ex consuetudine tunc recepta, hæc tamen postmodum abrogata fuit.

[15] See b. 8. ch. 6. s. 19. v. 3. p. 102. n. 65.

[16] Dialog. l. 2. c. 24. (t. 1. p. 256 b. 7.) Jussit communionem Dominici corporis in pectus defuncti reponi atque sic tumulari. [My ancestor consulted the Antwerp edition of Gregory's Works, 1615. Consequently this citation must be an abridgment of the narrative contained in the 24th chapter of the second Book as cited: where, as well as in the Benedictine edition of 1705, to which the verification between the lunar brackets refers, we read, .. Quibus (monachis de puero e terra ejecto narrantibus) vir Dei, manu sua portans communionem Dominici corporis, dedit dicens, *Ite, atque hoc Dominicum corpus super pectus ejus cum magna reverentia ponite, et sic sepulturæ eum tradite.* Quod dum factum fuisset, corpus ejus terra tenuit nec ultra projecit. Ed.]

more authentic: for he says St. Benedict ordered the communion to be laid upon the breast of one of his monks, and to be buried with him. He reckons these things were done either by divine instinct, or by compliance with received custom which is since abrogated. But he produces no rule of his Church to show its abrogation. And whatever rules there may be to the contrary, it is certain the practice continued still. For not only Balzamon[16] and Zonaras[17] speak of it in their time; but Iso[18] says, when the body of St. Othmar was translated, the sacrament was taken up out of the dormitory with him. And a learned man now living[19] assures us, 'that he himself and many others have seen the chalice, in which the sacred blood was buried, dug out of the graves of divers bishops buried in the church of Sarum.' So, that whatever the laws might prohibit, the profanation continued under pretence of piety among the greatest men, but without any foundation or real example in the practice of the primitive Church.

The order of communicating.

21. We have hitherto considered what related to the communicants themselves; we are now to examine the manner of their communicating. Where, first of all, the order of their communicating occurs to our observation: which is thus described in the Constitutions[20]: 'First let the bishop receive, then the presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, and ascetics; among the women, the deaconnesses, virgins, and widows; after that the children; then all the people in order.' In Justin Martyr's time[21], when the bishop had consecrated, the deacons distributed both the bread and the cup among the

[16] Not. in C. Trullan. c. 83. p. 461. (ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 1. p. 253 e.) Τὸ μέν τοι χειρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι μετὰ τελευτὴν ἅγιον ἄρτον, καὶ οὕτως ἐνταφιάζεσθαι, νομίζω γίνεσθαι εἰς ἀποτροπὴν τῶν δαιμονίων, καὶ ἵνα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐφοδιάζηται πρὸς οὐρανὸν, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ καταξιωθεὶς ἐπαγγέλματος.

[17] Ibid. (ap. Bevereg. ibid. f.) [In nearly the same terms, except that he makes no mention of sepulture expressly. Ed.]

[18] Vit. Othmar. l. 2. c. 3. ap. Surium, die 16. Novembr. (t. 6. p. 399.) Sub capite et circa pectus viri Dei quædam panis rotulæ, quæ vulgo *oblatæ* dicuntur, ita illæsæ, atque ab omni corruptione extraneæ, ab eodem episcopo inveniebantur, ut in nulla omnino parte colorem vel speciem sui amittentes, aspicientium oculis infra spatium ipsius hebdomadæ viderentur esse confectæ.

[19] Dr. Whitby, Idolatry of Host-Worship, ch. 1. (p. 26.) And I myself with many others have seen the chalice, &c.

[20] Lib. 8. c. 13. See before, s. 7. p. 371. n. 75.

[21] Apol. 2. See before, ch. 2. s. 7. p. 258. n. 29.

communicants: but in after-ages the bishop or presbyter commonly ministered the bread, and the deacons the cup after them. And there are some canons[22] that expressly forbid a deacon to minister the body of Christ when a presbyter is present, and others[23] enjoining them not to do it without necessity, and a license from the presbyter to do so. And it was ever accounted so great an absurdity for a presbyter to receive from the hands of a deacon, that the Council of Nice thought fit to make a particular canon[24] to forbid it. But by permission and custom it became their ordinary office to minister the cup[25], and sometimes both species[26], to the people, observing the method prescribed to communicate every one in their proper order.

Some rules observed for distinction of places.

22. Another distinction was made in placing the communicants in their proper stations. For though no distinction was made in this case between rich and poor; they being all called alike to partake together of the same communion[27] as friends of one common Lord; yet some distinction of place for order's sake was generally observed, though not exactly the same in all places, but with some variety according to the different customs of different Churches. In the Spanish Churches it was customary for the presbyters and deacons to communicate at the altar, and the rest of the clergy in the choir, and the people without the rails of the chancel, as is plain from a

[22] C. Arelatens. 2. c. 15. (t. 4. p. 1013 a.). Diaconi corpus Christi, præsente presbytero, tradere non præsumant.

[23] C. Carth. 4. c. 38. (t. 2. p. 1203 c.) Diaconus, præsente presbytero eucharistiam corporis Christi populo, si necessitas cogat, jussus eroget.

[24] C. 18. (ibid. p. 37 b.) Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον, ὅτι ἔν τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόασιν· ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν, οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.

[25] Vid. Cypr. de Lapsis. p. 132. (p. 94.) Ubi vero, solemnibus adimpletis, calicem diaconus offerre præsentibus cœpit, &c.—Conf. Constit. Apost. l. 8. c. 13. See before, s. 7. p. 371. n. 75.

[26] Vid. C. Ancyr. c. 2. (t. 1. p. 1456 d.) Διακόνους ὁμοίως θύσαντας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναπαλαίσαντας, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην τιμὴν ἔχειν, πεπαῦσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς πάσης τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας, τῆς τε τοῦ ἄρτου ἢ ποτήριον ἀναφέρειν ἢ κηρύσσειν.

[27] Vid. Chrysost. Hom. 10. in 1 Thess. p. 1485. [Corrige, Hom. 11. in 1 Thess. (t. 11. p. 508 e.) Διὰ ταῦτα δέχεται τοὺς πλουσίους, ἵνα ταῦτα ἀκούσωσι τὰ ῥήματα. . . . Καὶ τί θαυμάζεις εἰ εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπαξιοῖ τοὺς τοιούτους καθίζειν; ἐπὶ γὰρ τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ τὴν πνευματικὴν οὐκ ἀπαξιοῖ καλεῖν αὐτούς· . . . . ἀλλ' ὁ κυλλὸς καὶ ἀνάπηρος, ὁ γέρων καὶ ῥάκια ἠμφιεσμένος, καὶ ῥύπον καὶ κόρυζαν ἔχων, ἅμα τῷ νέῳ τῷ καλῷ, καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν ἀλουργίδα περικειμένῳ, . . ἔρχεται τῆς τραπέζης μεθέξων, . . καὶ οὐδεμία ἐστὶ διαφορά. Ed.]

canon[28] of the fourth Council of Toledo; and to this a reference is made as to an ancient custom, settled long before by former canons[29] in the first Council of Braga. Which implies, that there were rules of old about this matter, since the Council of Braga could not mean the Council of Toledo, for that was after it, anno 633. The reference must be to more ancient canons, such as that of the Council of Laodicea[30], which orders 'that none but the clergy only should come to communicate within the chancel.' And this seems to have been the constant practice of the Greek Church, where no layman from that time, besides the emperor, was allowed to come to the altar to make his oblations and communicate there; but this privilege was allowed the emperor 'by ancient tradition,' as the Council of Trullo[31] words it. And yet even this was denied the emperor in the Italic Church. For St. Ambrose would not permit the Emperor Theodosius himself to communicate in this place, but obliged him to retire as soon as he had made his oblations at the altar. But Valesius[32] has observed out of the Epistles of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, that in the third century it was customary, both for men and women, to come and stand at the altar to communicate: and Mabillon[33] shows, out of Gre-

[28] C. 17. [al. 18.] (t. 5. p. 1711 c.) Sacerdos et Levita ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.

[29] C. 31. [al. Bracar. 2. c. 13.] (t. 5. p. 841 c.) Placuit ut intra sanctuarium altaris ingredi ad communicandum non liceat laicis viris vel mulieribus, sicut et antiquis canonibus statutum est.

[30] C. 19. (t. 1. p. 1500 d.) Μόνοις ἐξὸν εἶναι τοῖς ἱερατικοῖς εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον καὶ κοινωνεῖν.

[31] C. 69. (t. 6. p. 1173 d.) Μὴ ἐξέστω τινὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἐν λαϊκοῖς τελοῦντι ἔνδυν ἱεροῦ εἰσιέναι θυσιαστηρίου· μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς βασιλικῆς εἰργομένης ἐξουσίας καὶ αὐθεντίας, ἡνίκα ἂν βουληθείη προσάξαι δῶρα τῷ Πλάσαντι, κατά τινα ἀρχαιοτάτην παράδοσιν.

[32] In Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. (v. 1. p. 330. n. 3.) Ac olim quidem, ut dixi, fideles ad ipsam sacram mensam accedebant, quemadmodum hoc loco docet Dionysius, et in Ep. ad Basilidem, c. 2.; ubi de mulieribus, quæ menstruo sanguinis fluxu laborant, ita scribit: Οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὰς οἶμαι πιστὰς οὔσας καὶ εὐλαβεῖς τολμήσειν, οὕτως διακειμένας, ἢ τῇ τραπέζῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσελθεῖν, ἢ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσάψασθαι. Ad quem Dionysii locum recte notat Balsamo: Ὡς ἔοικε δὲ, τὸ παλαιὸν εἰσήρχοντο γυναῖκες εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης μετελάμβανον: id est, *Olim quidem, ut apparet, mulieres ad altare accedebant, et e sacra mensa participabant.* Postea tamen, canone 44. Concilii Laodiceni, vetitum est, ne mulieres ad altare accederent: viris autem id ipsum interdictum est in Synodo Trulliana, &c.

[33] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 5. n. 24. (p. 51.) Post benedictionem et sacerdotis communionem, fideles communicaturi ad altare accedebant, etiam mulieres, ut num. 6. notavimus: contra quam apud Hispanos, apud quos sancitum est, Concilii

gory of Tours[34], that the same custom prevailed in the Gallican Churches. And it is very evident from the second Council of Tours, which has a canon[35] to this purpose; that though laymen at other times should not come into the *chorus* or *chancel*, yet, when the oblation was offered, both men and women might come into the Holy of Holies to communicate at the altar. So that this was plainly one of those rites which varied according to the difference of times and places and the various usages and customs of different Churches.

There are a great many other customs relating to the manner of communicating, which are of greater moment, and become matters of great dispute in these latter ages, and therefore it will be necessary to consider and examine them a little more particularly, which I shall do in the following chapter.

CHAP. V.

A resolution of several questions relating to the manner of communicating in the ancient Church.

That the people were always admitted to receive in both kinds.

1. The first and most momentous question of this kind is, Whether the people, and such of the clergy as did not consecrate, were generally admitted to communicate in both kinds?

The principal advocates of Popery, at the beginning of the

quarti Toletani canone 17., *ut sacerdos et Levitæ ante altare communicent, in choro clerus, extra chorum populus.* Idem fere statutum Concilii Laodiceni canone 19. Contrarius mos apud Gallos. In secundo Concilio Turonensi, canon quartus vetat laicos choro misceri psallentium clericorum: ad orandum vero et communicandum laicis et fœminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum. De Guntchramno rege id testatur Gregorius, in l. 9. c. 3., *Interea, &c.* See the following note.

[34] Lib. 9. c. 3. (p. 420 b. 7.) Interea advenit festivitas Sancti Marcelli, quæ apud urbem Cabilonensem mense septimo celebratur: et Guntchramnus rex affuit. Verum ubi, peractis solemnibus, ad sacrosanctum altarium communicandi gratia accessisset, venit quidam, quasi aliquid suggesturus.—Ibid. l. 10. c. 8. (p. 491 a. 8.) Tunc episcopus permisit eum cum cæteris missarum spectare solemnia. Verum ubi ad communicandum ventum est, et Eulalius ad altare accessisset, ait episcopus, *Rumor populi parricidam te proclamat esse, &c.*

[35] C. 4. (t. 5. p. 853 e.) Ut laici secus altare, quo sancta mysteria celebrantur, inter clericos, tam ad vigilias, quam ad missas, stare penitus non præsumant: sed pars illa, quæ a cancellis versus altare dividitur, choris tantum psallentium pateat clericorum. Ad orandum vero et communicandum, laicis et fœminis, sicut mos est, pateant sancta sanctorum.

Reformation[36], were not willing to own that the universal practice of the primitive Church was against the modern sacrilege of denying the cup to the people: and therefore, though they confessed there were some instances in antiquity of communion under both kinds, yet they maintained the custom was not universal. So Eckius[37] and Harding[38] and many others[39]. But they who have since considered the practice of the ancient Church more narrowly are ashamed of this pretence, and freely confess, that for twelve centuries there is no instance of the people's being obliged to communicate only in one kind in the public administration of the sacrament, but in private they think some few instances may be given. This is Cardinal Bona's[40] distinction, whose words are so remarkable, that I cannot forbear to transcribe them: 'It is very certain,' says he, 'that anciently all in general, both clergy and laity, men and women, received the holy mysteries in both kinds when they were present at the solemn celebration of them, and they both offered and were partakers. But out of the time of sacrifice, and out of the church, it was customary always and

[36] See the three next notes following.

[37] Enchiridion, c. 10. de Eucharist. p. 130. (juxt. Ed. Ingolstad. 1527. c. 9.) *Respondent Catholici de secundo:* Fatemur, hunc usum fuisse in primitiva ecclesia: nec tamen universalis fuit usus. [Conf. Hom. 33. De Sumpt. Eucharist. (t. 4. complect. Homilias de Sept. Sacrament. fol. 95. verso, ad im.) Principio non sane negamus, immo libere profitemur, in quibusdam particularibus ecclesiis, in principio atque deinde aliquanto post, sacramentum hoc etiam laicis in utraque specie esse porrectum. *Grischov.*]

[38] Harding's Answer to Juel's Challenge, art. 2. Antwerp. 1565. p. 30. (Louvain. 1564. fol. 31 verso, et seqq.)

[39] Vid. Bellarmin. de Eucharist. l. 4. c. 24. (t. 3. p. 746.) Quarta ratio sumitur ex testimonio veteris ecclesiæ, &c.

[40] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 18. n. 1. (p. 323.) Certum quippe est omnes passim clericos et laicos, viros et mulieres sub utraque specie sacra mysteria antiquitus sumpsisse, cum solemni eorum celebrationi aderant, et offerebant ac de oblatis participabant. Extra sacrificium vero, et extra ecclesiam semper et ubique communio sub una specie in usu fuit. Primæ parti assertionis consentiunt omnes, tam Catholici, quam Sectarii; nec eam negare potest, qui vel levissima rerum ecclesiasticarum notitia imbutus sit. Semper enim et ubique ab ecclesiæ primordiis usque ad sæculum duodecimum sub specie panis et vini communicarunt fideles; cœpitque paulatim ejus sæculi initio usus calicis obsolescere [al. abolescere], plerisque episcopis eum populo interdicentibus ob periculum irreverentiæ et effusionis, quod inevitabile erat, aucta fidelium multitudine, in qua deesse non poterant minus cauti et attenti ac parum religiosi.... Hæc mutatio facta est primum a diversis episcopis in suis ecclesiis, deinde a Synodo Constantiensi canonica sanctione pro omnibus stabilita, &c.

in all places to communicate only in one kind. In the first part of the assertion all agree, as well Catholics as Sectaries; nor can any one deny it that has the least knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs. For the faithful always and in all places, from the very first foundation of the Church to the twelfth century, were used to communicate under the species of bread and wine; and in the beginning of that age the use of the cup began by little and little to be laid aside, whilst many bishops interdicted the people the use of the cup, for fear of irreverence and effusion, &c. And what they did first for their own Churches was afterward confirmed by a canonical sanction in the Council of Constance.'

This is as fair and ample a confession for the practice of the universal Church as we desire, and it serves to show the vanity of all those arguments from Scripture and antiquity, that were offered at by the first managers of this dispute, to prove the practice of communicating in both kinds not to be universal. It supersedes also all further trouble of citing authorities in this dispute, as unnecessary in a matter so much beyond all doubt and exception by the adversaries' own confession. Though the reader that desires to see the authorities produced at large may find them in Vossius[41], and Du Moulin[42], and more amply in Chamier[43], and a late treatise of a learned writer in our own tongue[44], showing that there is no catholic tradition for communion in one kind. But Bona not only grants us all this, but tacitly answers all the plausible arguments used by Bellarmin[45] and others, to persuade their readers into a belief of the ancient Church giving the communion only in one kind. Bellarmin urges the frequent mention of reducing delinquent clergymen to lay-communion, which he

[41] Thes. Theolog. disput. 23. de Symbolis Cœnæ Domini, quæst. 5. (t. 6. pp. 442, seqq.) Vid. præsertim theses 2, 3, 5.

[42] Novelty of Popery, Twelfth Controversy of the seventh Book. (pp. 793, seqq.)

[43] De Eucharist. l. 8. c. 9. (t. 4. pp. 444, seqq.) The title, *Utramque speciem fuisse communicatam olim in ecclesia perpetuis multis sæculis.*

[44] Dr. Whitby, A Demonstration that the Church of Rome and her Councils have erred, &c. Lond. 1686. 4to.

[45] De Eucharist. l. 4. c. 24. (t. 3. p. 749 b.) Quintus ritus erat, usus communionis laicæ, quæ in pœnam gravis alicujus delicti olim dabatur clericis, ablata eis communione clericali. Est autem hujus communionis laicæ crebra mentio in decretis antiquissimorum Pontificum et Conciliorum, &c.

interprets *communion in one kind.* But Bona[46] rejects this notion of lay-communion as utterly false; reflecting tacitly upon Bellarmin and other modern writers of his own Church, as 'ignorant of the ancient discipline, who no sooner hear of the name *lay-communion*, but presently they take it in the sense that it now bears, and interpret it *communion in one kind;* which how false it is,' says he, 'we may learn from hence, that we often read of clergymen being thrust down to lay-communion at that time, when laymen communicated in both kinds.' Others draw an argument from that which the Ancients call *communio peregrina, the communion of strangers,* which they interpret communion in one kind: but Bona[47] takes a great deal of pains to show the ignorance of these men, and makes an accurate inquiry into the true notion of this sort of communion, concluding that whatever it meant it did not mean communion in one kind. Bellarmin draws another argument or two from the reservation of the eucharist for the use of the sick, and from that private and domestic communion, which we have seen before was allowed to private Christians in their own houses, or in a journey, or in the wilderness: all which Bellarmin will have to have been only in one kind. But besides that this is false in itself, (for they reserved not only one, but both kinds for these uses, as we shall see more by and by,) Bona[48] says it is altogether beside the question: 'for the question is not about private and extraordinary communion in cases of great exigency, but about the public, solemn, and ordinary communion of the Church:' concerning which he concludes, 'no instance can be produced before the twelfth century of its being celebrated only in one kind.'

[46] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 19. n. 3. (p. 327.) Recentiores, qui audito nomine communionis, ejus veteri notione neglecta id solum concipiunt, quod hodie ea voce significatur, laicam communionem nihil aliud esse putant, quam perceptionem eucharistiæ sub unica specie, aut extra cancellos more laicorum. Quod quam falsum sit vel ex eo liquet, quod sæpe clericos ad laicam communionem detrusos legimus, eo tempore, quo etiam laici sub utraque specie communicabant.

[47] Ibid. n. 5. (p. 327.) Quidam, inter quos est Binius in notis ad Concilium Ilerdense, eam [communionem peregrinam] cum laica confundunt. Alii existimarunt communionem peregrinam nihil aliud esse quam perceptionem eucharistiæ sub una tantum specie. Verum quid magis alienum a disciplina veterum patrum, &c.

[48] Ibid. c. 18. n. 1. See n. 40, preceding.

But then, that he may not seem to give up the cause of his Church, and desert it as wholly desperate, he pretends[49] 'that the change that was made by the Council of Constance, and confirmed by the Council of Trent, was against no divine law; for communion in both kinds was neither instituted by God, nor did the ancient Fathers ever teach it to be necessary to salvation.' One would wonder to see discerning men so infatuated. What words can be able to express a divine institution, if those of our Saviour are not, "*Drink ye all of this?*" Or how should the Fathers believe communion in both kinds not to be necessary, who thought it necessary for children, and actually communicated them in both kinds, whenever they were capable of receiving it, as we have seen before? But he was sensible some of their own Popes have called it a grand sacrilege to divide the mystery. Gelasius[50] complains, 'that some received the bread, but abstained from the cup;' whom he condemns as guilty of superstition, and orders, 'that they should either receive in both kinds, or else be excluded from both: because one and the same mystery cannot be divided without grand sacrilege.' Leo the Great[51] declaims against them after the same manner: 'They receive the body of Christ with an unworthy mouth, but refuse to drink the blood of our redemption. Such men's sacrilegious dissimulation being discovered, let them be marked, and by the authority of the priesthood cast out of the society of the faithful.'

It is in vain to say here, as Bona does, 'that these decrees

[49] [Ibid. (p. 323.) Hæc autem mutatio facta est primum a diversis episcopis in suis ecclesiis, deinde a Synodo Constantiensi canonica sanctione pro omnibus stabilita, nullo profecto spiritualis refectionis detrimento, ut fideles experiuntur, nulla divinæ legis transgressione: quia communio sub utraque specie nec divinitus instituta fuit, nec unquam antiqui patres eam ad salutem necessariam esse docuerunt. *Grischov.*]

[50] Ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 12. (t. 1. p. 1918. 23.) Comperimus autem quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione, a calice sacri cruoris abstineant. Qui procul dubio, quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur obstringi, aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur: quia divisio unius ejusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire.

[51] Serm. 4. de Quadragesima, [al. Serm. 42. c. 5.] (t. 1. p. 161.).... Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse conventibus, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno corpus Christi accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostræ haurire omnino declinent..... Quorum cum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, notati et prohibiti a sanctorum societate sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur.

were only made against the Manichees, who believed wine to be the gall of the Prince of darkness, and the creature of the Devil, and therefore refused to drink it:' for their reasons are general against all superstition whatsoever, and in their opinion the sacrament may not be divided without grand sacrilege, and thwarting the rule of the first institution. Which Bona might also have learned from another decree related in their Canon Law under the name of Pope Julius [52], who says, 'The giving of the bread and the cup, each distinctly by themselves, is a divine order and apostolical institution, and that it is as much against the law of Christ to give them jointly by dipping the one into the other, as it is to offer milk instead of wine, or the juice of the grape immediately pressed out of the cluster: all which are equally contrary to the evangelical and apostolical doctrine, as well as the custom of the Church, as may be proved from the fountain of truth, by whom the mysteries of the sacraments were ordained.' Does not this plainly imply that communicating in both kinds distinctly was according to the laws of Christ, and agreeable to his rule and doctrine as well as his example? With what face then could Bona say that communion in both kinds was neither instituted by God, nor did the ancient fathers judge it necessary? When even some of their ancient popes have told us so plainly that communion distinctly administered in both kinds is a divine order, and that it is grand sacrilege to divide them. And the Ancients always administered in both kinds upon this principle, because it was the law of Christ, whatever Bona or his partisans can say to the contrary.

As to the other part of the question, whether the Ancients did not in some private or extraordinary cases administer the sacrament in one kind, we have no dispute with Bona, as being nothing to the dispute of public communion by his own confession. Though all the arguments made use of by him and Bel-

[52] Ep. ad Episc. Ægypt. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 7. (t. 1. p. 1914. 59.) Audivimus enim quosdam schismatica ambitione detentos, contra divinos ordines, et apostolicas institutiones, lac pro vino in divinis sacrificiis dedicare; alios quoque intinctam eucharistiam populis pro complemento communionis porrigere..... Quod quam sit evangelicæ et apostolicæ doctrinæ contrarium, et consuetudini ecclesiasticæ adversum, non difficile ab ipso fonte veritatis probabitur, a quo ordinata ipsa sacramentorum mysteria processerunt, &c.

larmin in this case are far from being exactly true and conclusive. For whereas they argue for communion in one kind from private and domestic communion, it appears from several instances that this sort of communicating was often in both kinds. Thus Nazianzen[53] says of his sister Gorgonia, 'that she laid up the antitypes both of the body and blood of the Lord.' And St. Ambrose[54], speaking of his brother Satyrus and others at sea, expresses the matter in such terms as plainly imply that they both ate the bread and drunk the wine. And whereas again they say the communion reserved in the church for the use of the sick was only in one kind: the contrary is evidently proved from Justin Martyr[55], who says the deacons were used to carry both the bread and wine to the absent; and from St. Chrysostom's[56] complaint to Pope Innocent, that, in that horrible assault that was made upon his church, 'the holy blood of Christ was spilt upon the soldiers' clothes.' Which Baronius[57] himself brings as an argument to prove that they were used to reserve the sacrament in both kinds in the church for the use the sick. They argue further from the example of such as took long journeys or went to sea, that they always communicated in one kind. But Baronius[58] proves in the same place

[53] Orat. 11. de Gorgonia. (t. 1. p. 187 a.) Εἴ *που τῶν ἀντιτύπων τοῦ τιμίου σώματος ἢ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ χεὶρ ἐθησαύρισεν.*

[54] Orat. de Obit. Fratr. (t. 2. p. 1126 e. n. 46.) Quantum arbitrabatur si ore sumeret [panem] et toto pectoris hauriret arcano [vinum]. —Conf. Vossii Thes. Theolog. p. 517. ex Tappero. [Disput. 21. de Symbolis cœnæ Domini, thes. 4. quæst. 3. (t. 6. p. 436.) Prætereo historiam de Satyro fratre B. Ambrosii, quem corpus Domini secum in navi habuisse, testatur idem Ambrosius: ex quo simul, et ex Sermone Cypriani *De Lapsis*, videtur quod illis temporibus sanguinem Domini ex calice omnes bibebant, et quod *corpus Domini iis in manus dabatur*, ut vel statim sumerent, vel secum portarent domum, ibique sumerent, ita ut per intervalla temporum biberent ex calice Domini, et corpus Domini manducarent. ED.]

[55] Apol. 2. p. 97. See before, ch. 2. s. 7. p. 258. n. 29.—Thus also, some think, we may take St. Jerom speaking of Exuperius, bishop of Toulouse, [Ep. 4. al. 125. ad Rustic. Monach. (t. 1. p. 941 e. 4.) cited before, b. 8. ch. 6. s. 21. v. 3. p. 106. n. 87.] *Nihil illo ditius, qui corpus Domini canistro vimineo, sanguinem portat in vitro*, meaning his carrying both kinds to the sick.

[56] Ep. ad Innocent. t. 4. p. 681. See before, ch. 4. s. 11. p. 387. n. 55.

[57] An. 404. (t. 5. p. 196 e.) Sed hic, lector, considera quam procul abhorreant a patrum traditione usuque Catholicæ ecclesiæ, qui nostro tempore hæretici negant asservandam esse sacratissimam eucharistiam, quam videmus, non sub specie panis tantum, sed etiam sub specie vini, olim consuevisse recondi.

[58] Ibid. ex Greg. M. Dialog. 3. c. 36. (e.) Habes id quoque probatum auctoritate S. Gregorii, Romani pontificis, dum ait in navi portasse navigantes Christi corpus et sanguinem.

from the authority of Gregory the Great, that they who went to sea carried both the body and blood of Christ along with them in the ship. And Bona [59] himself tells us there are some instances of the communion being carried in both kinds to hermits and recluses in the wilderness, as he gives an example in Maria Ægyptiaca out of Sophronius. They urge likewise the use of the presanctified sacrament, which the Greeks used all Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays, as has been noted before; and the Latins on the *Parasceue* or *Good Friday;* and this they pretend to tell us, with great confidence, was only communion in one kind: for they reserved only the bread and not the wine for this sort of communion. Bellarmin [60] refers us to abundance of authors for this, as Pope Innocent, Ep. 1. c. 4., who has not a word about it; and Gregory's Sacramentarium, and the Ordo Romanus, *in Officio Parasceues*, and Rabanus Maurus, and Micrologus. But Cassander [61] has unluckily spoiled this argument, and inverted it upon them. For he has observed, and Vossius [62] after him, that the Ordo

[59] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 18. n. 2. ex Vita Mariæ Ægyptiacæ. (p. 324.) Non nego, aliquando simul cum corpore Christi sanguinem quoque extra ecclesiam delatum, in Vita enim S. Mariæ Ægyptiacæ, a Sophronio conscripta, legimus, quod, cum in vasta eremo annis 57. vitam rigidissimam egisset, ab abbate Zozimo Dei nutu reperta, sibique mortem imminere cognoscens, rogavit illum, ut reversus in monasterium, divini corporis et vivifici sanguinis portionem in vaso sacro sibi afferret, quia nunquam communicaverat, ex quo desertum ingressa fuerat. Ille vero statuto tempore mittens in modico calice intemerati corporis et pretiosi sanguinis portionem ad eam attulit, quæ susceptis sacris mysteriis in pace quievit.

[60] [De Eucharist. l. 4. c. 24. (t. 3. p. 749.) Quintus ritus erat usus communionis laicæ, quæ in pœnam gravis alicujus delicti olim dabatur clericis, ablata eis communione clericali. Est autem hujus communionis laicæ crebra mentio in decretis antiquissimorum Pontificum et Conciliorum, &c. *Grischov.*]

[61] De Communione sub utraque Specie. (p. 1027. sub med.) Graviores auctores, qui ante aliquot sæcula de ecclesiasticis officiis scripserunt, Ordinis Romani auctoritatem ad comprobandam plenam populi communionem ex hoc ipso ritu adducunt. In quo ordine jubetur, ut in Parasceue vinum non consecratum cum Dominica oratione et Dominici corporis immissione consecretur: ut populus plene possit communicare, sive, ut alius quidam in Ordinario Romano legi affirmat, ut contractu Dominici corporis integra fiat communio. Idem censendum de liturgia προηγιασμένων, id est, *præsanctificatorum*, sive imperfecta, quæ apud Græcos per Quadragesimam celebrabatur quinque illis diebus hebdomadæ, qui sunt præter Sabbatum et Dominicum, quibus oblatio et consecratio non fiebat, sed sola ex præsanctificatis distributio. Nam et illic vinum et aqua in calicem mittitur, et in precibus ante communionem corpus et sanguis Domini commemoratur.

[62] Thes. Theolog. disput. 23. ut supra, thes. 5. quæst. 5. p. 519. (t. 6. p. 448.) See the words in the preceding note.

Romanus, *in the Office of Good Friday*, appoints wine to be consecrated with the Lord's Prayer, by putting some of the preconsecrated body into it, '*ut populus plene possit communicare, that the people may have the full communion in both kinds.*' And the same is to be said of the Greeks' presanctified communion: for in that liturgy wine and water is ordered to be put into the cup, and then in their prayers before the communion the elements are called the body and blood of the Lord. So Cassander. But Leo Allatius[63], who wrote a peculiar dissertation upon this subject, has more effectually ruined this argument, which it is a wonder Bona should not observe, who so often refers to his dissertation and commends it. For he shows out of the Greek writers, Nicolas Cabasilas[64] and Simeon Thessalonicensis[65], that in this communion there were both the elements of bread and wine, either consecrated before or by the touch of one another. So that this argument not only proves nothing to their purpose, but ruins the hypothesis of the objectors. For this presanctified communion of the Greeks was in both kinds. And the very prayers in this liturgy, both before and after the communion, as Allatius there observes, evidently show it. For the priest thus prays

[63] De Missa Præsanctif. (p. 1559.) Dicitur *προηγιασμένων, præsanctificatorum, &c.*

[64] Expos. Missæ, c. 24. ap. Allat. ibid. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Græc. Lat. t. 2. p. 230 c. 8.) *Εἴ δέ τινες τῶν προσπιπτόντων εἰσιόντι μετὰ τῶν δώρων τῷ ἱερεῖ ὡς σῶμα Χριστοῦ καὶ αἷμα τὰ κομιζόμενα δῶρα προσκυνοῦσι, καὶ διαλέγονται, ἀπὸ τῆς εἰσόδου τῶν προηγιασμένων δώρων ἠπατήθησαν, ἀγνοησαντες τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς ἱερουργίας ταύτης, κἀκείνης· αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἄθυτα* [al. *ἄδοτα*] *ἔχει τὰ δῶρα, καὶ οὔπω τετελεσμένα· ἐκείνη δὲ τέλεια καὶ ἡγιασμένα, καὶ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.*

[65] Opusc. cont. Hæres. (ap. Allat. ibid. p. 1560.) *Καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ γίνεται συνήθης ἀκολουθία τῶν προηγιασμένων, ὅτε καὶ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁγίων εἰσόδῳ δεῖ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ὑποπίπτειν, ὡς τετελεσμένων ὄντων τῶν θείων δώρων, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἀληθῶς ὄντος· αὐτὸ γάρ ἐστι, τὸ κατεχόμενον ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ, τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα μετὰ τοῦ θειοτάτου αἵματος.* — Respons. ad Gabriel. Pentapolit. (ibid. p. 1561.) *Καὶ περὶ μὲν τὴν ἐννάτην ὥραν ταύτην τελοῦμεν τὴν τελετὴν, ἀποσώζοντες τὸν ὅρον τῆς νηστείας, ἅπαξ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐσθίοντες· ἁγιαζόμεθα δὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς, καὶ τῇ ὄψει τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἅμα τῷ νοὶ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τὸν Κύριον, κατεχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ εἰς ἱλασμὸν προτιθέμενον, καὶ μεταδιδόμενον τοῖς ἀξίοις τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας· ὅτε καὶ προσπίπτειν αὐτῷ θερμῶς ὀφείλομεν ἐπ' ἐδάφους, καὶ συγχώρησιν ἐξαιτεῖσθαι τῶν ἐσφαλμένων, καὶ πάντων μεμνῆσθαι πιστῶν, δηλονότι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εἰσόδου, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς αὐτὸν κατέχει ὁ ἱερεύς. Καὶ γὰρ τετελεσμένα εἰσὶ τὰ μυστήρια, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ εἰ πρὸ τοῦ τελεσθῆναι ἄξια τιμᾶσθαι τὰ δῶρα, ὡς ἀντίτυπα, καὶ ἀφιερωμένα Θεῷ, πολλῷ γε μᾶλλον τετελεσμένα ὄντα τῇ θείᾳ χάριτι διὰ τῆς ἱερουργίας, καὶ σῶμα ἀληθῶς, καὶ αἷμα τελοῦνται Χριστοῦ.*

before communion[66]: 'Vouchsafe by thy mighty power to impart to us thy immaculate body and thy precious blood, and by our ministry to all the people.' And after communion[67]: 'We give thee thanks, O Lord, the Saviour of all, for all the good things thou hast given us, and for the participation of the holy body and blood of thy Christ.' And Allatius[68] observes further, that the same sort of communion in both kinds was used on Good Friday in Spain by the order of the Mozarabic Liturgy, which agrees with what Cassander observed before out of the Latin Church. And that which led Bellarmin and Bona into the mistake to take this for communion in one kind, was, that both the Greek and Latin Church reserved only the bread, and not the wine, for this service, but when they came to communicate they put the preconsecrated bread into a cup of wine, and said the Lord's Prayer and some other prayers, and that was esteemed a consecration of it, and so they proceeded to communicate in both.

I have been a little more particular in explaining this rite, because it is the only instance our adversaries can urge, with any colour, of public communion in one kind; which yet, when rightly understood, we see, is no argument for them, but directly against them. And at this day the Greeks, and Maronites, and Abyssins, and all the Orientals, never communicate but in both kinds, as Bona himself[69] confesses out of Abraham

[66] Ibid. n. 19. (p. 1591.) Καὶ καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σοῦ χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματός σου, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος, καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ.

[67] [Ibid. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι τῷ Σωτῆρι τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς παρέχεις ἡμῖν ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. *Grischov.*]

[68] Ibid. n. 18. ex Missa Mozarab. in die Parasceues. (p. 1589.) Et deinde accipiat patinam, et mundet eam super calicem cum pollice; et mundatam ponat eam sub mento, et postea sumat vinum de calice cum sua particula; quæ, secundum quosdam, consecrat vinum in calice.

[69] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 18. n. 2. (p. 324.) Quod vero subjungit, duobus hisce casibus exceptis, cæteros omnes cujusvis ætatis et conditionis sub utraque specie communicare, id sacerdotes Maronitæ in urbe degentes, a me consulti, de his intelligendum testantur, qui intra ecclesiam communicant. Liber enim Constitutionum Ecclesiæ Orientalis, quem citat Abraham Ecchellensis Epist. ad Nihusium, postquam decrevit, c. 3. s. 3., non licere sacerdoti præbere corpus sine sanguine, statim subdit, *Exceptis ægrotis, et qui longe distant ab ecclesia, et qui impedientibus sunt distracti negotiis, ut sunt pastores et agricolæ, qui incolunt villas, nec habent ecclesias, nec ecclesium remotam adire possunt: similiter quoque mulieres, præsertim cum timetur, ne hinc accidat eis ignominia aliqua propter itineris distantiam: deferre autem ad hos calicem, periculosum*

Echellensis[69] and other writers. And as to other instances of the sick or infants, or men in a journey, who communicate only in one kind, if they were never so true, as we see many of them are false, they are private and extraordinary cases, that relate not to the public communion of the Church, and so come not within the state of the present question, which is only about public communion, and not what was done in some very particular and extraordinary cases.

That in r ceiving in both kind they alwa received t elements distinctly and not t one dippe in the oth

2. Having thus despatched this grand question about communion in one kind, and showed the practice of the Church to be constantly to receive in both elements; we are next to inquire, Whether they received them both separately and distinctly, or the one dipped into and mixed with the other.

The modern Greeks have a custom[70], which they have retained for some ages, of dipping the bread into the wine, and ministering it so mixed in a spoon to the people. Some learned men, among whom are Latinus Latinius[71] and Arcudius[72], make this custom as ancient as the time of Pope Innocent and St. Chrysostom: but Habertus[73] and Bona[74] prove there

est valde, ideoque corpus sine sanguine detur illis. Simili modo apud Abassinos viaticum moribundis præberi sub unica specie panis Lucas Holstenius ad Nihusium scribit ex certa et fida sacerdotis Abassini relatione: idque mihi sciscitanti duo ejus nationis monachi, viri graves et senio venerabiles, quos per interpretem allocutus sum, confirmarunt.

[69] [A learned Maronite of the seventh century, and Professor of Syriac and Arabic in the Royal College at Paris. He died at Rome, 1664. He wrote the *Eutychius Vindicatus* against Selden and Hottinger, Rome 1661. 4to. In his works, which were many, he combines the sentiments of the Orientals with those of the Church of Rome against the Protestants. See Chalmers's Biograph. Diction., v. 13. p. 12. Ed.]

[70] Dr. Smith's account of the Greek Church, (p. 141.) After they, within the sanctuary or holy place, have been partakers of the divine and tremendous mysteries, the deacon, standing at the middle door, with the chalice lifted up in his hands, invites the communicants to approach: *Come, brother, in the fear of God, with faith and charity.* [Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγάπης προσέλθετε.] He then dips *a spoon*, λαβὶς, into the chalice; and taking out a bit or bits, which are usually very small, of the consecrated bread, called μαργαρίτας, or *pearls*, soaked in and floating upon the wine, he puts it to their mouths, saying to each, The precious and holy body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ are given to thee for the remission of thy sins and eternal life, [Μεταλαμβάνετε τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν σου, καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.]

[71] Ep. ad Anton. Augustin. ap. Bonam. See n. 74, following.

[72] De Concordia Eccles. Orient. et Occident. l. 3. c. 53. (p. 332 d.) See also, as cited by Bona, the second part of n. 74, following.

[73] Archierat. part. 10. observ. 10. (p. 271.) Quintum observatione dig-

could be no such custom in those days, it being altogether contrary to the usage of the Church in that age to mingle the elements together, or minister them any otherwise than separate to the people. And indeed there is nothing more evident than this in all the writings of the Ancients, who speak of delivering the bread first with a certain form of words, and after that the cup with another form, as we shall see more by and by[75], and that commonly by distinct persons; a bishop or a presbyter

num est, eucharistiam aliquando sub panis specie seorsim porrectam fuisse, contra quam fit hodie apud Græcos, qui laicis micellam sancti panis, calici injectam et intinctam, cum cochleari (λαβίδι vocant) porrigunt... Postea vero et nunc, ut jam dixi, communicant laici, porrecto eis corpore simul et sanguine ex cochleari.

[74] Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 23. n. 8. al. 16. (p. 244.) Cur vero fermenti nomen ipsi sacramento tributum sit expendens Latinius duas causas comminiscitur, quæ pace tanti viri mihi prorsus absurdæ, et a moribus illorum temporum ex toto alienæ visæ sunt. *Appellabatur autem fermentum*, inquit, *non quia aliquid haberet commune cum fermento, quo utimur ad panem fermentandum, sed ea fortasse ratione, vel quia velut massa et conspersio esset utriusque partis sacramenti, corporis videlicet et sanguinis, ita mixta, ut nullo modo separari posset. Vel quia eadem ipsa massa proprie fermenti vicem obtineret in alia majori massa fermentanda, quæ satis esse posset ad populum cujusque tituli communicandum.* Hanc vero mixtionem eo consilio factam arbitratur, ut Manichæi, qui a vino abhorrebant, detegerentur: nam mittens Pontifex illud fermentum presbyteris præcipiebat, si Latinio credemus, *ut per eosdem presbyteros plebi universæ astanti diligentissime declararetur fermentum illud a summo Pontifice confectum et consecratum cum admixtione utriusque speciei, eo consilio fuisse, ut qui cum Catholica ecclesia sentirent, et in ejus communione manere vellent, dum illud sumerent, profiterentur, se sub specie panis et vini simul mixta eucharistiam accipere, et tam panis quam vini Creatorem Deum agnoscere, et non Principem tenebrarum, ut de vino in Creatoris omnium injuriam Manichæi blasphemi asserebant.* At missum ex hoc motivo fermentum, nec ex Actis Melchiadis et Siricii, nec [ex] Epistola Innocentii ulla ratione colligi potest. Nulla item assertæ mixtionis utriusque speciei apparet necessitas ad detegendos Manichæos. Cum enim tunc sub utraque [specie] fideles communicarent, multo facilius deprehendi poterant, si a sanguinis poculo, per diaconum porrecto, abstinerent; quo indicio sub Leone Magno eos proditos ex ejus Sermone 4. de Quadrag. constat. Nihil etiam legimus in scriptoribus illorum temporum, quo Latinii conjectura inniti queat. Deinde mixtio corporis et sanguinis tunc inaudita fuit, et a moribus ac ritibus ecclesiæ omnino per illa tempora dissidebat, ut l. 2. palam fiet, cum de communione intincta disseremus.—Ibid. l. 2. c. 18. n. 3. (p. 325.) Suspicatur Arcudius (l. 3. c. 53.) hanc communionem [recentiorum Græcorum] originem traxisse ex facto mulieris Macedonianæ supra commemoratæ, quæ celebrante Chrysostomo se Catholicam simulans de manu ejus eucharistiam suscepit, quam ancillæ occulte dedit, et alium panem ab eadem acceptum ori imposuit, qui in lapidem versus est. Sed nusquam lego hoc factum occasionem dedisse veterem ritum immutandi, et ex scriptis Chrysostomi constat diaconum sanguinem distribuisse: quo munere fungi desiit, cum panis sacer sanguine tinctus cochleari præberi cœpit.

[75] See s. 8, of this chapter.

ministering the one, and a deacon the other. So that it is needless to multiply testimonies to show, that mixing of the elements is a novel invention. I only note one passage of an Epistle, that goes under the name of Pope Julius in Gratian's Collection[75], which seems to hint at the beginning of the practice, and condemns it as a great corruption, contrary to the primitive institution of our Saviour. 'Whereas,' says he, 'some give the people the eucharist dipt in the cup for a complement of the communion, this has no authority to be produced for it out of the Gospel, where Christ commended his body and blood to his disciples. For the Gospel speaks of the bread being apart and the cup apart, by themselves.' This is repeated in the same words in the third Council of Braga[76], anno 675. Bona tells us further, out of Micrologus[77], that it was forbidden by the old Ordo Romanus; and that Humbertus de Sylva Candida[78], who wrote against the Greeks in the middle of the eleventh century, declaims bitterly against it; though he thinks, with more zeal than he needed to do, for a very good reason we may be sure, because the same practice, as much an abuse as it was, and contrary to the first institution, was not long after authorized in the Roman Church. For Pope Urban the Second, in the Council of Clermont[79], ordered it in

[75] De Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 7. See before, s. 1. p. 410. n. 52, and add, Quod, pro complemento communionis, intinctam tradunt eucharistiam populis, nec hoc prolatum ex evangelio testimonium recepit, ubi Apostolis corpus suum et sanguinem commendavit. Seorsum enim panis, et seorsum calicis, commendatio memoratur. Nam intinctum panem aliis Christum præbuisse non legimus, excepto illo tantum discipulo, quem intincta bucella Magistri proditorem ostenderet, non quæ sacramenti hujus institutionem signaret.

[76] [Al. Bracar. 4.] c. 1. (t. 6. p. 562 c.) Quidam ..... eucharistiam quoque vino madidam pro complemento communionis credunt populis porrigendam.

[77] C. 19. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 18. p. 477 c. 8.) Non est authenticum quod quidam corpus Domini intingunt, et intinctum pro complemento communionis populo distribuunt; nam Ordo Romanus contradicit.

[78] Refutat. Calumniar. Michael. Cerularii. [Cited by Vossius, Thes. Theolog. disput. 13. thes. 8. (t. 5. p. 450.) Deinde quod sanctum panem vitæ æternæ in calice intritum cum cochleari sumere consuestis, quid opponitis? Neque enim ipse Dominus panem in calice vini intrivit, et sic Apostolis dedit, dicens, *Accipite et cum cochleari comedite, hoc est enim corpus meum*: sed, sicut sancta Romana ecclesia usque nunc observat, panem integrum benedixit, et fractum singulis particulatim distribuit, dicens, *Accipite et comedite; hoc est corpus meum.* Quibus, postquam cœnatum est, calicem porrexit dicens, *Bibite ex eo omnes.*

[79] [Anno 1095. C. Claromont. 1. c. 28. (t. 10. p. 508 e.) Ne quis communicet de altari, nisi corpus separatim et sanguinem similiter sumat, nisi per necessitatem, et per caute-

case of necessity so to be administered to the sick, and in other cases out of abundant caution, for fear the blood should at any time be spilt.

However, it had various fortune in the Roman Church. For Paschal II. not long after revoked the license of his predecessor, and ordered[79], that neither infants nor the sick should have the communion mixed, but rather take the blood alone, which he thought more decent than to give the bread dipt in the cup. Yet this did not satisfy the Council of Tours, mentioned by Ivo[80], for they thought still, that the sick, in case of necessity, ought to have it dipt, that they might have it in both kinds, and that the presbyter, who administered it, might say with truth, The body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ be unto thee for remission of sins and eternal life! The men of this age did not yet think it lawful to communicate even the sick in one kind only, nor that the priest could say with truth to the communicant, *The body and blood of Christ!* when he did not give him both kinds. But Bona here pities their ignorance: 'For they, poor men! had not yet learned that noble secret in divinity, the doctrine of concomitancy, to know that the body of Christ cannot be without the blood.' But he goes on to acquaint us, out of an old Ritual of Johannes Abrincatensis, 'that this mixed communion was ordered to be given to all the people likewise, for fear of effusion.' And in the Ancient Customs of the Monastery of Cluny published by Dacherius, [according to the old edition, Paris, 1665, 4to.] there is an order[81], that the

lam.—Ibid. in marg. Idque ob recens damnatam hæresim Berengerianam, quæ per unam tantum speciem satis impleri figuram aiebat. Ed.]

[79] Ep. 32. ad Pontium. (CC. t. 10. p. 656 c.) In sumendo corpore et sanguine Domini dominica traditio servetur; nec ab eo, quod Christus magister et præcepit et gessit, humana et novella institutione discedatur. Novimus enim, per se panem, per se vinum, ab ipso Domino traditum. Quem morem sic semper in sancta ecclesia conservandum docemus atque præcipimus, præter in parvulis ac omnino infirmis, qui panem absorbere non possunt.

[80] Lib. Decretor. part. 2. c. 19. (fol. 62. vers.) Omnis presbyter habeat pyxidem aut vas tanto sacramento dignum, ubi corpus Domini cum diligentia recondatur ad viaticum recedentibus de sæculo. Quæ tantum sacra oblatio intincta debet esse in sanguine Christi, ut veraciter presbyter possit dicere infirmo, *Corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Jesu Christi proficiat tibi in remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam.*

[81] [I cannot find it in the third volume according to De La Barre, Paris 1723, among many records and documents relating to that celebrated monastery. See, however, the next note following. Ed.]

novices should thus communicate, for fear that if they took the blood by itself, they might incur some negligence and shed it. Though it is intimated in a marginal note there, that the old custom of giving both kinds separately was used in other Churches.

In England the custom of mixing the elements so far prevailed, that Ernulphus or Arnulphus, bishop of Rochester, anno 1120, wrote a letter in defence of it, which is also published by Dacherius in his *Spicilegium*, (tom. ii.)[81] where one Lambert proposes the question to him, 'Why the eucharist was administered at present after a different and almost contrary manner to that, which was observed by Jesus Christ; because it was customary at that time to distribute an host steeped in wine to the communicants; whereas Jesus Christ gave his body and blood separately?' To this Arnulphus answers, 'That this was one of those things that might be altered, and therefore though anciently the two species of bread and wine were given separately, yet now they were given together, lest any ill accidents should happen in the distribution of the wine alone, and lest it should stick on the hairs of the beard or the whiskers, or should be spilt by the minister.' Yet, for all this, not long after, Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a synod held at Westminster, anno 1175[82], prohibited the

[81] [Ed. Paris. 1665. 4to. (Ed. Paris, 1723. fol. t. 3. p. 471. ad calc. col. dextr.) Nos carnem Domini intinguimus in sanguine Domini, ne accipientes sive porrigentes peccemus, non habita forte competenti cautela in labiis et manibus nostris. Evenit enim frequenter, ut barbati, et prolixos habentes granos, dum poculum inter epulas sumunt, prius liquore pilos inficiant, quam ori liquorem infundant. Ii, si accesserint ad altare liquorem sanctum bibituri, quomodo periculum devitare poterunt inter accipiendum? quomodo uterque, accipiens videlicet et porrigens, effugient grande peccatum? Præterea si imberbes, et sine granis, aut mulieres, ad sumendam communionem sanctam conveniant, quis sacerdotum poterit tam provide ministrare, tam caute calicem Domini distribuere, ut multis eum singulatim dividat, dividens sic in ora eorum fundat, ut infundens nihil effundat? Sæpe enim dum sibi soli calicem infundere disponit, negligentia aut imprudentia faciente, effusionis periculum incurrit: quanto facilius in multitudine posito sacerdoti, multis diversarum formarum ministranti, contingere potest, unde graviter offendat, unde eum asperam pœnitentiam agere oporteat? Ne ergo polluamus sanguinem nostræ redemptionis, ne tanquam impietatis manibus effundamus poculum humanæ salutis, a religiosis viris provide actum est, ut Dominici portiuncula corporis non sicca, sicut Dominum egisse novimus, porrigatur, sed Domini infusa sanguine tribuatur. *Grischov.*]

[82] C. Westmonast. c. 11. (ap. Labb. C. Londinens. c. 16. t. 10. p. 1466 a.) Inhibemus ne quis quasi

giving the eucharist steeped in wine as a complement of the communion.

Thus this matter was bandied about, and disputed backwards and forwards in the Latin Church; some allowing it, others condemning it; now a Council settling it, and then another unsettling it, and condemning all that went before them; till at last the Council of Constance came in with her paramount authority, and, as Bona thinks, very wisely put an end to all these disputes and inconveniences at once, by taking the cup wholly from the people, and ordering that they should neither have it separately nor conjunctly: and so this abuse of giving the eucharist steeped in wine, after a long course and struggle of various fortune, was cured with a worse error, which took away the cup from the laity, and denied one part of the sacrament wholly to the people. Let us now return again to the ancient Church.

That the ancients received sometimes standing, sometimes kneeling, but never sitting.

3. The next question may be concerning *the posture* in which they received. The resolution of which must be in these three conclusions. 1. That they sometimes received standing. 2. Sometimes kneeling. 3. Never sitting, that we read of.

That they frequently received the communion *standing*, may be evidenced two ways: by a direct, and by a collateral argument. The direct argument is their positive assertions concerning the standing posture. Thus Dionysius of Alexandria[83], speaking of one, who had often communicated among the faithful, represents him as τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, *standing at the Lord's table:* upon which Valesius[84] makes this remark, 'that anciently they received the eucharist standing, not kneeling as now the custom is.' And Habertus[85] undertakes to prove

pro complemento communionis intinctam alicui eucharistiam tradat.

[83] Ep. ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. (v. 1. p. 330. 13.) Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα, καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον τὸ Ἀμὴν, καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἁγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα, κ. τ. λ.

[84] In Loc. (ibid. n. 3.)... Corpus Christi de manu presbyteri stantes, non ut hodie genibus flexis, accipiebant.

[85] In Archierat. part 1. observ. 10. (p. 149.) Quartus adorandi habitus seu modus est, stando: quod aliquando probandum nobis fuit in gratiam Italorum quorundam, qui ecclesiæ nostræ Parisiensis metropoleos ritum improbabant, in qua diversis cærimoniis, nunc flexo genu, nunc inclinando, nunc stando, eucharistia adoratur.... Totum ergo (p. 150.) liturgiæ Dominicæ officium stando peragebatur: unde stantes consecrabant, stantes et communicabant.

against the Italian divines, as he calls them, 'that the whole divine liturgy was celebrated standing, and that they both consecrated standing, and received standing.' And Bona [86] acknowledges the same for the Greek Church, though he is a little more doubtful of the Latin. For the Greek Church he produces the authority of Chrysostom, Orat. in Encænia, and Cyril of Jerusalem [87], who bids his communicant receive it 'bowing his body in the posture of worship and adoration.' Some [88] interpret this *kneeling;* but it signifies *standing with inclination* or *bowing of the body in the manner of adoration.* And so St. Chrysostom [89] represents both priest and people as standing at the altar. 'This altar,' says he, speaking of the altar of a man's own soul, sending up devoutly prayers and alms to God, 'is a more tremendous altar than that whereat thou, who art a layman, standest.' And again: 'As the priest stands invoking the Spirit, so thou invokest him also, not by thy words, but by thy works.' In like manner St. Austin [90], representing the Christians' way of worshipping God at the altar, to answer the calumny of the Heathen, who accused them of giving divine worship to their martyrs, says, 'Which of the faithful ever heard the priest, when he stands at the altar, say in his prayers, I offer sacrifice unto thee, O Peter, or Paul, or Cyprian, when he offers to God at their monuments

[86] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. ch. 17. n. 8. (p. 323.) De situ communicantium, si de Græcis sermo sit, nulla est dubitatio, quin stantes divina dona percipiant. Ita enim præscribunt ipsorum Ritualia, quibus consonant sancti Patres: sed prono capite et demissis oculis, ut Cyrillus (Catech. v.) et Chrysostomus (Orat. in Encænia) monent. De Latinis non ausim affirmare, nihil enim habeo ex antiquis scriptoribus, quo id confirmem; nisi quod etiam hodie in missa solemni Romani pontificis diaconus communicat stans, omnino ex veteri ritu.

[87] Catech. [23.] Mystag. v. n. 19. [al. 22.] (p. 332 b.) Κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων, τὸ Ἀμήν.

[88] L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 7. p. 209. (Reprint, p. 322.) But it may be said, &c.

[89] Hom. 20. in 2 Cor. p. 886. (t. 10. p. 581 d.) Ὥστε τοῦτο [θυσιαστήριον] φρικωδέστερον ἐκείνου, ᾧ σὺ παρέστηκας ὁ λαϊκός.... καθάπερ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἕστηκε τὸ Πνεῦμα καλῶν, οὕτω καὶ σὺ τὸ Πνεῦμα καλεῖς· ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ φωνῆς, ἀλλὰ δι' ἔργων.

[90] De Civitat. Dei, l. 8. c. 27. (t. 7. p. 217 c.) Quis autem audivit aliquando fidelium stantem sacerdotem ad altare.... dicere in precibus, Offero tibi sacrificium, Petre, vel Paule, vel Cypriane, cum apud eorum memorias offeratur Deo, &c. —Cont. Faust. l. 20. c. 21.] (t. 8. p. 347 c.) Quis enim antistitum... assistens altari, aliquando dixit, Offerimus tibi Petre, aut Paule, aut Cypriane? Sed quod offertur, offertur Deo, &c.

or memorials?' Which I produce here only to show that their prayers were then offered in a standing posture at the altar. Upon which account it was usual for the deacon at such times, especially on such days as this posture was used, to call upon the people in some such form of admonition as that mentioned frequently by St. Chrysostom [91] and the Author of the Constitutions [92], '*Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς, κ. τ. λ. Let us stand rightly and devoutly* to offer our sacrifices and oblations.' Some think Tertullian [93] also refers to this posture, when he says, '*Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad arum Dei steteris? Will not your station be the more solemn, if you also stand at the altar of God?*' But to speak freely, I think Tertullian in that place uses the word *standing*, not to distinguish any particular posture of prayer, but only to denote a longer continuance in it on the stationary days, or half fasts, when they continued their religious assemblies till three in the afternoon: for on these days, as we shall hear presently, they prayed always kneeling, though on other days they did not; and therefore Tertullian could not mean that they prayed standing on those days, but only that they extended their devotion to a greater length on those stationary days beyond others. But without this controverted passage of Tertullian, there is sufficent evidence from the foregoing testimonies, of their standing to receive the eucharist at the Lord's table. And this is further confirmed by a collateral argument, which is, that on the Lord's-day, and all the days of Pentecost, they were obliged to pray standing, and in no other posture, as has been shown at large above [94], therefore it is very reasonable to believe, that at all such times they received the eucharist in the same posture they were obliged to pray in, that is, standing at the altar.

But then the usual custom was, on all other days, and particularly on the stationary days, for the whole Church to pray

[91] Hom. 2. in 2 Cor. p. 740. (t. 10. p. 435 d.) .. Στῶμεν καλῶς, δεηθῶμεν. Hom. 29. de Incomprehens. Dei Natur. Hom. 4. t. 1. p. 375. (t. 1. p. 478 c.).... Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς.

[92] L. 8. c. 12. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 398.) Ὀρθοὶ πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν, κ. τ. λ.

[93] De Orat. c. 14. (p. 136 a.) Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris?

[94] B. 13. ch. 8. s. 3. v. 4. p. 499.

kneeling, as has likewise been fully evinced before [95]: and therefore it is no less reasonable to believe, that they received the communion in the same posture as they prayed, though there are not such positive evidences of their practice. What some allege out of Tertullian [96], that the people did *aris Dei adgeniculari, kneel down to the altars of God*, is no good proof; for that is only a corrupt reading of the first editions, which others since read, more correctly, *caris Dei adgeniculari, falling at the knees of the favourites of God*, alluding to the custom of penitents falling at the feet of the ministers and people, to beg their prayers for them when they went into the church. Nor is the argument much more solid that others bring out of Cyril's Catechism, where he bids his communicant receive the eucharist *κύπτων*: for that, as I have observed just now, signifies not *kneeling*, but *standing in a bowing posture*. What St. Chrysostom [97] says, in one of his Exhortations to Communicants, seems more nearly to express it: 'Let us come with trembling, let us give thanks, let us fall down and confess our sins, let us weep and lament for our miscarriages, let us pour out fervent prayers to God, and let us come with a becoming reverence as to our heavenly King.' But if there were none of these expressions, the very custom of kneeling at prayers on these days, is a sufficient indication of the posture in which at the same time they received the communion.

As to *sitting*, there is no example of it, nor any intimation leading toward it in any ancient writer. I have shown before, that in many Churches they allowed no sitting at all in time of divine service, neither in preaching, nor reading the Scriptures, nor in psalmody, nor in praying, nor after praying neither. And it would be unreasonable to imagine that what was rejected at all other times, should be allowed in receiving the communion. Cardinal Perron indeed labours hard to prove,

[95] Ibid. s. 4. p. 503.

[96] De Pœnitent. c. 9. (p. 127 a.) ... Presbyteris advolvi et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere. [Semler restores *aris* to the text, but approves of *caris*. See the annotation (f.) of Rigaltius ad loc. Ed.]

[97] Hom. 31. in Natal. Christi. t. 5. 480. (t. 2. p. 365 c.) *Φρίξωμεν τοίνυν προσιόντες, εὐχαριστήσωμεν, προσπέσωμεν ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰ πταίσματα ἡμῶν, δακρύσωμεν τὰ οἰκεῖα πενθοῦντες κακὰ, ἐκτενεῖς εὐχὰς ἀποδῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω διακαθάραντες ἑαυτοὺς, ἠρέμα καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας, ὡς τῷ Βασιλεῖ προσιόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὕτω προσέλθωμεν.*

that the Apostles received sitting, and that sitting was also a posture of adoration. But his vanity is abundantly chastised and exposed by the learned Daille, as I have noted before [97] upon another occasion. So that this posture is wholly without example in the ancient Church. Nor are there many examples of it among the Moderns, and of those that be, some of them are such as, considering their motives, one would least of all choose to imitate. The Arians in Poland are said to receive the communion sitting, to show that they do not believe Christ to be their God, but only their fellow creature. For which reason some of the Protestant Polish Synods [98] expressly forbid this posture, as peculiar to the Arians, and obliged all their people to receive either standing or kneeling, not sitting, as being a posture taken up by the Arians, and contrary to the practice of all Protestant Churches. We are likewise told, that it is the singular privilege of the Pope to communicate sitting whenever he performs the office of consecration. Bona [99]

[97] B. 13. ch. 8. s. 7. v. 4. p. 507.

[98] Synod. Wlodislav. an. 1583. art. 6. in Corpore Confession. part. 2. (p. 309. Genev. 1612. 4to.) Sententia jam olim in Sendomiriensi synodo agitati, et conclusio in generali Cracoviensi atque Petricoviensi synodo facta ac repetita, in hoc etiam Confessu approbata est; nempe ne in usu sit sessio ad mensam Dominicam in ullis hujus nostri consensus ecclesiis. Nam hæc cæremonia, licet cum cæteris libera, ecclesiis Christianis et cœtibus evangelicis non est usitata, tantumque infidelibus Arianis, cum Domino pari solio sese collocantibus propria, &c.—Vid. Synod. Petricoviens. art. 4. ibid. (p. 306.)—Synod. Cracoviens. art. 4. (p. 303.)

[99] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 8. (p. 323.) Summus pontifex, cum solemniter celebrat, sedens communicat hoc modo. Data pace, episcopo et duobus diaconis assistentibus, qui os ejus et pectus osculantur, ascendit ad sedem suam, comitantibus ipsum diaconis et episcopis. Tum diaconus Evangelii, apud altare patenam cum sacramento reverenter accipiens, ambabus manibus in altum elevat usque ad oculos, habentem desuper auream stellam cum nominibus 12. Apostolorum, ne hostia labi possit. Et primo vertit se ad latus Epistolæ cum summa gravitate, et per eandem viam revertitur ad medium altaris: postea eodem modo vertit se ad latus Evangelii, ubi subdiacono genuflexo patenam tradit cum sacramento. Tum surgit subdiaconus, et ipse diaconus flectit genua, donec ille discesserit, portans sacramentum pontifici, qui ei advenienti profunde inclinat, ac ipsum reverenter adorat. Subdiaconus vero, cum pervenerit ad pontificem, stat rectus ad ejus sinistram. Post hæc diaconus accipiens calicem, parvo velo aureo coopertum, eodem modo se vertit ad utrumque latus altaris, sicut cum patenam tenebat: et inde cum ipso calice ad dextrum latus pontificis accedit. Pontifex vero sumit unam partem hostiæ, et aliam in duas partes dividit pro communione diaconi et subdiaconi. Sumpto autem a pontifice Christi corpore, episcopus cardinalis assistens porrigit ei calamum aureum, quo sanguinis partem sugit,

not only tells us this, but describes the whole ceremony out of the book called *Cæremoniale Romani Pontificis*, and the old *Ordo Romanus*, which they that are curious in such matters, may consult in their proper places [1]: I go on with the practice of the ancient Church.

No elevation of the host for divine adoration in the ancient Church for many ages till the rise of transubstantiation

4. There is no one thing that has made greater stir and confusion in the Christian world, for some ages past, than the adoration of the host, grounded upon a false presumption, that it is not bread and wine, but transubstantiated into the real body and blood of Christ. I intend not to enter upon the history of transubstantiation, which is a doctrinal point, and comes not properly into this work, which only inquires into *the practice of the Church*, but shall content myself to say, that in fact the most eminent of the ancient Fathers have declared, as plain as words can make it, that the change made in the elements of bread and wine by consecration, is not such a change as destroys their nature and substance, but only alters their qualities and elevates them to a spiritual use, as is done in many other consecrations, where the qualities of things are much altered without any real change of substance.

Thus Gregory Nyssen [2]: 'This altar before which we stand,

residuum dimittens pro diacono et subdiacono. Tum pontifex communicat diaconum stantem et tenentem dextera manu calicem, calamum sinistra; qui accepto corpore Christi faciam pontificis osculatur, et reversus ad altare, partem sanguinis sugit. Eodem modo corpus Christi porriget pontifex subdiacono coram se genuflexo et patinem tenente, qui et ipse ad cornu altaris accedens residuum sanguinis cum calamo sugit. Unus autem ex ipsis particulam hostiæ, quæ calici de more immissa fuerat, ad labia ipsius calicis retrahit et sumit. Hæc ex Cæremoniali Romani Pontificis excerpta sunt, quæ ab antiquissimo Ordine Romano in paucis discrepant, ut utrumque conferenti manifestum erit.

[1] [For the *Ordo Romanus*, see the Bibliotheca Maxima, Lugdun. 1677. t. 13. The other book, I presume, is identical with the volume entitled *Sacrarum Ceremoniarum sive Rituum Ecclesiasticorum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Libri Tres. Colon. Agripp.* 1574. 8vo. I cannot however find the exact words given by Bona, as cited in the preceding note. Probably he quotes from some older copy, or gives an abstract from longer passages. See in the Second Book, (fol. 1871, et seqq.) *De Missa Majori, Papa personaliter celebrante.* Ed.]

[2] De Bapt. Christi. (t. 3. p. 369 d.) Τὸ *θυσιαστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἅγιον, ᾧ παρεστήκαμεν, λίθος ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν κοινὸς, οὐδὲν διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων πλακῶν, αἱ τοὺς τοίχους ἡμῶν οἰκοδομοῦσι, καὶ καλλωπίζουσι τὰ ἐδάφη. Ἐπειδὰν δὲ καθιερώθη τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐδέξατο, ἔστι τράπεζα ἁγία, θυσιαστήριον ἄχραντον, οὐκέτι παρὰ πάντων ψηλαφώμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τῶν ἱερέων, καὶ τούτων εὐλαβουμένων. Ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός·*

is but common stone in its nature, differing nothing from other stones, wherewith our walls are built; but after it is consecrated to the service of God, and has received a benediction, it is an holy table, an immaculate altar, not to be touched by any but by the priests, and that with the greatest reverence. The bread also at first is but common bread, but when once it is sanctified by the holy mystery, it is made and called *the body of Christ*. So the mystical oil, and so the wine, though they be things of little value before the benediction, yet after their sanctification by the Spirit, they both of them work wonders. The same power of the word makes a priest become honourable and venerable, when he is separated from the community of the vulgar by a new benediction. For he, who before was only one of the common people, is now immediately made a ruler and president, a teacher of piety, and a minister of the holy mysteries: and all these things he does without any change in his body or shape; for to all outward appearance he is the same that he was, but the change is in his invisible soul, by an invisible power and grace.'

Cyril of Jerusalem[3] uses the same similitude and illustration: 'Beware that you take not this ointment to be bare ointment. For as the bread in the eucharist, after the invocation of the Holy Spirit, is not mere bread but the body of Christ: so this holy ointment, after invocation, is not bare or common ointment, but it is the gift or grace of Christ and the Holy Spirit,

ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱερουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεταί τε καὶ γίνεται. Οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὸν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφόρως. Ἡ αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις, καὶ τὸν ἱερέα ποιεῖ σεμνὸν καὶ τίμιον τῇ καινότητι τῆς εὐλογίας τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς κοινότητος χωριζόμενον. Χθὲς γὰρ καὶ πρώην εἷς ὑπάρχων τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου, ἀθρόον ἀποδείκνυται καθηγεμών, πρόεδρος, διδάσκαλος εὐσεβείας, μυστηρίων λανθανόντων μυσταγωγός· καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖ, μηδὲν τοῦ σώματος ἢ τῆς μορφῆς ἀμειφθείς· ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων κατὰ τὸ φαινόμενον ἐκεῖνος, ὃς ἦν, ἀοράτῳ τινὶ δυνάμει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀόρατον ψυχὴν μεταμορφωθεὶς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.

[3] Catech. [21.] Mystag. 3. n. 3. (p. 316 d.) Ὅρα, μὴ ὑπονοήσῃς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μύρον ψιλὸν εἶναι· ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μετὰ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτὸς, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ· οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἅγιον τοῦτο μύρον, οὐκ ἔτι ψιλὸν, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις κοινὸν μετ' ἐπίκλησιν, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ χάρισμα, καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου παρουσίᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος ἐνεργητικὸν γινόμενον, ὅπερ συμβολικῶς ἐπὶ μετώπου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σου χρίεται αἰσθητηρίων· καὶ τῷ μὲν φαινομένῳ μύρῳ τὸ σῶμα χρίεται, τῷ δὲ ἁγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ Πνεύματι ἡ ψυχὴ ἁγιάζεται.

who by his presence and divine nature makes it efficacious; so that the body is anointed symbolically with the visible ointment, but the soul is sanctified by the holy and quickening Spirit.'

St. Chrysostom, in his famous Epistle to Cæsarius, makes a like comparison, to explain the two natures of Christ against the Apollinarians, to show that he had both an human and divine substance in reality, without any transformation or confusion. 'As the bread,' says he[4], 'before it is sanctified, is called *bread*, but after the divine grace has sanctified it by the mediation of the priest, it is no longer called *bread*, but dignified with the name of *the body of the Lord*, though the nature of bread remain in it, and they are not said to be two, but one body of the Son: so here the Divine Nature residing or dwelling in the human body, they both together make one Son and one Person.' When this passage was first produced by Peter Martyr, it was looked upon as so unanswerable, that they of the Romish Church had no other way to evade the force of it, but to cry out it was a forgery. Peter Martyr left it in the Lambeth Library, but it was ravished thence in the reign of Queen Mary. Bigotius, a learned French Papist, published the original, but the whole edition was suppressed. Yet Le Moyne published it again in Latin among his *Varia Sacra:* [Lugdun. Batav. 1685, and 1694. in two volumes, 4to.] and a learned prelate, who now so deservedly holds the primacy in our own Church, and whose indefatigable industry against Popery will never be forgotten, having procured the sheets, which the Sorbonne doctors caused to be suppressed in Bigotius's edition of Palladius, published it[5] in our own tongue,

[4] Ap. Albertin. de Eucharist. l. 2. c. 1. (p. 532. ad calc. sinistr.) ..... Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratia, mediante sacerdote, liberatus est quidem ab appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est Dominici corporis appellatione, etsi natura panis in ipso permansit, et non duo corpora, sed unum Filii corpus prædicatur; sic et hæc divina ἐνιδρυσάσης, inundante corporis natura, [leg. huic divina insidente corpori natura,] unum Filium, unam personam, utraque hæc fecerunt.

[5] Achbp. Wake, Second Defence of the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Church of England, against Mr. de Meaux. Lond. 1686. (ap. Gibson's Preservative, &c. Lond. 1848. 8vo. v. 12. pp. 264, seqq.) Thus stood the passage and the whole Epistle for its sake; till about six years since the learned Bigotius &c. [Emerie or Emery Bigot, born of an eminent family at Rouen in 1626. He was a great patron of

with such of the Greek fragments as are now remaining. And in these monuments it will stand as the unanswerable testimony of St. Chrysostom, and a key to explain all other passages of the Greek writers of that age, who were undoubtedly in the same sentiments of the bread and wine still remaining unalterable in their substance.

Theodoret lived not long after St. Chrysostom, and he as plainly says, that the bread and wine remain still in their own nature after consecration. 'Our Saviour,' says he[6], 'would have those, who are partakers of the divine mysteries, not to mind the nature of the things they see, but by the change of names to believe that change which is wrought by grace. For he that called his own natural body, *wheat* and *bread*, and gave it the name of *a vine;* he also honoured the visible symbols or elements with the name of *his body* and *blood*, not changing their nature, but adding grace to nature.' In another place[7] he uses the very same weapon to foil an Eutychian

literature. Having discovered in the library at Florence the Greek text of the Life of Chrysostom by Palladius, he published it at Paris in 1680, 4to. with some other ancient Greek remains, the whole accompanied with a Latin translation by Ambrose of Camaldoli. (See Cave's Hist. Liter. Basil. 1741. t. 1. p. 377.) To his Life of Chrysostome he added the Epistle to Cæsarius; but, upon its being discovered that this was an attack on the doctrine of transubstantiation, the licensers refused its being published, and caused the leaves on which it was printed to be cut out, &c. (See Chalmers's Biograph. Diction. v. 5. p. 256.)

Archbishop Wake, as cited above, has given a curious account, not only of the suppression of this letter, but also of the controversy to which it gave rise in Archbishop Cranmer's time. ED.]

[6] Dialog. 1. t. 4. p. 17. (t. 4. part. 1. p. 26.) Ἠβουλήθη γὰρ [ὁ Σωτὴρ] τοὺς τῶν θείων μυστηρίων μεταλαγχάνοντας, μὴ τῇ φύσει τῶν βλεπομένων προσέχειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐναλλαγῆς πιστεύειν τῇ ἐκ τῆς χάριτος γεγενημένῃ μεταβολῇ. Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτον καὶ ἄρτον προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς.

[7] Dialog. 2. p. 85. (ibid. p. 126.) Ἐρανίστης. Ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ Δεσποτικὸν σῶμα μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν. Ὀρθόδοξος. Ἑάλως αἷς ὑφῆνες ἄρκυσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι, καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν· νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο, καὶ πιστεύεται, καὶ προσκυνεῖται· ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα, ἅπερ πιστεύεται. Παράθες τοίνυν τῷ ἀρχετύπῳ τὴν εἰκόνα, καὶ ὄψει τὴν ὁμοιότητα· χρὴ γὰρ ἐοικέναι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τὸν τύπον. Καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρότερον εἶδος ἔχει, καὶ σχῆμα, καὶ περιγραφὴν, καὶ ἁπαξ-

heretic, who, to prove that Christ's human nature was changed into the divine nature after union, uses this argument: 'As the symbols of the Lord's body and blood are one thing before the invocation of the priest, but after invocation are changed and become another thing: so also the body of our Lord, after its assumption, was changed into the divine substance.' To which Theodoret thus replies: 'Thou art taken in thy own nets which thou hast made: for neither do the mystical symbols depart from their own nature after consecration, but remain in their former substance, figure, and form, and are visible and palpable as they were before; yet they are understood and believed to be what they are made, and are reverenced as those things which they are made. Compare therefore the image with the original, and thou shalt see their likeness. For the type must answer to the truth. That body has the same form and figure and circumscription, and, in a word, has the same substance of a body that it had before, but it is immortal after the resurrection, and is freed from all corruption, and sits at God's right hand, and is adored by every creature, as being called *the body of the Lord of nature.*' These words are so plain, that the bread continues in its own substance after consecration, as the body of Christ continues in the substance of human nature after its assumption, that, as Bishop Cosins [8] has observed, Nicolin, the Pope's printer, who set forth these Dialogues at Rome, anno 1547, owns 'that Theodoret's opinion, as to what concerns transubstantiation, was not sound, but he might be excused, because the Church had made no decree about it.'

Ephrem, bishop of Antioch, lived about a hundred years after Theodoret, anno 540, and he wrote against the Eutychians in

ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν, τὴν τοῦ σώματος οὐσίαν. Ἀθάνατον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν γέγονε, καὶ κρεῖττον φθορᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἠξιώθη καθέδρας, καὶ παρὰ πάσης προσκυνεῖται τῆς κτίσεως, ἅτε δὴ σῶμα χρηματίζον τοῦ Δεσπότου τῆς φύσεως.

[8] History of Transubstantiation, (p. 77.) And indeed the evidence of this truth hath compelled some of our adversaries to yield that Theodoret is of our side. For in the Epistle before the Dialogues of Theodoret in the Roman Edition set forth by Stephen Nicolinus, the Pope's printer, in the year 1547, it is plainly set down, *that in what concerned transubstantiation his opinion was not very sound, but that he was to be excused, because the Church* [of Rome] *had made no decree about it.*

the same manner. 'No man,' says he[9], 'that hath any reason will say the nature of palpable and impalpable, of visible and invisible, is the same. For so the body of Christ, which is received by the faithful, does not depart from its own sensible substance, and yet it is united to a spiritual grace: and so baptism, though it becomes wholly a spiritual thing and but one thing, yet it preserves the property of its sensible substance, I mean water, and does not lose what it was before.'

The Latin Fathers are not less plain and full in their testimony about this matter.

Tertullian[10] not only frequently says it is bread, representing the Lord's body, and[11] the figure of his body, but also teaches us to trust to the testimony of our senses in this and many other things relating to Christ[12]. 'We are not to call in question those senses of ours, lest we begin to doubt of the

[9] Ap. Photii Biblioth. cod. 229. (p. 793. 14.) Οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐκ δύο φύσεων λέγοντες τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συγκεῖσθαι, ἐκ δύο νοουσιν οὐσιῶν· ὥσπερ καὶ ἡνίκα ἐν δύο φύσεσιν, ἐν δυσὶν οὐσίαις· καὶ ὁ τῆς βροντῆς δὲ υἱὸς τοῦτο διδάσκει ἐν τῷ λέγειν, Ὃ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ Λόγου τῆς ζωῆς. Τὸν ἕνα γὰρ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ὧν ἔφημεν, καὶ ψηλαφητὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν καὶ ἀψηλάφητον ἀνεκήρυξε· λόγον γὰρ εἰπὼν, τὸν ἀψηλάφητον ψηλαφηθῆναι προσεμαρτύρησε. Καὶ ἑωρακέναι εἰπὼν, τὸν ἀόρατον προανήγγειλεν· ὥστε τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν ἐν ψηλαφητῇ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτῳ οὐσίᾳ, καὶ ἐν ὁρατῇ καὶ ἀοράτῳ γνωρίζεται, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰδέναι διδάσκαλος γίνεται. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἑνὸς προσώπου [καὶ] ἑκάτερον, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναται νοῦν ἔχων, ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ψηλαφητοῦ καὶ ἀψηλαφήτου, καὶ ὁρατοῦ καὶ ἀοράτου· οὕτω καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν πιστῶν λαμβανόμενον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας οὐκ ἐξίσταται. Καὶ τῆς νοητῆς ἀδιαίρετον μένει χάριτος· καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα δὲ πνευματικὸν, ὅλον γενόμενον καὶ ἓν ὑπάρχον, καὶ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς αἰσθητῆς οὐσίας, τοῦ ὕδατος λέγω, διασώζει, καὶ ὃ γέγονεν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν.

[10] Cont. Marcion. l. 1. c. 14. (p. 372 b.).... Panem, quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat.

[11] Ibid. l. 4. c. 40. (p. 457 d.)... Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, *Hoc est corpus meum*, dicendo.

[12] De Anima, c. 17. (p. 276 b.) Non licet nobis in dubium sensus istos devocare, ne et in Christo de fide eorum deliberetur. Ne forte dicatur, quod falso Satanam prospectarit de cœlo præcipitatum: aut falso vocem Patris audierit de ipso testificatam: aut deceptus sit, cum Petri socrum tetigit: aut alium postea unguenti senserit spiritum, quod in sepulturam suam acceptavit: alium postea vini saporem, quod in sanguinis sui memoriam consecravit. Sic enim et Marcion phantasma eum maluit credere, totius corporis in illo dedignatus veritatem. Atquin ne in Apostolis quidem ejus ludificata natura est. Fidelis fuit et visus et auditus in monte: fidelis et gustus vini illius, licet aquæ ante, in nuptiis Galilææ: fidelis et tactus exinde creduli Thomæ. Recita Ioannis testationem: *Quod vidimus*, inquit, *quod audivimus, oculis nostris vidimus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt de Sermone vitæ*. Falsa utique testatio, si oculorum et aurium et manuum sensus natura mentitur.

certainty of the very things that are related of Christ; whether he was deceived when he saw Satan fall from heaven, or when he heard the Father's voice testifying of him, or when he touched the hand of Peter's mother, or when he smelled the spirit of the ointment which he accepted to his burial, or when he tasted the wine that he consecrated to be the memorial of his blood. St. John argues upon the testimony of our senses, [1. 1, 1.] *What we have seen, what we have heard, what we have seen with our eyes, and our hands have handled of the word of life.* But this attestation is false, if our senses may be deceived in the nature of things which we see with our eyes, and hear with our ears, and touch with our hands.' It is plain, from these words of Tertullian, that he never thought of transubstantiation, which contradicts four of the five senses of all mankind, the sight, the touch, the taste, and the smell; and that he must be the most absurd man that ever wrote, if, after all, he could believe that not to be bread which, according to his own rule, had the testimony of so many several senses.

St. Austin uses the same argument with Tertullian in one of his Homilies to the newly baptized, which, though it be not now among St. Austin's works, yet is preserved by Fulgentius [13],

[13] De Bapt. Æthiop. c. 11. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 9. p. 177 h.) Hoc quod videtis in altari Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis: sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnæ rei sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis. Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix: quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renuntiant. Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi. Breviter quidem hoc dictum est, quod fidei forte sufficiat: sed fides instructionem desiderat. Dicit enim Propheta, *Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis.* Potestis ergo dicere mihi, Præcepisti ut credamus: expone, ut intelligamus. Potest enim in animo cujuspiam cogitatio talis oboriri. Dominus noster Jesus Christus novimus unde acceperit carnem de Virgine [Maria]. Infans lactatus est, nutritus est, crevit, ad juvenilem ætatem perductus est, a Judæis persecutionem passus est, ligno suspensus est, in ligno interfectus est, de ligno depositus est, sepultus est, tertia die resurrexit, quo die voluit in cœlum ascendit. Illuc levavit corpus suum, unde est venturus, ut judicet vivos et mortuos. Ibi est modo sedens ad dextram Patris. Quomodo est panis corpus ejus? Et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur, speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem. Corpus ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus, *Vos estis corpus Christi et membra.* Si ergo vos estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrum in mensa Domini positum est: mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id, quod estis, *Amen!* respondetis, et respondendo subscribitis. Audis ergo corpus Christi, et respondes, *Amen!* Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit *Amen!* Quare ergo in pane?

and Bede[14], and Bertram[15]. Here, instructing them about the sacrament, he tells them, 'that what they saw upon the altar was bread and the cup, as their own eyes could testify to them: but what their faith required to be instructed about was, that the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup the blood of Christ. But such a thought as this will presently arise in your hearts:—Christ took his body into heaven, whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and there he now sits at the right hand of the Father. How then is bread his body? Or how is the cup, or that which is contained in the cup, his blood? These things, my brethren, are therefore called *sacraments*, because in them one thing is seen, and another is understood. That which is seen has a bodily appearance, that which is understood has a spiritual fruit. If therefore you would understand the body of Christ, hear what the Apostle says to the faithful, *Ye are the body of Christ and his members*. If therefore ye be the body and members of Christ, your mystery or sacrament is laid upon the Lord's table, ye receive the sacrament of the Lord. Ye answer *Amen!* to what ye are, and by your answer subscribe to the truth of it. Thou hearest the minister say to thee, *The body of Christ!* and thou answerest *Amen!* Be thou a member of the body of Christ, that thy *Amen!* may be true. But why then is this mystery in bread? Let us here bring nothing of our own, but hear the Apostle speak again. When he therefore speaks of

Nihil hic de nostro afferamus: ipsum Apostolum item audiamus. Cum ergo de isto sacramento loqueretur, ait, *Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus*. Intelligite et gaudete. Unitas, pietas, veritas, caritas, unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. Recolite enim, quia panis non fit de uno grano, sed de multis. Quando exorcizabamini, quasi molebamini: quando baptizati estis, quasi conspersi estis; quando Spiritus Sancti ignem accepistis, quasi cocti estis. Estote quod videtis, et accipite quod estis. Hoc Apostolus de pane dixit. Jam de calice quid intelligeremus, etiam hoc dictum satis ostendit. Sicut enim ut sit species visibilis panis, multa grana in unum conspergunturs, tanquam illud fiat, quod de fidelibus ait Scriptura sacra, *Erat illis anima et cor unum in Deum;* sic et de vino, fratres, recolite, unde sit unum. Grana multa pendent ad botrum; sed liquor granorum in unitate confunditur. Ita Dominus [noster] Jesus Christus nos significavit, nos ad se pertinere voluit; mysterium pacis et unitatis nostræ in sua mensa consecravit. Qui accipit mysterium unitatis, et non servat vinculum pacis, non mysterium accipit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.

[14] In 1 Cor. 10. (Col. Agripp. 1612. t. 6. p. 363.) Audiamus veracem magistrum, &c.

[15] De Corpore et Sanguine Domini [ap. Flacii Catalogum Testium Veritatis. Genev. 1608. fol. See also n. 19, following.

this sacrament he says, *We, being many, are one bread and one body.* Understand and rejoice. We, being many, are unity, piety, truth, and charity, one bread and one body. Recollect and consider that the bread is not made of one grain, but of many. When ye were exorcised, ye were then as it were ground; when ye were baptized, ye were as it were sprinkled, or mixed and wet together into one mass; when ye received the fire of the Holy Ghost, ye were as it were baked. Be ye therefore what ye see, and receive what ye are.' Here St. Austin first, says plainly, that it was bread and wine that was upon the altar, for which he appeals to the testimony of their senses. Secondly, that this very bread and wine is the body and blood of Christ. Consequently it could not be his natural body in the substance, but only sacramentally. Thirdly, he says the natural body of Christ is only in heaven: but the sacrament has the name of his body; because, though in outward, visible, and corporeal appearance it is only bread, yet it is attended with a spiritual fruit. Lastly, he says that the sacrament not only is a representative of the natural body of Christ, but also of the mystical body, the Church; and that, as a symbol of the Church's unity, it is called the body of Christ in this sense as well as the other. So that if there were any real transubstantiation, the bread must be changed into the mystical body of Christ, that is, his Church, as well as into the body natural. These things might be confirmed from abundance of parallel passages in St. Austin's works, but this one is sufficient to show his meaning.

The next irrefragable testimony is that of Pope Gelasius, who wrote against the Nestorians and Eutychians about the reality of the two natures in Christ, anno 490, where[16] he thus

[16] De Duab. Natur. cont. Nestor. et Eutych. ap. Bibl. Patr. t. 4. p. 422. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 8. p. 703 e. 16.)Certe sacramenta, quæ sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Domini [al. Christi] divina res est, propter quod et per eadem divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ, et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo evidenter ostenditur hoc nobis in ipso Christo Domino sentiendum, quod in ejus imagine profitemur, celebramus, et sumimus; ut, sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeunt, Spiritu Sancto perficiente, substantiam, permanente tamen in sua proprietate natura, sic illud ipsum mysterium principale, cujus nobis efficientiam virtutemque veraciter repræsentant, ex quibus constat proprie permanentibus, unum Christum, quia integrum verumque, permanere demonstrat.

proves them: 'Doubtless the sacraments of the body and blood of Christ which we receive are a divine thing; and therefore by them we are made partakers of the divine nature, and yet the substance and nature of bread and wine do not cease to be in them. And indeed the image and similitude of the body and blood of Christ is celebrated in the mysterious action. By this therefore is evidently shown us, that we are to believe the same thing in our Lord Christ as we profess and celebrate and take in his image: that as by the perfecting virtue of the Holy Ghost the elements pass into a divine substance, whilst their nature still remains in its own propriety; so in that principal mystery the union of the divine and human nature, whose efficacy and power these represent, there remains one true and perfect Christ, both natures, of which he consists, continuing in their properties unchangeable.' He must be blind that cannot see how the force of this argument supposes that bread and wine continue in their proper nature and substance in the eucharist, notwithstanding the sacramental union that is made between them and the body of Christ by the sacred use of them. Without this it had been of no force against the Eutychians, and they might with a very obvious reply have inverted the argument upon him, by saying, that as the bread was changed from its own nature into the very substance of the natural body of Christ, and remained no longer bread, so the human nature was really changed into the divine nature, and continued no longer in its own substance after its assumption into the Godhead. Which argument, in the mouth of an Eutychian, had been unanswerable to Gelasius, had he with his successors given into the doctrine of transubstantiation.

Some time after Gelasius lived Facundus, an African bishop, about the year 550; he wrote to excuse Theodorus of Mopsuestia, for saying, that Christ received the adoption of sons: which he does[17] after this manner: 'Christ vouchsafed to re-

[17] L. 9. c. 5. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 10. p. 79 f. 18.) Adoptionem quoque filiorum suscepisse Christum, si antiqui doctores ecclesiæ dixisse monstrarentur, nec ipsi, nec omnis ecclesia, quæ tales doctores habuit, judicari deberent hæretici. Nam sacramentum adoptionis suscipere dignatus est Christus, et quando circumcisus est, et quando baptizatus est: et potest sacramentum adoptionis adoptio nuncupari, sicut sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus, quod est in pane et poculo con-

ceive the sacrament of adoption, both when he was circumcised and when he was baptized. Now the sacrament of adoption may be called *adoption*, as we call the sacrament of his body and blood, which is in the consecrated bread and cup, *his body and blood*, not because the bread is properly his body, or the cup his blood, but because they contain the mystery of his body and blood. Whence our Saviour, when he blessed the bread and cup, and gave them to his disciples, called them *his body and blood.*' It is plain, according to Facundus, that the bread and wine are not properly the body and blood of Christ, but properly bread and wine still, and only called *his body and blood*, as baptism and circumcision are called *adoption*, because they are the sacraments of adoption, and not the very thing which they represent.

To these I only add the testimony of Isidore, bishop of Seville, who lived in the beginning of the seventh century, anno 630. He, speaking of the rites of the Church[18], says, 'The bread, because it nourishes and strengthens our bodies, is therefore called *the body of Christ*, and the wine, because it creates blood in our flesh, is called *the blood of Christ*. Now these two things are visible, but being sanctified by the Holy Ghost they become the sacrament of the Lord's body.' Bertram[19] also quotes a like expression out of Isidore's *Origines*: 'That as the visible substance of bread and wine nourish the outward man, so the word of Christ, who is the bread of life, refresheth the souls of the faithful, being received by faith.' But as Bishop Cosins and Mr. Aubertin have observed, this passage by

secrato, corpus ejus et sanguinem dicimus, non quod proprie corpus ejus sit panis, et poculum sanguis, sed quod in se mysterium corporis sanguinisque contineant. Hinc et ipse Dominus benedictum panem et calicem, quem discipulis tradidit, corpus et sanguinem suum vocavit. Quocirca, sicut Christi fideles, sacramentum corporis et sanguinis ejus accipientes, corpus et sanguinem Christi recte dicuntur accipere; sic et ipse Christus, sacramentum adoptionis filiorum cum suscepisset, potuit recte dici adoptionem filiorum suscepisse.

[18] De Eccles. Offic. l. 1. c. 18. (p. 395 a.) Panis, quia confirmat corpus, ideo Christi corpus nuncupatur; vinum autem, quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem duo sunt visibilia, &c.

[19] De Corp. et Sang. Dom. ex Isidor. Hispalens. Origin. l. 6. c. 19.) (ap. Flac. Catalog. Test. Veritat. l. 10. p. 1065. b. 2. n. 4.) Panis et vinum ideo corpori et sanguini Domini comparantur, quia, sicut visibilis hujus panis vinique substantia exteriorem nutrit et inebriat hominem, ita Verbum Dei, qui est panis vivus, participatione sui fidelium recreat mentes.

some pious fraud is not to be found in its proper place. Now, if the bread be such bread in substance as nourishes the body, then it must be such as is properly bread still, and not the incorruptible body of Christ, which cannot be said to be cast out into the draught, which yet Origen[20] says of it, 'that the material part of the sacrament, the typical and symbolical body of Christ, which goes in at the mouth, goes into the belly; but the real body of Christ is only received by those that are worthy, and by faith.'

By all which it is evident the Ancients did not know any thing of the new doctrine of transubstantiation, but believed that the bread and wine still remained in the eucharist in their proper nature. He that would see more of this may consult Bishop Cosins' History of Transubstantiation, [Lond. 1676. 8vo.] and Mr. Aubertin's elaborate book, *De Eucharistiæ Sacramento*, [Daventriæ, 1654. fol.] where he may find all the other arguments against this doctrine proposed, and the testimonies of every Father vindicated against the sophistry of Perron and Bellarmin, and all other Romish writers upon this subject: and also see what opposition was made to the new hypothesis of Paschasius Rathbertus, which was rather a consubstantiation than a transubstantiation, as soon as it appeared, by Rabanus Maurus, Amalarius, Walafridus Strabo, Heribaldus, Lupus, Frudegardus, Johannes Erigena, Prudentius Tricassin, Christianus Druthmarus, Alfricus, the Saxon Homilies, Fulbertus Carnotensis, Leuthericus Senonensis, Berno Augiensis, and others, to the time of Berengarius[21]; after

[20] In Matt. 15. [v. 17.] p. 27. [juxt. Ed. Bened. in Matth. l. 2. n. 4.] (t. 3. p. 499 c.) Εἰ δὲ πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, κ. τ. λ.

[21] [The following passage from the Life and Death of Berengarius, from Abel Redivivus, (Lond. 1651. p. 1.) is curious: We have not been idle in seeking but unsuccessful in finding the date of Berengarius' birth: and can likewise give no account of his parentage and extraction. Herein he is not unlike the river Nilus, unknown and obscure for its fountain, but famous and renowned for its streams; and his birth may seem eclipsed by the respondent lustre of his life. Towres, [Tours] in France, seated on the river Loyer, [Loire] was his native city, wherein he was born about the year of our Lord 1020, as by proportion of chronology may probably be collected. And it is observable, that as the city of Towres gave the first being to Berengarius, so a gate

whom it met with greater opposition from Honorius Augustodunensis, Amalricus, Peter and Henry de Bruis, Guido Grossus, archbishop of Narbonne, Francus Abbas, the Waldenses and Albigenses, the Bohemians and followers of John Huss and Jerom of Prague, the Wicklevists here in England, among whom was the famous Reginald Peacock, and many other learned men to the time of the Reformation.

The first inventor of the name *transubstantiation* was Stephanus Eduensis, as Albertin there shows[21]: and he lived not long before the Council of Lateran, which first dogmatically established it anno 1215. He shows, that before this they rather believed an *impanation* or *concomitancy of the body with the bread still remaining.* Bishop Cosins has many curious remarks of the same nature, and particularly he observes of the recantation which Pope Nicholas II. obliged Berengarius to make, that it was so crude and absurd that even the present Romanists cannot digest it: for there he was obliged to profess[22], that the very body and blood of Christ was touched and broken by the hands of the priest, and ground with the teeth of the faithful, not sacramentally only, but in truth and sensibly. Which the glosser upon Gratian, John Semeca, marks with this note[23], 'that unless you un-

of that city called Saint Hue's Gate, in, at, and near which they used to meet, gave the denomination of the *Huganites*, [Huguenots,] or modern French Protestants, which in the point of transubstantiation succeed to the opinion of Berengarius, or rather to the truth of the doctrine itself.—He died at Angiers, anno 1088. Ed.]

[21] De Eucharist. l. 3. (p. 969 ad sinistr.) Tunc novitium transubstantiationis figmentum, novo hoc nomine eo usque non vocitatum, illo cœpit commendari. Nomenclator ei Stephanus episcopus Eduensis, qui id nomen, ante ignotum in Tractatu de Sacramento Altaris primus usurpavit: *Oramus*, inquit, *ut cibus hominum fiat cibus angelorum, scilicet ut oblatio panis et vini transubstantietur in corpus et sanguinem Christi.*

[22] Vid. ap. Gratian. de Consecrat. distinct. 2. c. 42. (t. 1. p. 1932. 70.) Consentio autem sanctæ Romanæ et Apostolicæ Sedi, et ore et corde profiteor de sacramentis Dominicæ mensæ eandem fidem me tenere, quam Dominus et venerabilis Papa Nicolaus et hæc sancta synodus auctoritate evangelica et apostolicam [leg. apostolica] tenendam tradidit, mihique firmavit, scilicet panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem non solum sacramentum, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter non solum sacramento, sed in veritate manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri, &c. [See the Gloss on the word *dentibus*, as given also in the margin of the Corp. Juris. Canon. Lugdun. 1671. (t. 1. p. 1932. 91. u.) *Nisi sane, &c.*, as in note 23 following, and adding, *Ideo omnia referas ad species ipsas, nam de Christi corpore partes non fecimus.* Ed.]

[23] [Citante Chamier. de Eucha-

derstand it cautiously, it will lead into a greater heresy than that of Berengarius; for it exceeds truth, and is spoken hyperbolically.' So little understanding was there of this monstrous doctrine when first it began to make its appearance in the world.

But I shall pursue this matter no further, having sufficiently demonstrated that the Ancients knew nothing of this doctrine, since they unanimously declared that the bread and wine continued in their own proper substance after consecration. Whence it follows, that they could not adore the eucharist with divine adoration, which they did not believe to be any otherwise than typically and symbolically the body of Christ. Indeed they did not so much as elevate it upon any account for many ages, much less for adoration. Some pretend to cite St. Basil's authority for lifting it up to show it to the people in order to adoration. So Schelstrate[24], and Bona[25], after Bellarmine[26]. But his words will bear no such sense: for he neither speaks of adoration nor yet of elevation to show it to the people, but only of *consecration*, as the Greek word ἀνάδειξις properly signifies, both in foreign and ecclesiastical writers, as Mr. Aubertin[27] proves by various examples. St. Basil's words are

rist. l. 11. c. 2. s. 9. p. 290. (t. 4. p. 604 e.) Nisi sane intelligis verba Berengarii in majorem incides hæresin, quam ipse habuit. *Grischov.*]

[24] C. Antioch. Restitut. dissert. 4. c. 6. n. 14. de Canone 2. (p. 219.) Latini post consecrationem elevant corpus et calicem sanguinis Dominici.... Sed Græci paullo post elevationem frangunt in quatuor partes sacrosanctam hostiam, et elevationem ipsam non in medio sacrificii, sed paullo ante communionem peragunt.... D. Basilius, Libro de Spiritu Sancto, c. 26. *Invocationis verba, cum ostenditur panis eucharistiæ et poculum benedictionis, quis sanctorum scripto nobis reliquit?*

[25] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 13. s. 2. (p. 308.) Latini peracta consecratione, Græci paullo ante communionem... corpus Dominicum et calicem elevant, ut a populo adoretur.... Basilius de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27. Invocationis verba, &c.

[26] De Eucharist. l. 2. c. 15. (t. 3. p. 511 d.) Alterum testimonium Basilii est, in lib. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 27., ubi sic ait: Verba invocationis, cum ostenditur panis eucharistiæ, quis sanctorum in scripto nobit reliquit? Hinc enim habemus, morem fuisse in ecclesia veteri, ut post consecrationem ostenderetur populo eucharistia, quod etiam nunc fieri videmus, et conceptis verbis invocaretur; quæ verba quidam suspicantur fuisse, *Kyrie eleison.* Sed certe ex invocatione manifesta colligitur veritas Christi in eucharistia; neque enim panem invocare possumus, quantumlibet significet vel repræsentet corpus Christi.

[27] De Eucharist. l. 2. (p. 446. ad sinistr. et calc.) Nam Verbum ἀναδείκνυσθαι sæpe sumi apud Græcos pro *designatione* et *consecratione ad munus aliquod*, innumeris testimoniis demonstrari potest. Sic enim e scriptoribus exoticis Strabo (l. 4.) ait, *Lugduni templum fuisse consecratum, ἀναδειχθὲν, Cæsari, commu-*

these[28]: Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναδείξεως τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Which Bellarmin, following a corrupt Latin translation, renders thus: *Which of the saints has left us in writing the words in which the people invocate the eucharist when it is shown to them?* Whereas they ought to be rendered thus: *Which of the saints has left us in writing the words of the invocation, (or prayer,) wherewith the eucharist is consecrated?* And so Perron himself[29] with more than ordinary ingenuity confesses, telling us, 'that St. Basil's words are not to be understood of the people's praying to the eucharist, but of the minister's praying to God in a solemn form of invocation to consecrate

Gallorum consilio. Sic e sacris B. Lucas (c. 10. 1.): *Post hæc Dominus, ἀνέδειξεν, designavit et alios septuaginta.* Et Nyssenus (de Vita Macrin.) de Basilio ipso: *Tum Basilius ἀνεδείχθη, ordinatus est episcopus Cæsareæ.* Et rursum (Orat. 3. in Christ. Resurrect.): *Deus hominem ejus, quæ sub cælo est, creaturæ regem ordinavit, ἀνέδειξεν.* Et Synesius (ep. 66.) de quodam Alexandro loquens: 'Ανεδείχθη, *Consecratus est seu constitutus episcopus in Bithynia per Johannem.* Et Dionysius Areopagites vulgo dictus (Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3.): *Sacerdotes laudibus concelebrant beneficum illud principium* [leg. *illum principem,*] *per quem nobis sanctificata et consecrata sunt, ἀνεδείχθησαν, salutaria mysteria.* Et Proclus, in Fragmento Liturgiæ illi tributo, de Apostolis loquens, ac de iis, qui eis successerunt, *Exspectabant,* inquit, *adventum Spiritus Sancti, ut divina sua præsentia ἀποφήνῃ τε καὶ ἀναδείξῃ, efficeret et consecraret panem ad sacrificium propositum, et calicem aqua mixtum, ipsum corpus ac sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.* Et Liturgia Præsanctificatorum in oratione pro iis, qui ad baptismum parabantur (Bibl. Patr. t. 2. Gr. Lat.): *Consecra eos, ἀνάδειξον, pro membris Filii tui.* Liturgia quoque B. Jacobo afficta: *Accipiens panem in sanctas, immaculatas, inculpabiles et immortales manus suas Dominus, ac tibi Deo Patri consecrans, ἀναδείξας, eucharistias et sanctificans, et frangens dedit nobis, &c.* Denique ipsamet Basilii Liturgia: *Rogamus te, &c., ut veniat Spiritus Sanctus tuus super nos et super hæc dona, eaque benedicat, sanctificet, et consecret, ἀναδεῖξαι.*

[28] De Spirit. Sanct. c. 27. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 75 e. n. 66.)

[29] De Eucharist. l. 2. Author. 15. c. 3. ap. Albertin. ibid. (p. ead. sed supra.) Verum pro nobis respondet [Bellarmino] Perronius (de Euch. l. 2. Auth. 15. c. 3.), In textu Græco non haberi verba invocationis, cum ostenditur panis eucharistiæ, sed verba invocationis cum consecratur panis eucharistiæ. Non enim ibi agitur, inquit, de invocatione astantium, sed de ea, in qua Christi verba insita esse Basilius ipse docet, subjungens: Nec enim his contenti sumus, quæ aut Apostolus aut Evangelium commemorat: sed alia ante et post dicimus, ea ex doctrina non scripta mutuantes, magnam ad mysterium virtutem habentia. At verba Christi non dicuntur in astantium precibus, sed in oratione sacerdotis; quam Veteres, et speciatim Irenæus duobus in locis, ἐπίκλησιν appellant, perinde ac Basilius. Hæc autem oratio non funditur, cum ostenditur eucharistia, sed ante, et præcipue juxta usum Liturgiarum Græcarum, &c. Itaque vocabulum Græcum, ἀνάδειξις, consecrationem ibi significat, non ostensionem.

the eucharist.' Which, as I have shown before[30], was not done barely by pronouncing those words, *This is my body!* as now it is in the Roman Church; but by a formal invocation and thanksgiving, beseeching God to sanctify the gifts; which form, St. Basil rightly says, was not by any of the Evangelists left in writing.

Some again urge the testimony of Germanus, bishop of Constantinople, as one who speaks of elevating the host after consecration. And indeed he[31] does so: but then he gives another reason for it, and not that of the people's adoration. He says, 'it was to represent our Saviour's elevation upon the cross, and his dying there, together with his rising from the dead.' Which was far from the modern intent of elevation. This author lived about the year 715, and he is the first that mentions this elevation among the Greeks, without any notice of adoration.

And for the Latin Church there is a perfect silence in all the older ritualists about it till the eleventh century, when it is mentioned by Ivo Carnotensis[32], and Hugo de Sancto Victore[33], though still for the same reason given by Germanus, and not for adoration. The first writer that assigns the reason of it to be for adoration, as Mr. Daille[34] proves at large, is Gulielmus Durandus[35], who wrote his Rationale about the year 1386. So that transubstantiation and adoration of the eucharist, as mother and daughter, came within an age of one another. The most learned now in the Roman Church confess the main of this. Bona[36] says very frankly he cannot trace the original of ele-

[30] B. 15. ch. 3. s. 12. p. 298, preceding.

[31] Theoria Rer. Divin. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 163 d. 4.) Ἡ δὲ ὕψωσις τοῦ τιμίου σώματος εἰκονίζει τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ ὕψωσιν, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ θάνατον, καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, κ. τ. λ.

[32] Ep. de Sacrament. Missæ. (ap. Dall. de Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. p. 287.) Cum vero panis et calix, adhibito diacono, elevatio corporis Christi in cruce commemoratur, &c.

[33] De Missæ Observat. lib. 2. cap. 28. (ap. Dall. ibid.) Post signa crucis sacerdos utraque manu elevat sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi, et paullo post deponit; quod significat elevationem corporis Jesu Christi in cruce, et ejusdem in sepulchrum depositionem.

[34] De Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 6. (p. 237. ad im.) Sequentis demum sæculi, id est, decimi tertii, anno circiter octuagesimo Gulielmus Durandus, aliis quibusdam allatis elevationis istius rationibus, hanc postremo præter superiorum liturgiæ interpretum doctrinam addit, *Quinto hostia, &c.* See the next note.

[35] Rational. l. 4. c. 41. de Sext. Part. Canonis. (fol. 171. vers.) Quinto, hostia elevatur, ut populus non præveniens consecrationem, sed ex hoc cognoscens illam factam esse, et Christum super altare venisse reverenter ad terram prosternantur.

[36] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 13. n. 2.

vating the sacrament immediately after consecration in the Latin Church higher than Ivo, and Gulielmus Parisiensis, and Hildebert of Tours, who make mention of ringing a bell at this elevation in the twelfth and thirteenth century, when they lived: but he owns the old *Sacramentaria*, whether printed or manuscript, and the old Ritualists, Alcuin, Amalarius, Strabo, Micrologus, and the rest, have not a syllable about it. And whereas Stephen Durantus[37] boasts of its antiquity, and says it began with the very infancy of the Church, he corrects his mistake, as relying only upon the Greek writers, who prove nothing of the customs of the Latin Church. So that here we have a plain acknowledgment of its novelty; and Daille[38] takes the same confession under the hand of Morinus[39] and Goar[40], two other learned writers of the Roman Church, as Bishop Stillingfleet[41] does also from Menardus.

No adoration of the host before

5. But it may be said, though there was no elevation of the host, nor ringing of a bell before this time in the Latin Church,

(p. 309.) Nec etiam liquet, quæ prima origo fuerit in ecclesia Latina elevandi sacra mysteria, statim ac consecrata sunt: in antiquis enim Sacramentorum Libris et in codicibus Ordinis Romani, tam excusis quam MSS., nec in priscis rituum expositoribus Alcuino, Amalario, Walfrido, Micrologo, et aliis aliquod ejus vestigium reperitur. Ea duntaxat in Ordine Romano elevatio commemoratur, qua calix attollitur ante orationem Dominicam: Cum dixerit, *Per quem hæc omnia, Domine*, erigit se archidiaconus solus, et cum dixerit, *Per ipsum et cum ipso*, levat cum offertorio calicem per ansas, et tenet exaltans illum juxta pontificem.

[37] De Ritibus, l. 2. c. 40. n. 2. (p. 229.) Plane ab ipsis ecclesiæ incunabulis, post consecrationem eucharistiam in altum tollere et populo ostendere consuetum, probat aperte Sanctus Dionysius, Lib. de Eccles. Hierarch. c. 3. *Pontifex, &c.*— See also Bona, (ibid. p. 309.) where the words of Durantus are cited.

[38] Ubi supra. (p. 237. ad summ.) .... Goar, vir eruditissimus et Latinarum traditionum studiosissimus, vere meritoque negat *plane constare, quando consecrationi apud Latinos juncta fuerit hostiæ elevatio;* et Stephani Duranti, nunquam ab ea divisam fuisse contendentis, opinionem jure aspernatur. Hoc quidem ex eo, quod ego proxime observavi, auctorum tam multorum de illa silentio constat, non fuisse hunc ritum apud Latinos receptum ante undecimum sæculum; quo eos vixisse, quos ad hanc rem Goar citavit, et Micrologi auctorem, omnes fatentur, et ipsum Ordinis Romani scriptorem, si alii negant, docuit ac probavit Johannes Morinus.

[39] De Ordinat. part. 3. exercit. 9. c. 1. (pp. 132, seqq.)

[40] Not. in Eucholog. (p. 146.) Quando vero consecrationi apud Latinos juncta fuerit hostiæ elevatio, non plane constat. Steph. Durantus ab ea nunquam fuisse divisam contendit, sed infirmo juxta suam sententiam Dionysii et Maximi fundamento, qui scriptis suis, non nisi Græcis ritibus, suffragantur.

[41] Origines Britannicæ, ch. 4. p. 236. ex Menardo, Not. in Greg. Sacrament. p. 374. (v. 3. p. 147.) The same had been ingenuously confessed by Menardus, &c.

he twelfth r thir- senth cen- ury.

yet there might be divine adoration for all that paid to the eucharist from the beginning. Cardinal Perron was so confident of this, that he makes *sitting* a posture of devotion, on purpose to prove that the Apostles adored it sitting. The vanity of which pretence has been shown before[41]. A great many other proofs are alleged out of the Ancients to prove this adoration. But they prove no more, but either that a veneration was paid to the sacrament as to the books of the Gospel, and the water of baptism, and the Lord's table, and many other sacred things, which no one denies; or else, that the adoration was given to Christ, as divinely present every where, or as sitting at the right hand of God in heaven, whither they were directed by the admonition of *Sursum corda!* to *lift up their hearts*, and to elevate their own souls to adore him there.

St. Jerom speaks of common and ordinary veneration, when[42] he says, 'men were taught by the Scriptures with what veneration they ought to receive holy things and serve in the ministry of Christ's altar, and not to esteem the holy cups, and holy veils, and other things pertaining to the service of the Lord's passion, to be without holiness as inanimate things and void of sense, but as things which, for their relation to the body and blood of the Lord, were to be venerated with the same majesty and reverence as his body and blood.' Such reverence as this, which was given to the cups and other utensils of the altar, no doubt was given to the sacrament as the symbolical body and blood of Christ: but this could not be a veneration of divine worship and adoration, unless we can think that they gave divine worship to the cups and utensils of the altar, which he says were venerated with the same respect as the body and blood of Christ.

Mr. Aubertin[43] gives a great many instances of this kind of

[41] See b. 13. ch. 8. s. 7. v. 4. p. 507, and ch. 5. s. 3. of this book, p. 420, preceding.

[42] Ep. [114.] ad Theophil. (t. 1. p. 753 c.) Discant, qui ignorant, eruditi testimoniis Scripturarum, qua debeant veneratione sancta suscipere, et altaris Christi ministerio deservire, sacrosque calices, et sancta velamina, et cætera, quæ ad cultum Dominicæ pertinent passionis, non quasi inanima et sensu carentia sanctimoniam non habere, sed ex consortio corporis et sanguinis Domini, eadem, qua corpus ejus et sanguis, majestate veneranda.

[43] De Eucharist. (p. 432. ad dextr.) Quo sensu Josephus προσκύνησιν templis tribuit, et post Josephum clerus ecclesiæ Apameen-

veneration paid to churches, and the Book of the Law, and baptism, which can signify no more than their reverential use of them as sacred and venerable things. And such a veneration they paid to the sacrament; never putting consecrated bread to any profane or common use; much less violating its sacredness by any more indecent practice, as was that outrage of the Donatists [43] when they threw it to the dogs; never touching it with unwashen hands; being extremely cautious not to let any particle of it fall to the ground: which is a particular caution noted by many of the Ancients, Tertullian [44], St. Austin [45], Cyril of Jerusalem [46], and Origen [47], who styles it a veneration in express terms. Whence Bellarmin very wisely concludes they must needs believe it to be Christ's natural body and adore it. As if holy things could not be used with such

sis. Constantius προσκυνητὸν νόμον appellat; Isidorus Pelusiota προσκυνούμενον Salvatoris sepulchrum, &c.

[43] See b. 8. ch. 10. s. 2. v. 3. p. 191. n. 95.

[44] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Calicis, aut panis etiam nostri, aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur.

[45] Hom. 26. ex. 50. [al. Serm. 300. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 504 d.) .... Quanta solicitudine observamus, quando nobis corpus Christi ministratur, ut nihil ex ipso de nostris manibus in terram cadat; tanta solicitudine observemus, ne verbum Dei, quod nobis erogatur, dum aliud aut cogitamus aut loquimur, de corde nostro depereat.

[46] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 18. [al. 21.] (p. 331 c.) Προσιὼν οὖν μὴ τεταμένοις τοῖς τῶν χειρῶν καρποῖς προσέρχου, μηδὲ διῃρημένοις τοῖς δακτύλοις· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀριστερὰν θρόνον ποιήσας τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὡς μελλούσῃ Βασιλέα ὑποδέχεσθαι· καὶ κοιλάνας τὴν παλάμην δέχου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπιλέγων τὸ, Ἀμήν. Μετ' ἀσφαλείας οὖν ἁγιάσας τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῇ ἁφῇ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μεταλάμβανε, προσέχων μὴ παραπολέσῃς τι ἐκ τούτου αὐτοῦ· ὅπερ γὰρ ἐὰν ἀπολέσῃς, τούτῳ ὡς ἀπὸ οἰκείου δηλονότι ἐζημιώθης μέλους. Εἰπέ μοι, εἴ τις σοι ἔδωκε ψήγματα χρυσίου, οὐκ ἂν μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας ἐκράτεις, φυλαττόμενος μή τι αὐτῶν παραπολέσῃς, καὶ ζημίαν ὑποστῇς; Οὐ πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον ἀσφαλέστερον, τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ λίθων τιμίων τιμιωτέρου διασκοπήσεις, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψίχαν σοι ἐκπεσεῖν. Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ κοινωνῆσαί σε τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ, προσέρχου καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ τοῦ αἵματος, μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἀλλὰ κύπτων, καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ, Ἀμήν, ἁγιάζου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνων Χριστοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ τῆς νοτίδος ἐνούσης τοῖς χείλεσί σου χερσὶν ἐπαφώμενος, καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ μέτωπον, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἁγίαζε αἰσθητήρια. Εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν τηλικούτων μυστηρίων.

[47] Hom. 13. in Ex. (t. 2. p. 176 e.) Nostis, qui divinis mysteriis interesse consuevistis, quomodo, cum suscipitis corpus Domini, cum omni cautela et veneratione servatis, ne ex eo parum quid decidat, ne consecrati muneris aliquid delabatur. Reos enim vos creditis et recte creditis, si quid inde per negligentiam decidat. Quod si circa corpus ejus conservandum tanta utimini cautela, et merito utimini; quomodo putatis esse minoris piaculi, verbum Dei neglexisse quam corpus ejus?

caution and reverence but presently it must be interpreted an act of adoration.

But the Ancients sometimes say they worshipped Christ in the eucharist. Which we do not deny either. St. Austin[48] says, 'No man eats the flesh of Christ but he that first worships it.' And there are like expressions in Ambrose, Chrysostom, and some other ancient writers. But then they sufficiently explain their own meaning, giving us to understand that they neither speak of oral manducation, nor of adoring Christ as corporeally present in the eucharist, but as spiritually present, or else as corporeally absent in heaven. St. Chrysostom[49] says, 'they fell down before Christ their King as captives in baptism, and that they cast themselves down upon their knees before him.' And yet no one would conclude therefore that they worshipped him as corporeally present in baptism, although baptism made them partakers of his body and blood also. He says further[50], 'that the king himself bowed his body because of God speaking in the holy Gospels.' But it would be ridiculous hence to infer either that they worshipped the Gospels, or Christ as corporeally present in them.

Mr. Aubertin[51] has demonstrated out of St. Austin's works

[48] In Ps. 98. (t. 4. p. 1065 c.)... Et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat, nisi prius adoraverit, &c.

[49] In illud, Simile est regnum cœlorum, &c. (ap. Albertin. de Eucharist. l. 2. c. 2. p. 432.) (Oper. Chrysost. t. 8. int. Spuria, p. 104 e.) Ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταλάβητε τὸν Νυμφῶνα τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἐπειδὰν εἰσδράμητε τὴν παστάδα τῆς χάριτος, ἐπειδὰν πλησίον γένησθε τῆς φοβερᾶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ποθεινῆς κολυμβήθρας, ὡς αἰχμάλωτοι προσπέσητε τῷ βασιλεῖ, ῥίψατε πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ γόνατα.

[50] In illud, Attendite ne eleemosynam faciatis, &c. (ap. eund. p. 432.) (Oper. Chrysost. ibid. p. 93 c.).... Ὑποκύπτει διὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις Εὐαγγελίοις ὁμιλοῦντα Θεόν.

[51] De Eucharist. l. 2. Prop. Prim. (pp. 602, seqq.) Panem et vinum nec fieri nec esse proprie et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed sacramentaliter tantum et figurate.

Prop. Secund. (pp. 636, seqq.) Christum non esse in eucharistia substantialiter et corporaliter præsentem.

Prop. Tert. (pp. 659, seqq.) In eucharistia verum panem manducari.

Prop. Quart. (pp. 667, seqq.) Manducationem proprii corporis Christi participationemque sanguinis ipsius, spiritualem esse, non oralem.

Prop. Quint. (pp. 711, seqq.) Impios proprium Domini corpus et sanguinem nec manducare nec bibere.

Prop. Sext. (pp. 732, seqq.) Impossibile esse ut idem corpus in pluribus locis simul sit.

Prop. Sept. (pp. 737, seqq.) Corpus necessario locum occupare.

Prop. Oct. (pp. 741, seqq.) Accidentia sine subjecto subsistere nullo modo posse.

these several propositions, which are all pointblank contrary to the adoration of Christ, as corporeally present in the eucharist. 1. That bread and wine are not properly and substantially the body and blood of Christ, but only sacramentally and figuratively. 2. That Christ is not substantially and corporeally present in the eucharist, but corporeally present only in heaven. 3. That true bread remains and is eaten in the eucharist. 4. That the manducation of Christ in the eucharist is not oral but spiritual. 5. That the wicked do not eat or drink the proper body and blood of Christ in the eucharist. 6. That the same body cannot be in different places at one and the same time; and that this is particularly asserted of the body of Christ. 7. That a body must necessarily occupy some place and space, and be extended by parts, with longitude, latitude, and profundity. 8. That accidents cannot subsist without a subject. All which directly overthrow the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist, and consequently show that the adoration which was given to Christ in the eucharist was not to his corporeal presence, but his spiritual presence, or to his body as absent in heaven.

But Durantus[52] undertakes to prove that the body of Christ was not only worshipped as corporeally present in the eucharist, in the use and time of celebration, but at other times by non-communicants also. For this he alleges Chrysostom[53], who says, 'that the energumens at that time were brought by the deacon and made to bow their heads.' Which Durantus interprets of bowing to the eucharist. But Chrysostom unluckily spoils his argument. 'For at that time,' he says, 'the eucharist was not consecrated, but only about to be consecrated; and

[52] De Ritibus, l. 2. c. 40. n. 5. (p. 230.)... Adoratam fuisse eucharistiam extra usum et a non communicantibus, probat S. Chrysostomus, Hom. 3. de Incomprehensibili Dei natura. Ibi enim loquens de energumenis ait, *Agitatos quoque, ob eam rem, diaconus tempore illo ducit, et jubet caput inclinare.* Et Hom. 4. ejusdem tractationis: *Cur homines dæmone agitatos, et furore accitos teterrimo, adduci tempore illo, et capita inclinare, jubet diaconus?*

[53] Hom. 3. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura. t. 1. p. 365. (t. 1. p. 470 e.).. Καὶ τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἵστησι τὸν καιρὸν ὁ διάκονος, καὶ κελεύει κλίναι τὴν κεφαλὴν μόνον, καὶ τῷ σχήματι τοῦ σώματος ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἱκετηρίας.—Hom. 4. ibid. p. 374. (p. 477 b.) Ἔσται δὲ ἡ χάρις, ἂν διδάξωμεν ὑμᾶς, τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐκείνη γίνεται πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ εὐχή, καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς δαιμονῶντας καὶ τῇ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχομένους εἰσάγεσθαι κελεύει τότε ὁ διάκονος καὶ κλίνειν τὰς κεφαλάς.

these energumens were not allowed to stay to hear the prayers of consecration with the faithful, but were dismissed with the catechumens and other non-communicants before the communion-service began.' So that if they worshipped the host, it must be an unconsecrated host, which, according to Durantus himself, would be plain idolatry. So unfortunate are these gentlemen in the best arguments they can produce for host-worship among the Ancients, that their own very proofs manifestly overthrow it.

On the other hand, there are most certain demonstrations that there could be no such thing as host-worship in the ancient Church, not only taken from their not believing transubstantiation and the corporeal presence, but from many other topics solidly deduced and substantially proved by two learned writers, Mr. Daille[54] and Dr. Whitby[55], in two excellent discourses upon this very subject, to which I will commend the reader, contenting myself to mention the heads of the principal arguments, which they have more fully drawn out and proved.

Mr. Daille ranks his arguments under two heads, some general ones against the worship of the eucharist, saints, relics, images, and crosses; and others more particularly levelled against the worship of the eucharist.

Among those of the first kind, he urges this as very remarkable: 1. That in all the ancient relations of miracles, there is never any mention made of miracles being wrought by the eucharist, as is now so common in later ages, especially in the book called *The School of the Eucharist*, which is a collection of legends under the name of miracles wrought by the host upon sundry occasions. 2. He urges another general argument from the silence of all such writers of the Church as speak of traditions, that the worship of the eucharist is never once named among them. 3. That among the Heathen objections and calumnies which they raised against them, such as their worshipping the sun and an ass's head, and the genitals

[54] De Object. Cult. Relig. l. 1. (p. 1.) Quo communia totius in universum causæ argumenta continentur.—Ibid. 2. (p. 216.) Quo propria adversus Latinam de Eucharistiæ adoratione traditionem argumenta continentur.

[55] Idolatry of Host-Worship, Lond. 1679. 8vo.

of their priests, and a crucified and dead man, they never objected to them the worship of bread and wine, which yet had been very obvious and natural, and invidious enough to have accused them of, had there then been any such plausible ground for an accusation, as there has been in later ages. 4. The Christians used to object to the Heathens, that they worshipped things that were dumb and void of life; things that must be carried upon men's shoulders, and, if they fell, could not rise again; things that must be guarded by men to secure them from thieves; things that might be carried captive, and were not able to preserve and deliver themselves; things that might be laid to pawn, as the eucharist has been by some princes in later ages; things that are exposed to fire and weather, and rust and moth and corruption and other injuries of nature; things that might be devoured by mice and other animals, and might be gnawed and dunged upon by the most contemptible creatures. All which objections might easily have been retorted by the Heathens upon the Christians, had they then worshipped the eucharist, or images, or relics, or crosses, which are liable to all the same reproaches.

These are general arguments against host-worship, together with the rest of that idolatrous worship which now so abounds in the Church of Rome. But there are a great many more special arguments urged in particular against host-worship by that learned man.

1. From the silence of all ancient writers about it. 2. From their using no elevation of the host for worship for many ages, as we have shown at large out of Bona before. 3. The Ancients knew nothing of ringing a bell to give notice of the time of adoration to the people. 4. There are no histories of beasts miraculously worshipping the eucharist, which sort of fictions are so common in later ages. 5. The Ancients never carried the eucharist to the sick or absent with any pomp or signs of worship; never exposed it to public view in times of solemn rejoicing or sorrow; never adored or invoked its assistance in distress, or upon any great undertaking; which are now such common practices in the Roman Church. 6. The Ancients never enjoined persons newly baptized and penitents to fall down before the eucharist and worship it, as is now commonly done in the Roman Church. 7. The Ancients never allowed

non-communicants to stay and worship the eucharist, as the practice now is; which yet had been very proper, had they believed the eucharist to be their God. But they used it only for communion, not for adoration. 8. The Ancients never used to carry the eucharist publicly in processions, to be adored by all the people; which is a novel practice in the judgment of Krantzius[56] and Cassander[57]. 9. The Ancients lighted no lamps nor candles by day to the eucharist, nor burned incense before it, as is now the practice. 10. They made no little images of the eucharist, to be kissed and worshipped as the images of Christ. 11. They had no peculiar festival appropriated to its more solemn worship. This is of no longer date than Pope Urban IV, who first instituted it, anno 1264, and is peculiar only to the Roman Church. 12. The ancient Liturgies have no forms of prayers, doxologies, or praises to the eucharist, as are in the Roman Missal. 13. The adoration of the eucharist was never objected by the Heathens to the primitive Christians; nor were they reproached, as the Romanists have been since, as 'eaters of their God.' It is a noted saying of Averroes[58], *Quando quidem comedunt Christiani quod colunt, sit anima mea cum philosophis! Since Christians eat what they worship, let my soul rather have her portion among the philosophers!* This learned philosopher lived about the year

[56] Metropol. l. 11. c. 39. (Basil. 1568. fol. p. 359.) Fertur idem inter alia salubria constituisse de venerabili eucharistia, cujus erat tunc, ut nunc, quidam abusus, cum in publicum deferretur in diebus Jovis per anni circulum. Res, ut prima fronte prætenditur, devotioni parata; sed, ut evidenter claruit, per crebram ejus ostentationem vilescente, quæ semper ardens et summa debuit esse, reverentia. Constituit ergo, ut non in publicum efferretur, nisi infra octavam festivitatis, institutæ ad honorem sanctissimæ eucharistiæ: præsertim quia ejus usus a cœlesti Magistro institutus est ad esum, non ostentationem.

[57] Consultat. Sect. de Circumgest. (p. 984.) Consuetudo vero qua panis eucharistiæ in publica pompa conspicuus circumfertur, ac passim omnium hominum oculis ingeritur, præter veterum morem et mentem, haud ita longo tempore inducta et recepta videtur. Illi enim hoc mysterium in tanta religione ac veneratione habuerunt, ut non modo ad ejus perceptionem, sed ne inspectionem quidem admitterent nisi fideles, quos Christi membra et tanti mysterii participatione dignos esse existimarent. Quare ante consecrationem, catechumeni, energumeni, pœnitentes, denique non communicantes, diaconi voce et ostiariorum ministerio secludebantur.

[58] [This celebrated Arabian philosopher was born of a noble family at Corduba, the capital of the Saracen dominions in Spain, about the middle of the twelfth century. For a full account of him, as well as of his Works, see Chalmers's Biograph. Diction. Lond. 1812. v. 3. pp. 165, seqq. Ed.]

1150, when host-worship began to be practised, which gave him this prejudice to the Christian religion. 14. The Christians objected such things to the Heathens, as they never would have objected, had they themselves worshipped the host; as, that it was an impious thing to eat what they worshipped, and worship what they ate and sacrificed. Which objections might easily have been retorted upon them. 15. The Christians were accused by the Heathens of eating infants' blood in their solemn mysteries, but never any mention is made of eating the blood of Christ, either in the objection or answer to it. The ground of the story arose from the practice of the Carpocratians and other heretics[58], and not from the Christians' eating the blood of Christ. 16. Lastly, the Christians never urged the adoration of the eucharist in their disputes with the Ebionites and Docetæ, which yet would have been very proper to confute their errors, who denied the reality of the flesh of Christ. To these arguments of Mr. Daille, Dr. Whitby has added these further. 1. That the Scriptures and Fathers deride the Heathen deities, and say, that we may know they are no Gods, because they have no use of their outward senses. 2. Because they are made Gods by consecration, and by the will of the artificer, part of that matter, which is consecrated into a God, being exposed to common uses. 3. Because they were imprisoned in their images, or shut up in obscure habitations. 4. Because they clothed their Gods in costly raiments. 5. Because they might be metamorphosed or changed from one shape to another. All which might have been retorted upon the Christians, had they worshipped the eucharist, without any possibility of evasion. Soto[59] and Paludanus[60] own that the whole eucharist, substance as well as species, may be vomited up again, or voided at the draught. Which to affirm of the real body of Christ, the Ancients would have accounted the greatest blasphemy. For these and the like reasons we may safely conclude that there was no such practice among the Ancients, as giving

[58] See ch. 7, s. 10, following. p. 490.

[59] [Dominicus, *Ordinis Prædicatorum, vir doctissimus, &c. Obiit anno* 1560. Vid. Bellarmin. de Scriptor. Eccles. p. 254. Among other works, he wrote *Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum in duobus tomis divisa.* ED.]

[60] [Or Petrus de Palude. He flourished between the year 1330 and 1340. Of his Commentary *In Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, the third and fourth books only are extant. ED.]

divine honour to the host upon presumption of its being the real body of Christ, though they treated it as the sacred symbol and antitype of his body with all imaginable respect and veneration.

To deduce these arguments at their full length would fill a volume, and therefore it is sufficient here to have hinted the heads of them in this summary account, referring the reader to those two learned authors, who have proved every thing they say, for fuller satisfaction. I now go on with the practice of the ancient Church.

e people wed to ive the harist their n hands.

6. In distributing the elements the people were allowed to receive them into their own hands. Which now, since the belief of transubstantiation and the adoration of the host came in, is severely prohibited in the Roman Church. And this is at least another strong presumption, that the Ancients had very different sentiments of the eucharist from those which now prevail in the Roman Church. As to fact, there is no dispute of the matter. The thing is confessed by Baronius [58] and Morinus [59] and Garsias Loaisa [60], as Daille [61] has noted out of them. And Bona [62] confesses, he cannot tell when the contrary custom first came in, but he thinks it very probable that it began at the same time that they first brought into the Western Church the use of unleavened bread, and wafer-hosts; which, as he proves before, was not till the twelfth or thirteenth century. But that the reader may not wholly depend upon these concessions, I will note a few places in the margin out of Tertullian [63], Clemens Alexandrinus [64], Cyprian [65], Origen [66],

[58] An. 57. n. 149. (t. 1. p. 494 a.) Dabat sacerdos in manus cujusque eucharistiam, quam sic ille cum summa reverentia ori admovebat. Suppetunt de ea re quam plurima testimonia sanctorum patrum, &c.

[59] De Ordinat. part 3. Exercit. 12. c. 3. tot. (pp. 177 seqq.) Iis, quæ &c.

[60] In C. Tolet. 1. c. 14. (t. 2. p. 1239 a.) Antiquus ecclesiæ mos fuit, dare fidelibus eucharistiam in manus.

[61] De Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 20. (p. 299.) Ritum Baronius ipse observavit, &c.

[62] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 7. (p. 322.) Quod si conjecturis in re obscura aliquid tribuere fas est, satis mihi probabile videtur, tunc cœpisse in Occidente corpus Christi ore accipi, cum panis consecrandus ad eam formam tenuissimam, qua nunc utimur, redactus est, &c.—Vid. Vales. Not. in Euseb. l. 7. c. 10. (v. 1. p. 330. 21. Fideles, qui corpus Domini manu accepturi erant, lotis prius studiose manibus accedebant.

[63] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Eucharistiæ sacramentum .... nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus—De Idolol. c. 7. (p. 88d.).. Eas manus admovere corpori

ionysius Alexandrinus[67], Cyril of Jerusalem[68], Nazianzen[69], asil[70], Ambrose[71], Austin[72], Chrysostom[73], and the Council f Trullo[74]; which I think it needless to repeat at length in a atter so plain and uncontested. The very custom of washing ie hands before communion, in order to receive it, the frequent admonitions to beware of letting it fall, the allowance of rivate men to carry it home with them and communicate in rivate, the sending it to the sick sometimes by private men, hich we have spoken of before, do all bear testimony to the ume practice. But all these customs are perfectly antiquated nd abolished in the Roman Church, since the practice of

omini, quæ dæmoniis corpora conrunt. See n. 75, following.

[64] Stromat. 1. See before, ch. 3. s. 5. p. 348. n. 22.

[65] De Lapsis, p. 132. (p. 93. ad alc.) Jacens stantibus, et integris ulneratus minatur; et, quod non atim Domini corpus inquinatis anibus accipiat, aut ore polluto omini sanguinem bibat, sacerdotius sacrilegus irascitur.—De Paent. p. 216, (p. 148 ad calc.) Sit rtis et stabilis in corde patientia: nec adulterio sanctificatum corpus Dei templum polluitur, &c.; nec, ost gestatam eucharistiam, manus adio et cruore maculatur.—Epist. 5. [al. 58.] ad Thibaritan. p. 125, . 258.) Armemus et dexteram glaio spirituali, ut sacrificia funesta rtiter respuat, et eucharistiæ meor, quæ Domini corpus accepit, sum complectatur, postea a Doino, sumptura præmium cœlestium ronarum.

[66] Hom. 13. in Ex. See before, 5. n. 47, preceding.

[67] Ap. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9. See bere, s. 3. p. 420. n. 83.

[68] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 18. l. 21.] See before, s. 5. n. 46, preding.

[69] De Ornat. Mulier. (t. 2. p. 52 a.)

Οὐδὲ χέρες φρίσσουσιν, ἐπὴν ἐς μύστιν ἐδωδὴν

Τείνεις, αἷς σὺ γράφεις πένθιμον ἀγλαΐην;

[70] Ep. 289. [al. 93.] ad Cæsar. atric. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 268 b.) Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιδίδωσι τὴν μερίδα, καὶ κατέχει αὐτὴν ὁ ὑποδεχόμενος μετ' ἐξουσίας ἁπάσης, καὶ οὕτω προσάγει τῷ στόματι τῇ ἰδίᾳ χειρί.

[71] Orat. ad Theodos. ap. Theodor. l. 5. c. 18. See afterwards, s. 6, the latter part of n. 79, following.

[72] Cont. Lit. Petilian. l. 2. c. 23. (t. 9. p. 233 g.).... In cujus manibus eucharistiam ponebatis, &c.—Hom. 26. ex 50. a Sirmond. edit. See before, s. 5. n. 45, preceding.

[73] Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. [Bened. Cateches. 2.] (t. 2. p. 237 a.) Ἐννόησον, τί δέχῃ τῇ χειρὶ, κ.τ.λ. — Hom. 22. p. 286. [Bened. Hom. 20. ad Pop. Antioch.] (t. 2. p. 206 a.) Ἐχθρὸν ἔχεις; μὴ προσέλθῃς· βούλει προσελθεῖν; καταλλάγηθι, καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἅψαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ.—Ibid. p. 290. (ibid. p. 210 c.) Μὴ τολμᾷς ἀνίπτοις χερσὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅψασθαι θυσίας, κ. τ. λ.—Ibid. Hom. 24. p. 316. [Bened. de Bapt. Christi.] (ibid. p. 375 c.) Μετὰ πολλῆς σιγῆς.... τῆς ἱερᾶς ταύτης ἁπτώμεθα θυσίας.—Hom. 6. [al. 8.] cont. Jud. t. 1. p. 540. (t. 1. p. 684 a.) Ποίᾳ χειρὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅψῃ τραπέζης;—Hom. 3. in Eph. (t. 12. p. 22 d.) Εἰπέ μοι, ἆρα, ἂν ἔλοιο χερσὶν ἀνίπτοις τῇ θυσίᾳ προσελθεῖν; οὐκ ἔγωγε οἶμαι. .... Εἶτα ἐν τῷ μικρῷ οὕτως ὢν εὐλαβῆς, ψυχὴν ἔχων ῥυπαρὰν προσέρχῃ, καὶ ἅπτεσθαι τολμᾷς.—Hom. 6. in Seraph. (t. 6. p. 137.) et passim.

[74] C. 101. See afterwards, s. 7. n. 88, following.

host-worship came in, partly by forbidding the people to touch the bread with their own hands, but suffer it to be dropped into their mouths, and partly by withdrawing the cup wholly from them. Many wise and pretty reasons are used to be given for abolishing this ancient custom, as that it is to prevent men's negligence and irreverence and other abuses. But the Fathers had much better reasons for allowing it. For then it afforded them a noble argument to keep innocent and holy hands, free from idolatry, murder, rapine, and extortion, and other the like vices, when they must, with those very hands, receive the immaculate body and blood of their Lord. 'A man might declaim,' says Tertullian [75], 'all the day long with the zeal of faith, and bewail those Christians who work with their hands at the trade of making idols for heathen Gods, and come immediately from the shop of the adversary to the house of God, to lift up those hands to God the Father, which are the makers or mothers of idols, and stretch forth those hands to receive the body of the Lord, that were instrumental in carving bodies for devils.'

With what eloquence does St. Chrysostom [76] inveigh against rapine and bloodshed, and strife and contention, upon this very topic? 'Consider,' says he, 'what thou takest into thy hand, and never dare to smite any man: do not disgrace those hands which are adorned with so great a gift, by the crime of fighting and contention. Consider what thou takest into thy hands, and keep them free from all rapine and extortion. Consider

[75] De Idolol. c. 7. (p. 88 c.) Tota die ad hanc partem zelus fidei perorabit, ingemens Christianum ab idolis in ecclesiam venire, [de adversaria officina in Domum Dei] attollere ad Deum Patrem manus matres idolorum, his manibus adorare, quæ foris adversus Deum adorantur, eas manus admovere corpori Domini, quæ dæmoniis corpora conferunt.—Conf. de Spectac. c. 25. See before, ch. 4. p. 392. n. 71.—Cypr. Ep. 56. al. 58. ad Pleb. Thibaritan. p. 125. See before, the third member of n. 65, preceding.

[76] Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. [Bened. Cateches. 2.] (t. 2. p. 237 a.)—*Ἐννόησον τί δέχῃ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνάσχῃ τυπτῆσαί τινα, μηδὲ τὴν τοσούτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν δώρῳ καταισχύνῃς τῇ τῆς πληγῆς ἁμαρτίᾳ. Ἐννόησον τί δέχῃ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ καθαρὰν αὐτὴν πλεονεξίας καὶ ἁρπαγῆς πάσης διατήρησον· λογίσαι, ὅτι οὐ τῇ χειρὶ δέχῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στόματι προσάγεις, καὶ καθαρὰν φύλαττε τὴν γλῶτταν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ὑβριστικῶν ῥημάτων, βλασφημίας, ἐπιορκίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων.*—Conf. Hom. 31. de Natal. Christ. t. 5. p. 479. (ibid. pp. 364 e. seqq.) *Μέλλοντες προσιέναι τῇ φρικτῇ καὶ θείᾳ ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τοῦτο ποιεῖτε.... μὴ θορυβοῦντες, μηδὲ λακτίζοντες, μηδὲ ὠθοῦντες τοὺς πλησίον, κ. τ. λ.*

that thou not only takest it in thy hands, but puttest it to thy mouth; therefore keep thy tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious words, from blasphemy, perjury, and all such kinds of evil discourse.' So again[77], reproving those who, in time of sickness, went to the Jews to get charms and amulets to cure their distemper, he asks them, 'What apology they would make to Christ for thus flying to his enemies in their distress? How they could call upon him in their prayers? With what conscience they could come into the church? With what eyes they could look upon the priest? With what hands they could touch the holy table?' And in another place[78], repressing the people's fury against Eutropius, (who, having procured a law to be made against men's taking sanctuary at the altar, was himself not long after, by falling under the emperor's displeasure, forced to fly thither for refuge; and then some of the people clamoured against him with revengeful thoughts, and cried out, it was but just that he should suffer the effects of his own law;) to suppress the people's anger in this case, and incline them to thoughts of mercy and pardon, he asks them, 'How otherwise they could take the sacrament into their hands, when sermon was done, and say that prayer which commands them to beg of God that he would forgive them their trespasses, as they forgave them that trespassed against them, if they persisted to call for justice upon their enemy?'

These are handsome turns of eloquence, grounded upon this innocent and pious custom of the people's taking the sacrament into their own hands, and they had often their due weight and force even upon the greatest minds, as may appear from the effect of that speech which St. Ambrose made to the Emperor Theodosius, when he had caused seven thousand men to be slaughtered without any formal trial at Thessalonica. St. Ambrose met him as he was entering the church, and thus accosted

[77] Hom. 6. [Savil. 5. Bened. 8.] cont. Jud. t. i. p. 539. (t. 1. p. 684 a.) Πῶς ἀπολογήσῃ τῷ Χριστῷ; πῶς αὐτὸν καλέσεις ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς; ποίῳ συνειδότι λοιπὸν ἐπιβήσῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας; ποίοις ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκεῖ ὄψει τὸν ἱερέα; ποίᾳ χειρὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅψῃ τραπέζης;

[78] Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4. p. 554. (b. t. 3. p. 385.) Πῶς δὲ, τοῦ θεάτρου τούτου λυθέντος, ὑμεῖς μυστηρίων ἅψεσθε, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν ἐρεῖτε ἐκείνην, δι' ἧς κελευόμεθα λέγειν, Ἄφες ἡμῖν, καθὼς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, τὸν ὑμῶν ὀφειλέτην ἀπαιτοῦντες δίκην;

him[79]: 'With what eyes wilt thou behold the house of our common Lord? With what feet wilt thou tread his holy pavement? Wilt thou stretch out those hands, yet dropping with the blood of that unjust slaughter, and with them lay hold of the most holy body of the Lord? Wilt thou put the cup of that blood to thy mouth, who hast shed so much blood by the hasty decree of an angry and impetuous mind?' This just reproof of the pious bishop, so handsomely addressed to the emperor, made such a deep impression on his mind, that it melted him into tears, and made him refrain from church as a penitent, till by way of satisfaction, among other things, by St. Ambrose's direction, he made this good law, 'that no sentence of death or proscription for the future should be executed till thirty days after its promulgation, that reason, and not passion, might judge of the equity and reasonableness of it.' Such brave speeches and such worthy effects did that ancient pious custom minister the occasion to of old, which is now laid aside in the Roman Church, and changed into another custom, that has neither precedent nor use; serving only to feed superstition, and keep men under the monstrous and inveterate prejudices of transubstantiation, which this innocent rite served in some measure to keep out of the minds of men in the primitive Church.

Whether the same custom was observed in delivering it to women and children.

7. It is further observable, that in this case no distinction was made between men, women, and children, but all received into their own hands, who were capable of so doing. Only in the latter end of the sixth century we find a rule made about women, that they should not receive it in their bare hand, but in a fair linen cloth. Some think this as ancient as St. Austin's time, because in one of the sermons *De Tempore*[80], that go under his name, there is mention made of it. For there it is

[79] Ap. Theodoret. l. 5. c. 18. (v. 3. p. 215. 43.) *Ποίοις τοίνυν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄψει τὸν τοῦ κοινοῦ Δεσπότου νεών; ποίοις δὲ ποσὶ τὸ δάπεδον ἐκεῖνο πατήσεις τὸ ἅγιον; πῶς δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτενεῖς, ἀποσταζούσας ἔτι τοῦ ἀδίκου φόνου τὸ αἷμα; πῶς δὲ τοιαύταις ὑποδέξῃ χερσὶ τοῦ Δεσπότου τὸ πανάγιον σῶμα; πῶς δὲ τῷ στόματι προσοίσεις τὸ αἷμα τὸ τίμιον, τοσοῦτον διὰ τὸν τοῦ θυμοῦ λόγον ἐκχέας παρανόμως αἷμα;*

[80] Serm. 252. [al. Serm. 229. append.] (t. 5. append. p. 376 g.) Omnes viri, quando communicare desiderant: [al. ad altare accessuri sunt] lavant manus suas et omnes mulieres [nitida] exhibent linteamina, ubi corpus Christi accipiant.

said, it was customary for men to wash their hands when they communicated, and for women to bring their little linen cloths to receive the body of Christ. But, as many of these Sermons are spurious, so this in particular is sometimes ascribed to other authors, and therefore no weight can be laid upon it. However the Council of Auxerre [81] in France, anno 590, [or 578, according to some authorities,] made a rule, 'that no woman should receive the eucharist in her bare hand.' But after what manner she should receive it in her hand, is not said. A great many learned persons think that another canon [82] in that Council orders them to receive it in a linen cloth, because there is mention made of women's wearing a *dominicale* when they communicate: which they interpret *a linen cloth upon their hand.* So not only Baronius, and Binius, and Sylvius, but also Bona [83], and Habertus [84], and even Mabillon [85], and Vossius [86], understand it. But Baluzius [87], who is often more sagacious than the rest in telling the meaning of hard words, says, it means only *the women's veil,* which they were obliged to wear upon their heads by ancient canons, conformable to the rule of the Apostle. And for this he quotes an ancient Collection of Canons, where in the Council of Mascon the *dominicale* is expressly styled *the veil which the women wore upon their heads at the communion.* So that whatever covering the women used for their hands, when they

[81] C. 36. (t. 5. p. 960 d.) Non licet mulieri nuda manu eucharistiam accipere.

[82] C. 42. (ibid. p. 961 a.) Unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, dominicalem suum habeat. Quod si qua non habuerit, usque in alium diem Dominicum non communicet.

[83] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 3. (p. 321.).... Notandum est, in susceptione eucharistiæ inter viros et mulieres discrimen aliquod fuisse: nam viri nuda manu, mulieres subjecto linteolo, quod dominicale dicebatur, illam accipiebant. Sic statutum legimus in Concilio Antissiodorensi, c. 36. *Non licet, &c.* et c. 42. *Ut unaquæque mulier dominicale suum habeat, &c.*

[84] Archierat. part. 10. observ. 8. (p. 264.) Linteamen illud dominicalis nomine donatum apud Gallos.

[85] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 5. n. 25. (p. 52.) Mulieres tamen linteo dominicali utebantur, ut notum est ex canone 42. Concilii Antissiodorensis.

[86] Thes. Theolog. disput. 21. de Symb. Cœn. Dom. quæst. 3. p. 477. (t. 6. p. 436. thes. 5.) Videtur Concilium illud [Antissiodorense] velle, ut fœminæ eucharistiam in mundo linteo acciperent: quod linteum esse vocatum *dominicale,* colligunt viri eruditi ex sequentibus canonis 42. verbis, *Unaquæque mulier, quando communicat, dominicale suum habeat, &c.*

[87] Not. in Gratian. caus. 33. q. 3. c. 19. (Oper. Ant. Augustin. t. 3. p. 210. col. dextr.) Si mulier communicans dominicale suum super caput suum non habuerit, usque ad alium diem Dominicum non communicet.

received the communion, it is plain it was a different thing from the *dominicale*.

The Council of Trullo[88] speaks of some in the Greek Church who would not receive the sacrament in their hands, but in some little instrument of gold or other precious material, out of a pretended reverence to it; but they condemn and forbid it as a superstitious practice; ordering all persons to receive the communion in their own hands, set in the form of a cross, as is appointed in Cyril's Catechisms[89], and some others before them: and for those that pretended to bring those little trinkets to receive the communion with, they order them to be rejected, as persons who preferred inanimate matter to the living image of God. And withal they threaten suspension to any priest that shall admit any communicants to receive in such manner. By which it is plain no alteration was as yet allowed in this matter in the Greek Church.

The eucharist usually delivered to the people with a certain form of words, to which they answered *Amen!*

8. The next thing observable is, that the priest, in delivering the elements to the people, used a certain form of words, to which the people answered *Amen!* The form at first seems to have been no more than this: *The body of Christ!* and, *The blood of Christ!* to each of which the people subjoined *Amen!* Tertullian[90] is thought to refer to this, when he asks a Christian, who was used to frequent the Roman theatres, 'How he could give testimony to a gladiator with that mouth wherewith he was wont to say *Amen!* in the holy mysteries?' But that may refer as well to the *Amen!* which they used at the end of the great consecration prayer as to this form at the delivery. However Cornelius, bishop of Rome, not long after speaks expressly of it. For he[91] says, Novatian was used to

[88] C. 101. (t. 6. p. 1186 a.) Εἴ τις τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος μετασχεῖν ἐν τῷ τῆς συνάξεως βουληθείη καιρῷ, καὶ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ τῇ μετουσίᾳ γενέσθαι, τὰς χεῖρας χρηματίζων εἰς τύπον σταυροῦ, οὕτω προσίτω, καὶ δέχέσθω τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆς χάριτος. Τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ χρυσίου ἢ ἄλλης ὕλης ἀντὶ χειρός τινα δοχεῖα κατασκευάζοντας πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θείου δώρου ὑποδοχὴν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας ἀξιουμένους, οὐδαμῶς προσιέμεθα, ὡς προτιμῶντας τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰκόνος τὴν ἄψυχον ὕλην καὶ ὑποχείριον. Εἰ δέ τις ἁλῷ τῆς ἀχράντου κοινωνίας μεταδιδοὺς τοῖς τοιαῦτα δοχεῖα προσφέρουσιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ ὁ ταῦτα ἐπιφερόμενος.

[89] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 18. [al. 21.) See before, s. 5. n. 46, preceding.

[90] De Spectac. c. 25. (p. 83 c.) Quale est.... ex ore, quo Amen! in sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere?

[91] Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 63. (v. 1. p. 315. 3.) Ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς, καὶ διανέμων ἑκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, καὶ

make the people of his party swear by the body and blood of Christ, when he delivered the eucharist to them, that they would not forsake his party and go over to Cornelius. 'So,' says he, 'every man, instead of saying *Amen!* when he takes the bread, is forced to say, *I will not return to Cornelius.*' The Author of the Constitutions[92] speaks of the form in this manner: 'Let the bishop give the oblation, saying, *The body of Christ!* and let the receiver answer *Amen!* Let the deacon hold the cup, and when he gives it say, *The blood of Christ, the cup of life!* and let him that drinks it say *Amen!*' So St. Cyril[93] bids his communicant receive the body of Christ, and say *Amen!* And St. Ambrose[94], 'The priest says to thee, *The body of Christ!* and thou answerest *Amen!*' The like as to the people's answering *Amen!* is noted by St. Austin[95] as the general practice of the whole world. And so by St. Jerom[96], Leo Magnus[97], and many others.

By the time of Gregory the Great the form of delivery was a little enlarged: for then[98] they said, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul!* And by the time of Alcuin[99]

ἐπιδιδοὺς τοῦτο ὀμνύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαιπώρους ἀνθρώπους ἀναγκάζει, κατέχων ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶ τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος, καὶ μὴ ἀφεὶς, ἕστ' ἂν ὀμνύοντες εἴπωσι ταῦτα· τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγοις· Ὅμοσόν μοι κατὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μηδὲ ποτέ με καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον· καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἄνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γεύεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιτο· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκεῖνον τὸ Ἀμὴν, Οὐκέτι ἀνήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον λέγει.

[92] l. 8. c. 13. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 405.) Ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος διδότω τὴν προσφορὰν, λέγων, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ· καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος λεγέτω, Ἀμήν· ὁ δὲ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς λεγέτω, Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς· καὶ ὁ πίνων λεγέτω, Ἀμήν.

[93] Catech. Mystag. 5. n. 18. See before, s. 5. n. 46, preceding.

[94] De Sacrament. l. 4. c. 5. (t. 2. p. 372 b. n. 25.) Dicit tibi sacerdos, Corpus Christi! et tu dicis, Amen! id est, Verum!—De Initiatis, [al. de Mysteriis,] c. 9. (ibid. p. 340 a. n. 54.).... Post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis, Amen!

[95] Cont. Faust. l. 12. c. 10. (t. 8. p. 231 f.) Habet enim magnam vocem Christi sanguis in terra, cum eo accepto ab omnibus gentibus respondetur, Amen!

[96] Ep. 62. [al. 82.] ad Theophil. (t. 1. p. 510 a.) Qua conscientia ad eucharistiam Christi accedam et respondebo Amen! dum de caritate dubitem porrigentes?

[97] Serm. 6. [al. 91. c. 3.] de Jejun. Sept. Mens. (t. 1. p. 356. lin. ult.) Sic sacræ mensæ communicare debetis, ut nihil prorsus de veritate corporis Christi et sanguinis ambigatis. Hoc enim ore sumitur, quod fide creditur; et frustra ab illis Amen! respondetur, a quibus contra id, quod accipitur, disputatur.

[98] Vid. Ioan. Diacon. Vit. Greg. M. l. 2. ap. Bon. Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. s. 3. (p. 320.) (Oper. Greg. t. 4. p. 58 d.) Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam!

[99] De Offic. ap. Bon. ibid. (p. 320.) *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam æter-*

and Charles the Great it was augmented into this form, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul unto everlasting life!* Which is much the same with the former part of that which is now used in our Liturgy. The Scotch Liturgy also orders the people to answer *Amen!* which, we see, is conformable to ancient practice. The Romanists generally draw this answer of the people into an argument for transubstantiation. Because saying *Amen!* implies as much as the true body of Christ. But they might as well argue that the bread is transubstantiated into the bodies of the people, and that they too are but one proper, substantial, true numerical body with their Lord; because St. Austin[1] says, this is one meaning of the body of Christ, to which, when the priest spake it, they answered *Amen!* 'Ye answer *Amen!*' says he, 'to what ye are, that is, the body of Christ, and by your answer subscribe to the truth of it. Thou hearest the priest say, *The body of Christ!* and thou answerest *Amen!* Be thou a member of the body of Christ, that thy *Amen!* may be true.' In another place[2] he says, it denoted 'their belief of the reality of Christ's suffering for them, that his blood was truly shed for their sakes, and that they made profession of this by saying *Amen! This is true.*' And again[3]: 'Christ shed his blood upon the cross for our sakes: and ye, who are communicants, know what testimony ye bear to the blood which ye receive: for ye say *Amen!* to it. Ye know what that blood is which was shed for many, for it is the remission of sins.' So that in whatever sense we take it, there is no necessity of making it to signify

nam.—Conf. Helgald. in Vita Roberti, regis Galliæ. (ap. Bon. ibid. p. 320. col. dextr.) A dante sacerdote dicitur, *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit tibi salus animæ et corporis!*

[1] Serm. ad Infant. ap. Fulgent. de Bapt. Æthiop. c. 11. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 9. p. 178 a. 8.) Ad id quod estis, Amen! respondetis, et respondendo subscribitis. Audis enim corpus Christi! et respondes, Amen! Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen tuum.

[2] Serm. de Quart. Fer. s. Cult. Agri Dom. c. 3. t. 9. p. 317. (t. 6. p. 599 e.) Quid dicit omnis homo [terra] quando accipit sanguinem Christi? Amen! dicit. Quid est Amen? Verum est. Quid est verum? Quia fusus est sanguis Christi.

[3] Serm. 29. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 150. [al. Serm. 181.] (t. 5. p. 869 c.) In ipsa enim cruce, id est, in ipsa tendicula pro nobis sanguinem fudit: et nostis fideles quale testimonium perhibeatis sanguini quem accepistis. Certe enim dicitis Amen! Nostis qui sit sanguis, qui pro multis effusus est in remissionem peccatorum.

a corporeal and substantial presence, which it is certain St. Austin never thought of.

How Novatian and others abused the communion to wicked purposes.

9. It is here proper, before we pass on, to make a just reflection upon the horrible abuses of the communion committed by some against the true end and design of it, which was intended by Christ to represent our union with himself and one another, but wicked men made use of it to base ends and purposes. We have already[3] heard how Novatian abused it to strengthen his schism, and bind men over by an oath upon it, that they would not desert his interest and party. And it was a like abuse that was some time allowed in the superstitious times of Popery under the general notion of many other superstitious practices called *canonical purgations.* Which was, that when any one was suspected of a crime, he was to purge himself by taking the sacrament upon it. Gratian cites a canon out of the Council of Worms[4] to this purpose: 'Whereas it often happens that thefts are committed in monasteries, and they that commit them are not known: we therefore order, that when the brethren are to purge themselves of such suspicions, mass shall be celebrated by the abbot, or some other appointed by him, and when it is ended, every one of them shall communicate, saying these words, Let the body of Christ be my purgation this day.' But though this was allowed by a Council, it is justly reckoned a great abuse by all sober men. Antonius Augustinus[5], in his Emendations upon Gratian, passes this censure upon it, 'that it is to be ascribed to the great corruption and filth of the times which allowed it.' For even, as the old glosser upon Gratian[6] observes, 'the communion was not to be given to suspected persons:' as he proves from other laws, particularly the Extra-

[3] See before, s. 8. n. 91, preceding.

[4] C. 15. ap. Gratian. caus. 2. quæst. 5. c. 23. (t. 1. p. 651. 62.) Sæpe contingit, ut in monasteriis furta perpetrentur, et, qui hæc committant, ignorentur. Idcirco statuimus, ut quando ipsi fratres de talibus se expurgare debuerint, missa ab abbate celebretur, vel ab aliquo, cui ipse abbas præceperit, præsentibus fratribus: et sic expleta missa, omnes communicent in hæc verba; *Corpus Domini sit mihi ad probationem hodie!*

[5] De Emendat. Gratian. l. 1. Dialog. 15. (p. 172.) .... Sed hæc omnia sunt illorum temporum sordibus ascribenda.

[6] Glossa in loc. (t. 1. p. 651. not. c.) Huic capiti est derogatum, quia suspectis non est danda eucharistia.

vagant *De Purgatione Canonica, cap. Cum dilectis.* And therefore he says, this canon in Gratian was of no force, being disannulled in law. So that we need not scruple to call this a great abuse of the holy communion, though it had synodical authority some time to enjoin the practice of it. I know nothing hardly that exceeds it under pretence of religion, unless it be that more horrible abuse, which Baronius[7] himself relates out of the Greek historians, concerning Pope Theodore and the Roman Council, anno 648, who, in their censure of Pyrrhus and Paulus, the Monothelite heretics, took blood out of the cup, and mingled it with ink, and therewith subscribed their condemnation. An unparalleled instance of intemperate zeal, for which there was neither law nor example in the Roman Church, as Baronius confesses, nor any instance like it, save one in the Greek Church, when Ignatius in the Council of Constantinople, anno 869, made use of the blood in the sacred cup instead of ink, to condemn his adversary Photius, as Baronius[8] also tells us out of Nicetas in his Life of Ignatius.

But I pass over these horrible abuses, more becoming Draco and his sanguinary laws than the pens and practices of Christian bishops, and go on with the more innocent practices of the primitive Church.

Proper Psalms for the occa-

10. During the time of communicating, while the elements were distributed to the people, it was usual in most places for

[7] An. 648. n. 15. ex Theophane. (t. 8. p. 391 a.) Pyrrhus cum Roma discessisset, et Ravennam pervenisset, ut canis ad vomitum suum reversus est. Quo Papa Theodorus comperto, plenitudine convocata ecclesiæ, ad sepulchrum verticis Apostolorum accessit, et divino calice expostulato, ex vivifico sanguine in atramentum stillavit, et ita propria manu depositionem Pyrrhi excommunicati facit. Hanc excommunicationem Pyrrhi tunc per Theodorum Papam Romæ factam annales [Theoph. 20. Heracl. Imper.] habent. Sed de sanguine Christi ex calice distillato in atramentum, in signum maledictionis et damnationis æternæ, in ritibus sacris ecclesiæ Romanæ haud aliqua hujusmodi de his reperitur esse præscripta lex, vel factum ipsum aliquo alio, quod sciamus, declaratum exemplo.

[8] An. 869. n. 47. (t. 10. p. 416 d.) Hic non prætermittendum, quod habet Nicetas in Vita Ignatii, episcopos subscribentes damnationi Photii, in majorem hominis detestationem (quod factum legimus in damnatione Pyrrhi pseudopatriarchæ Monothelitæ) intinxisse calamum in sacrum sanguinem Christi. Ait enim: Subscribunt autem hujusmodi damnationi non simplici atramento facto chirographo, sed, horrendum dictu, ut ab his, qui id norunt, accepi, ipso videlicet Salvatoris sanguine calamum tingentes ita damnarunt Photium. Hæc Nicetas.

the singers or all the people to sing some Psalm suitable to the occasion. The author of the Constitutions [9] prescribes the thirty-third Psalm, which in our division is the thirty-fourth, for this purpose, "I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall be always in my mouth." Which was chiefly sung upon the account of those words relating to the sacrament, "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious, &c." For so St. Cyril more plainly declares when [10] he says, 'After this you hear one singing with a divine melody, and exhorting you to partake of the holy mysteries, and saying, O taste and see that the Lord is gracious!' St. Jerom [11] seems also to intimate that they sung both this and the forty-fifth Psalm, when he says, 'They received the eucharist always with a good conscience, hearing the Psalmist sing, "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious!" and singing with him, "My heart is inditing of a good matter, I speak of the things which I have made unto the King!" (This being a Psalm peculiarly setting forth the praises of Christ, and the affection of the Church toward him;) "Hearken, O daughter, and consider, incline thine ear, forget also thine own people and thy father's house: so shall the King have pleasure in thy beauty; for he is thy Lord God, and worship thou him!"'

sion usuall sung whil the people were com- municatin

In Africa they seem to have delighted much in this custom, insomuch that when one Hilarius [12], a tribune, railed against it and all other singing of psalms at the altar, St. Austin wrote a book particularly in vindication of it, which is now lost, but he mentions it in his Retractions [13]. And both he and Tertullian

[9] L. 8. c. 13. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 405.) *Ψαλμὸς δὲ λεγέσθω τριακοστὸς τρίτος, ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς.*

[10] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 17. [al. 20.] (p. 331 b.) *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μέτα μέλους θείου, προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ λέγοντος, Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος.*

[11] Ep. 28. [al. 71.] ad Lucin. Bœticum. (t. 1. p. 432 e.) Utinam possimus eucharistiam absque condemnatione nostri, et pungente conscientia, semper accipere, et Psalmistam audire dicentem, *Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus;* et cum eo canere, *Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum. . . . . Audi, filia, et vide, et inclina aurem tuam, et obliviscere populi et domus patris tui. Et concupiscet Rex decorem tuum, quoniam ipse est Deus, Dominus tuus: incurva te ei.*

[12] [In Editis scribitur Hilarius et Hilarium. In MSS. vero Hilarus et Hilarum, ut imprimi curavimus. Ed. Bened in loc. Ed.]

[13] L. 2. c. 11. (t. 1. p. 45 f.). . . . Morem, qui tunc esse apud Carthaginem cœperat, ut hymni ad altare dicerentur de Psalmorum libro, sive ante oblationem, sive cum distri-

seem to intimate that among other Psalms they sung the one hundred and thirty-third, "Behold how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren to dwell together in unity." For Tertullian[14] says they were used to sing this Psalm when they supped together; by which most probably he means the Lord's supper. And St. Austin[15] says 'it was a Psalm so noted and well known by its constant use, that they who knew nothing of the Psalter could repeat that Psalm, as having often heard it sung,' probably at the altar. And he seems to say[16] that they sung the thirty-third Psalm upon the same occasion. For he says expressly they sung it daily, "I will bless the Lord at all times, his praise shall ever be in my mouth." Which, considering how many writers before speak of it as sung at the distribution of the elements, it is probable St. Austin means the same, that it was sung daily at the altar. St. Chrysostom says they sung the hundred and forty-fifth Psalm upon this occasion, chiefly upon the account of those words in it, "The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." For he interprets this of their spiritual meat at the Lord's table. 'This Psalm,' says he[17], 'is diligently to be noted: for this is the Psalm which has these words, which they that are

bueretur populo quod fuisset oblatum, maledica reprehensione ubicunque poterat lacerabat..... Huic respondi.... et vocatur liber ipse *Contra Hilarium* [s. *Hilarum*].

[14] De Jejun. c. 13. (p. 552 a.) Vide quam bonum et quam jucundum habitare fratres in unum. Hoc tu psallere non facile nosti, nisi quo tempore cum compluribus cœnas.

[15] In Ps. 132. p. 629. (t. 4. p. 1484 a.) Psalmus brevis est, sed valde notus et nominatus. *Ecce quam bonum et quam jucundum, &c.* Ita sonus iste dulcis est, ut et, qui psalterium nesciunt, ipsum versum cantent.

[16] Ibid. p. 630. (p. 1486 f.) Impletum est in eo, quod quotidie cantamus, si et moribus consonemus; *Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore, semper laus ejus in ore meo.*

[17] In Ps. 144. t. 3. p. 594. (t. 5. p. 466 e.) Μετὰ ἀκριβείας τούτῳ μάλιστα προσέχειν ἄξιον τῷ ψαλμῷ· οὗτος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ τὰ ῥήματα ἔχων ταῦτα, ἅπερ οἱ μεμνημένοι συνεχῶς ὑποψάλλουσι, λέγοντες, Οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ· ὁ γὰρ γενόμενος υἱὸς, καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολαύων πνευματικῆς, δοξάζειν δίκαιος ἂν εἴη τὸν Πατέρα· Υἱὸς γάρ, φησι, δοξάζει τὸν πατέρα, καὶ δοῦλος τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ φοβηθήσεται· γέγονας υἱὸς, καὶ τραπέζης ἀπολαύων πνευματικῆς, σιτούμενος τὰς σάρκας καὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναγεννῆσάν σε, ἀποδίδου τοίνυν τῆς τοσαύτης εὐεργεσίας τὴν ἀμοιβὴν, καὶ δόξαζε τὸν τοιαῦτα παρεσχηκότα· καὶ, ἀναγινώσκων τὰ ῥήματα, ῥύθμιζέ σου τὴν γνώμην πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ λέγων, Ὑψώσω σε ὁ Θεός μου, ὁ Βασιλεύς μου, πολλὴν ἐπιδείκνυσο τὴν οἰκείωσιν, ἵνα καὶ περὶ σοῦ λέγῃ ὁ Θεὸς, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ· Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ.

initiated in the holy mysteries sing continually in concert, saying, "The eyes of all wait upon thee, and thou givest them their meat in due season." For he that is made a son, and partaker of the spiritual table, does justly give glory to his father. Thou art a son, and partaker of the spiritual table; thou feedest upon that flesh and blood which regenerated thee: therefore give thanks to him that vouchsafes thee so great a blessing, glorify him who grants thee these favours: when thou readest the words, compose and tune thy soul to what is said, and when thou sayest, "I will exalt thee, my God, my King," (which are the first words of this Psalm,) show thy great love and affection to him, that he may say to thee, as he said to Abraham, I am thy God.' In the Liturgy which goes under St. Chrysostom's name [18] there is mention of the people's singing at this time, but no Psalm specified, as here in his genuine works. In the Liturgy called St. James's [19] of Jerusalem, the words of the thirty-fourth Psalm, "O taste and see that the Lord is gracious," are appointed to be sung by the singers. St. Mark's Liturgy [20] appoints the forty-second Psalm, "As the hart desireth the water-brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." And Cotelerius [21] has observed, that in some ancient rituals at the end of Gregory's *Sacramentarium* the hundred and thirty-ninth Psalm is appointed: "O Lord, thou hast searched me out, and known me, &c." So that though the custom of singing Psalms in this part of the service was universal, the particular Psalms varied, according to the wisdom and choice of the precentor, or the different rules and usages of different Churches.

I have now stated and resolved the several questions and cases that may be put concerning the manner of communicating in the ancient Church: and there remains but one thing more to be considered, which was the solemn thanksgiving and prayers after receiving, which may be included with some

[18] T. 4. p. 618. (t. 12. p. 782 b, d.) Μετὰ τὰ εἰρηνικὰ ὁ χορὸς ψάλλει, κ.τ.λ. Μετὰ τὰ εἰρηνικὰ τὰ δεύτερα ψάλλει ὁ χορὸς, κ.τ.λ.

[19] Ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. (t. 2. p. 20 e. 2.) Διάκονος. Ἐν εἰρήνῃ Χριστοῦ ψάλλωμεν. Οἱ ψάλται. Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος.

[20] Ibid. p. 40. (c. 6.) Ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

[21] In Constit. Apost. l. 8. c. 13. (v. 1. p. 405. n. 79.) In Missa appendicis ad Librum Sacramentorum S. Gregorii, p. 265, canitur tunc temporis Psalmus 138. *Domine probasti me:* in Marci autem Liturgia Psalmus 41.

other concomitant rites in the general name of their post-communion-service; of which we will discourse in the following chapter.

CHAP. VI.

Of their post-communion-service.

The communion-service closed with several sorts of thanksgiving. First, the deacon's bidding-prayer and thanksgiving.

1. WHEN all the people had communicated, and the deacons had removed the remainder of the elements into the *pastophoria*, or place appointed for their reception; it was usual, first, for a deacon to admonish the people to return thanks for the benefits which they had received. The form of this exhortation in the Constitutions[22] runs thus: 'Now that we have received the precious body and the precious blood of Christ, let us give thanks to him that hath vouchsafed to make us partakers of his holy mysteries; and let us beseech him, that they may not be to our condemnation, but salvation, for the benefit of our soul and body, for the preservation of us in piety, for the remission of our sins, and obtaining of the life of the world to come.' Then he bids them rise up, and commend themselves to God by Christ: upon which the bishop makes a prayer of thanksgiving and commendation of the people to God in the words following[23] in the next section.

[22] L. 8. c. 14. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 405.) Μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν, μὴ εἰς κρῖμα, ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

[23] [Ibid. c. 15. (p. ead.) Δέσποτα, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ Παιδός, ὁ τῶν μετ' εὐθύτητος ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐπήκοος, ὁ καὶ τῶν σιωπώντων ἐπιστάμενος τὰς ἐντεύξεις· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων, ἃ παρέσχου ἡμῖν, εἰς πληροφορίαν τῶν καλῶς ἐγνωσμένων· εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν πλημμελημάτων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἐπικέκληται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καί σοι προσφωνειώμεθα. Ὁ χωρίσας ἡμᾶς τῆς τῶν ἀσεβῶν κοινωνίας, ἔνωσον ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν καθωσιωμένων σοι· στήριξον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσει· τὰ ἀγνοούμενα ἀποκάλυψον· τὰ λείποντα προσαναπλήρωσον· τὰ ἐγνωσμένα κράτυνον· τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀμώμους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ σου· τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατήρησον ἐν εἰρήνῃ· τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· τοὺς ἀέρας ἐν εὐκρασίᾳ· τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν εὐφορίᾳ· τὸν κόσμον ἐν παναλκεῖ προνοίᾳ· τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πολεμικὰ πράϋνον· τὰ πεπλανημένα ἐπίστρεψον· τὸν λαόν σου ἁγίασον· τοὺς ἐν παρθενίᾳ διατήρησον· τοὺς ἐν γάμῳ διαφύλαξον ἐν πίστει· τοὺς ἐν ἁγνείᾳ ἐνδυνάμωσον· τὰ νήπια ἄδρυνον· τοὺς νεοτελεῖς βεβαίωσον· τοὺς ἐν κατηχήσει παίδευσον, καὶ τῆς μυήσεως ἀξίους ἀνάδειξον· καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμή, καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. *Grischov.*]

2. 'O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy Christ, thy blessed Son; who hearest those that with an upright heart call upon thee, who knowest the supplications of those that in silence pray unto thee; we give thee thanks for that thou hast vouchsafed to make us partakers of thy holy mysteries, which thou hast given us for the confirmation or full assurance of those things which we stedfastly believe and know, for the preservation of our piety, for the remission of our sins; because the name of thy Christ is called upon us, and we are united unto thee. Thou, that hast separated us from the communion of the ungodly, unite us with them that are sanctified unto thee; confirm us in thy truth by the coming of thy Holy Spirit and his resting upon us; reveal unto us what things we are ignorant of, supply what we are deficient in, and strengthen us in what we know. Preserve thy priests unblameable in thy service, keep our princes in peace, our governors in righteousness, the air in good temperature, the fruits of the earth in plenty, and the whole world by thy almighty providence. Pacify the nations that are inclined to war; convert those that go astray; sanctify thy people; preserve those that are in virginity; keep those that are married in thy faith; strengthen those that are in chastity; bring infants to mature age; confirm those that are newly baptized; instruct the catechumens, and make them fit and worthy of baptism: and gather us all into the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord, with whom unto thee and the Holy Spirit be glory, honour, and adoration, world without end. Amen.'

The bishop's thanksgiving, commendation of the people to God.

3. After this, the deacon bids the people bow their heads to God in Christ, and receive the benediction. Then the bishop pronounces the benediction in this following prayer[24]: 'Al-

The bishop's benediction

[24] [Ibid. (p. 406.) Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Παντοκράτωρ, ὁ Ἀληθινὸς καὶ Ἀσύγκριτος, ὁ πανταχοῦ ὢν, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι παρὼν, καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ὡς ἐνόντι ὑπάρχων, ὁ τόποις μὴ περιγραφόμενος, ὁ χρόνοις μὴ παλαιούμενος, ὁ αἰῶσι μὴ περατούμενος, ὁ λόγοις μὴ παραγόμενος, ὁ γενέσει μὴ ὑποκείμενος, ὁ φυλακῆς μὴ δεόμενος, ὁ φθορᾶς ἀνώτερος, ὁ τροπῆς ἀνεπίδεκτος, ὁ φύσει ἀναλλοίωτος, ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον, ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος, ὁ γνωστὸς πάσαις ταῖς μετ' εὐνοίας ἐκζητούσαις σε λογικαῖς φύσεσιν, ὁ καταλαμβανόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ ἐπιζητούντων σε, ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶντος, τοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύσαντος λαοῦ σου, εὐμενὴς γενόμενος ἐπάκουσόν μου διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τοὺς σοι κεκλικότας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν αὐχένας· καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν, τὰ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι· καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀπόβλητον ποιήσῃς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας σου·

mighty God, and True, with whom no one can compare, who art every where, and present unto all, yet not in them as things of which they consist, who art circumscribed by no place, nor grown old with time, nor bounded by ages; who art without generation, and needest no preserver; who art above all corruption, incapable of change, and unalterable by nature; that dwellest in light which no one can approach unto, and art invisible by nature; that art known to all rational natures that seek thee with an upright heart, and art apprehended by those that search after thee with a pure mind; O thou God of Israel, the Israel that truly sees thee, and the people that believes in Christ, show thyself propitious, and hear me for thy name's sake. Bless this people, that bow their necks unto thee, and grant them the petitions of their heart, that are expedient for them, and suffer none of them to fall from thy kingdom; but sanctify them, keep and protect, help and deliver them from the adversary, and from every enemy; preserve their houses, and defend their going out and their coming in: for to thee belongs glory, praise, majesty, worship, and adoration; and to thy Son Jesus, thy Christ, our Lord, and God, and King; and to the Holy Spirit, now and for ever, world without end. Amen.'

The deacon's form of dismissing the people with the short prayer, *Go in peace!*

4. After this, the deacon used a short form of words in the nature of a prayer for peace, which was the signal wherewith he dismissed the whole assembly; intimating that the whole service was now finished, and therefore praying that the peace of God might continue with them, and preserve them, he said, Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Depart in peace!* This was the usual form of breaking up all religious assemblies in the Greek Church, as we have noted before[24] in speaking of the daily morning service out of this author: and we are assured of it from St. Chrysostom, who, speaking of the frequent use of that short prayer of salutation, *Peace be with you!* particularly takes notice of the deacon's using it at the dismission of the

ἀλλὰ ἁγίασον αὐτούς· φρούρησον· σκέπασον· ἀντιλαβοῦ· ῥῦσαι τοῦ ἀλλοτροίου καὶ παντὸς ἐχθροῦ· τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν φύλαξον· τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους φρούρησον· ὅτι σοι δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, σέβας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ, τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ Βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. *Grischov.*]

[24] B. 13. ch. 10. s. 8. v. 4. p. 557.

assembly. 'The deacon,' says he[25], 'when he dismisses you from this meeting, does it with this prayer, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, *Go in peace!*' Whence we may learn that they did not use it as an empty form, but as a short solemn prayer, to send them away with a benediction, or the blessing of God upon them.

5. As for the other prayers used in this part of the service, we have no particular account of them in other writers. But they tell us in general, that such forms of praise and thanksgiving were always used after the communion. St. Austin[26] says, 'when all was ended, and every one had received the communion, a solemn thanksgiving concluded the whole action.' And so Cyril of Jerusalem[27] bids his newly baptized communicant stay, when the communion was done, 'to give thanks to God, who had vouchsafed to make him a partaker of so great mysteries.'

What account we have of these prayers in other writers.

St. Chrysostom has a long invective against those who would not stay these last prayers, but, as soon as they had communicated themselves, would be gone, and leave their brethren to give thanks alone: whom he compares to Judas, who left the Apostles after supper, before the last hymn was sung; but all the other Apostles stayed to sing the hymn with their Lord, from whose example the Church took up the custom of making these last prayers after the communion. It is an excellent passage, and therefore I will transcribe it at length in his own words[28]: 'Would you have me to tell you what is the cause of

[25] Hom. 52. In eos, qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. p. 713. [Bened. Hom. 3. cont. Jud.] (t. 1. p. 614 c.) Καὶ ὁ διάκονος, ... τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἀπολύων ὑμᾶς, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπεύχεται λέγων, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

[26] Ep. 59. [al. 149.] ad Paulin. quæst. 5. (t. 2. p. 509 f.) Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento, *gratiarum actio* cuncta concludit, &c.

[27] Catech. [23.] Mystag. 5. n. 19. [al. 22.] (p. 332 b.) Εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν εὐχαρίστει τῷ Θεῷ τῷ καταξιώσαντί σε τῶν τηλικούτων μυστηρίων.

[28] Hom. 34. de Bapt. Christ. t. 1. p. 317. (t. 2. p. 374 c.) Βούλεσθε, εἶπω, πόθεν ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἡ κραυγὴ γίνεται; ὅτι οὐ διὰ παντὸς ὑμῖν τὰς θύρας ἀποκλείομεν, ἀλλὰ συγχωροῦμεν πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης εὐχαριστίας ἀποπηδᾶν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν οἴκαδε· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ πολλῆς ἂν εἴη καταφρονήσεως. Τί ποιεῖς, ἄνθρωπε; τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρόντος, τῶν ἀγγέλων παρεστώτων, τῆς φρικτῆς ταύτης τραπέζης προκειμένης, τῶν ἀδελφῶν σου μυσταγωγουμένων ἔτι, αὐτὸς καταλιπὼν ἀποπηδᾷς; καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον μὲν εἰ κληθῇς, κἂν πρότερον κορεσθῇς, οὐ τολμᾷς, τῶν ἄλλων ἀνακειμένων, ἀναχωρῆσαι πρὸ τῶν φίλων αὐτός· ἐνταῦθα δέ, τῶν φρικτῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων ἐπιτελουμένων, τῆς ἱερᾶς τελετῆς συνεστώσης ἔτι, καταλιμπάνεις ἐν μέσῳ πάντα, καὶ ἀναχωρεῖς; καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα συγγνώμης ἄξια; ποίας δὲ ἀπολογίας; Βούλεσθε εἶπω, τίνος ἔργον ποιοῦσιν οἱ πρὸ τῆς συμπληρώσεως ἀναχω-

noise and tumult in the church? It is because we shut not the doors upon you all the time of divine service, but suffer you to draw off and go home before the last thanksgiving; which is a great contempt of God's ordinance. What meanest thou, O man, in so doing? Christ is present, the angels stand by him, the tremendous table is spread, thy brethren are yet communicating, and dost thou desert them and fly off? If thou art called to a common entertainment, thou dost not presume, whilst the rest are sitting, to depart before thy friends, though thou hast filled thyself before them: and dost thou here leave all and depart, whilst the holy mysteries of Christ are celebrating, and the sacred offices performing? What pardon can be expected, what apology can be made for this? Shall I tell you plainly whose work they are a doing, who thus depart before all is finished, and wait not for the eucharistical hymns at the end of the supper? It may perhaps seem an hard and odious saying, but it is necessary to be said, to reprove the negligence of many. When Judas communicated at the last supper in that last night, whilst all the rest were sitting at table, he stole off and went out: and they imitate him who go away before the last thanksgiving. For if he had not gone out, he had not been made the traitor; if he had not deserted his fellow-disciples, he had not perished; if he had not broken away from the flock, the wolf had not found him alone; if he had not separated himself from the shepherd, he had not been a prey to the wild beast. Upon this account we find him among the Jews, but the rest stay to sing an hymn, and go forth with their Lord. Do you not now see that the last prayers after the sacrifice take their rise from that example?' Thus far St. Chrysostom, who seems to intimate that

ροῦντες, καὶ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους ὠδὰς οὐκ ἐπιφέροντες τῷ τέλει τῆς τραπέζης; τάχα φορτικόν ἐστι τὸ μέλλον ῥηθήσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀναγκαῖον λεχθῆναι διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ῥᾳθυμίαν· ὅτε ἐκοινώνησε τὸ ἔσχατον δεῖπνον ὁ Ἰούδας, τὸ κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν νύκτα ἐκείνην, τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνακειμένων, αὐτὸς προπηδήσας ἐξέβη. Ἐκεῖνον τοίνυν μιμοῦνται καὶ οὗτοι, οἱ πρὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀποπηδῶντες εὐχαριστίας· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἐξῆλθεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐγένετο προδότης· εἰ μὴ κατέλιπε τοὺς συμμαθητάς, οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλετο· εἰ μὴ τῆς ἀγέλης ἑαυτὸν ἀπέρρηξεν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν εὗρεν ὁ λύκος μόνον, καὶ κατέφαγεν· εἰ μὴ τοῦ ποιμένος ἑαυτὸν ἐχώρισεν, οὐκ ἂν θηριάλωτος γέγονε. Διὰ δὴ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνος μὲν μετὰ Ἰουδαίων, οὗτοι δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Δεσπότου ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον· ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἡ ἐσχάτη μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν εὐχὴ κατ' ἐκεῖνον γίνεται τὸν τύπον;—Hom. 82. al. 83. in Matth. (t. 7. p. 784 b.) *Εὐχαρίστησε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δοῦναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστῶμεν· εὐχαρίστησε καὶ ὕμνησε μετὰ τὸ δοῦναι, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῶμεν.*

they had not only prayers, but also psalms and hymns of thanksgiving, in imitation of our Saviour's singing an hymn, after his last supper with his disciples. And it is very probable, from what St. Chrysostom tells us in another place[29], that the Church had such an affection for David's Psalms, that she used and interspersed them in all her offices:—*Primus et medius et novissimus est David, David was in the beginning, and middle, and end of her services.*

It is true the Author of the Constitutions takes no notice of psalms or hymns in the forementioned place: but in another place[30], where he has also a prayer, μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν, *after participation*, besides the thanksgiving, there is an order to sing *Maranatha*, that is, *The kingdom of God cometh!* or *The Lord cometh!* And also, *Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord! Blessed be the Lord our God, who was manifested to us in the flesh!* Which seems to imply that there were different usages in different Churches, and that this Author made his collections vary sometimes from themselves, by interposing the rites of different Churches. In the old Gothic Missal, published by Mabillon, [in his valuable work *De Liturgia Gallicana,*] there is nothing appointed after the communion, but only two prayers, the one called *post-communionem*, and the other *collectio, the collect*, or *concluding prayer*. And it is much after the same manner in the Mosarabic Liturgy, of which Mabillon gives a specimen or two in his Appendix. But in the Greek Liturgies, as that under the name of St. James[31], besides the prayers, there are several short hymns and praises collected out of the Psalms and other Scriptures appointed to be said after the communion: as that of the fifty-seventh Psalm, "Set up thyself, O God, above the heavens, and thy glory above all the earth!" And, "Blessed be the name of the Lord, from this time forth for evermore!" And, "Blessed be he, that cometh in the name of the Lord. Save thy people, O God, and bless thine heritage!" And, "O let our mouth be filled with thy

[29] Hom. 6. de Pœnitent. in Edit. Latin. See b. 13. ch. 6. s. 10. v. 4. p. 479. n. 58.

[30] L. 7. c. 26. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 371.) Αὕτη μαραναθά. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ Υἱῷ Δαβίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου· Θεὸς Κύριος, ὁ ἐπιφανεὶς ἡμῖν ἐν σαρκί.

[31] Ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. (t. 2. p. 21 a. 8. b. 2. b. 6. c. 9.) Ὑψιώθητι ἐπὶ τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, κ. τ. λ.

praise, that we may sing of thy glory and honour all the day long!" (Psal. 71, 7.) So in Chrysostom's Liturgy the people are appointed to sing those words of the hundred and thirteenth Psalm[32], "Blessed be the name of the Lord from this time forth for evermore!" And the whole thirty-fourth Psalm[33], "I will always give thanks unto the Lord, his praise shall ever be in my mouth."

6. And it is observable that in all the ancient forms the thanksgiving prayers are always in the plural number, representing the whole body of the communicants as returning their praises to God for the mercies they had received. For then there were no private nor solitary masses, where the priest says the office alone by himself without any hearers, or communicates alone without any partakers; but they all assisted and communicated together: and so long it was very rational and proper to return a general thanksgiving for the benefits of the communion which they had all received. But since private and solitary masses came in, all these forms are very improper and absurd, to tell God they have all received the sacrament, and bless him for it, when none has received it but one, and sometimes none has so much as heard the office, but the priest alone that repeats it. Yet these offices now stand in the Roman Mass, to the eternal reproach of those that abuse them. For they still say[34], *Quod ore sumpsimus, &c.!—That which we have received with our mouths*, O Lord, grant that we may receive with a pure mind; and of a temporal gift make it unto us an eternal remedy! And there are many other prayers in the same tenour; all which suppose many to have communicated, when no one has received but the priest alone.

Bona[35] confesses this is not according to primitive custom: 'for

[32] T. 4. p. 621. (t. 12. p. 797 a.) Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου.

[33] Ibid. (p. 798 b.) Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον.

[34] Missal. Rom. p. 21. (Paris. 1739. c. 10. s. 5.) De Ritu Celebrandi Missam, et in Canone Missæ. p. 306. (ibid. p. 234.) Quod ore sumpsimus, Domine, pura mente capiamus, et de munere temporali fiat nobis remedium sempiternum.

[35] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 20. n. 2. (p. 329.) Istæ orationes pro communicantibus institutæ sunt, quando omnes vel plerique, qui aderant sacrificio, communicabant: nam et ipsum *communionis* vocabulum improprie hic usurparetur, nisi plures de eodem sacrificio participarent... Quamvis autem mos ille desierit, nihil tamen in orationibus immutatum est; sed ideo retentæ sunt, ut sciamus, quid olim factum sit, et ex ipso precationum tenore ad pristinum fervorem excitemur.

those prayers were instituted at first for communicants, when all or a great part of the Church communicated together; for otherwise the very name of *communion* would here be improperly used, if more than one did not partake of the sacrifice.' And all he has to say for their retaining those prayers in the Mass, when the use of them by private mass is become so improper, is only this: 'that though the ancient custom of many communicating together be left off, yet no change is made in the prayers; but they are retained still, to show us what was done anciently, and to excite us, by the tenour of the very prayers, to return to the primitive fervour.' How happy would it be if the Roman Church would in all things observe this rule, and return to the laudable practice and simplicity of the ancient Church; reforming her offices by the primitive standard, and casting away all those corruptions which appear from the whole series of this history to be manifest innovations, either privately crept in by connivance and negligence in times of ignorance, or else forcibly imposed by tyranny and power, contrary to the usages of the ancient Church, and many times to the very design of divine service and the natural intent of holy institutions! As it is plain in the case of having divine service in an unknown tongue, and worshipping saints and angels, and images and crosses with divine worship, and dividing the sacrament, and ministering it only in one kind, and many other things of the like nature; which, as they contradict the very end of the divine ordinances and the natural design of God's institutions, so do they run counter to the whole practice of the ancient Church; as any one may see by considering the allegations produced in these collections, in which I have endeavoured to point out, as well the rise of errors and the original of corruptions in latter ages, as the true ancient practice of the primitive Church in all the several parts of divine service relating to the ordinary worship of God.

And here I should have put an end to this account, but that there are a few questions more that may be asked concerning some appendages and circumstances of the communion, which it will be proper to answer in this place. As, 1. How they were used to dispose of the remains of the eucharist after communicating? 2. What was their usage and practice in regard to their *agape*, or *feast of charity*, so famous in ancient his-

tory? 3. What preparation they required as necessary to communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception? 4. What time they administered the Lord's supper, and how often they exhorted or obliged all persons to receive it? I will give as short an answer as I can to these questions, and therewith put an end to this discourse.

CHAP. VII.

How the remains of the eucharist were disposed of. And of their common entertainment, called agape, or feast of charity.

1. We have observed before, in several places of this Book, that some part of the eucharist was commonly reserved for several particular uses, to be sent to the absent, to communicate the sick, and to testify the communion of distant Churches one with another. And this was one way of disposing of the remains of the consecrated elements when the communion was ended: to which I conceive the Author of the Constitutions had regard, when he orders the deacon[36] to carry what remained into the *pastophoria* or *vestry*, which was the repository for all holy things belonging to the church.

2. If any thing remained over and above what was necessary for these uses, then by other rules it was to be divided among the communicants. As appears from the Canons of Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, one[37] of which is to this purpose: 'Let the clergy and the faithful, (that is, the communicants,) divide among themselves the oblations of the eucharist, after all have participated, and let not a catechumen eat or drink of them.'

3. Some learned persons[38] confound this division or consumption of the consecrated elements with that other division of the oblations among the clergy, and allege the Author of

[36] L. 8. c. 13. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 405.) Ὅταν πάντες μεταλάβωσι καὶ πᾶσαι, λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ περισσεύσαντα εἰσφερέτωσαν εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια.

[37] C. 7. (ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. part. 1. p. 172 f.) Τὰ προσφερόμενα εἰς λόγον θυσίας, μετὰ τὰ ἀναλισκόμενα εἰς τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων χρείαν, οἱ κληρικοὶ διανειμάσθωσαν, καὶ μήτε κατηχούμενος ἐκ τούτων ἐσθιέτω ἢ πινέτω, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ κληρικοὶ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς πιστοὶ ἀδελφοί.

[38] Hamon L'Estrange, Alliance of Divine Offices, ch. 7. p. 213. (Reprint, p. 330.) After this the remains, &c.

the Constitutions for it, as if he intended this when[39] he says, 'Let the deacons divide what remains of the mystical *eulogiæ*, by the orders of the bishop or presbyters, among the clergy; to the bishops four parts, to the presbyter three parts, to the deacon two parts, to the rest of the clergy, subdeacons, readers, singers, deaconesses, one part. For this is acceptable to God, that every one should be honoured according to his dignity.' It is plain he speaks not here of the consecrated elements, but of the division of the people's oblations among the clergy, as Cotelerius rightly expounds it. For this was one way of maintaining the clergy in those days, as has been more fully shown[40] in another place. And though he calls these by the name of *the mystical eulogiæ*, yet that does not determine it to the consecrated elements: for, as has been noted before[41], *eulogiæ* is a common name that signifies both. And Socrates[42] takes it for the oblations in this very case, when speaking of Chrysanthus, the Novatian bishop, he says 'he never received any thing of the Church save two loaves of the *eulogiæ* on the Lord's-day.' Where he certainly means not two loaves of the eucharist, but of the other oblations of the people, which it was customary for the clergy to have their proportioned shares in.

ments a distinct thing from the divisio of the other obla tions.

4. Sometimes what remained of the eucharist was distributed among the innocent children of the Church. For, as I have briefly hinted before[43], whilst the communion of infants continued in the Church, nothing was more usual in many places than both to give children the communion at the time of consecration, and also to reserve what remained unconsumed for them to partake of some day in the week following. Thus it was appointed by the second Council of Mascon[44] in France, anno 588, 'that if

The re mains of the eucha rist some times give to innoce children.

[39] L. 8. c. 31. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 412.) Τὰς περισσευούσας ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς εὐλογίας, κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, οἱ διάκονοι διανεμέτωσαν τῷ κλήρῳ· τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μέρη τέσσαρα, πρεσβυτέρῳ μέρη τρία, διακόνῳ μέρη δύο· τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ὑποδιακόνοις, ἢ ἀναγνώσταις, ἢ ψάλταις, ἢ διακονίσσαις, μέρος ἕν· τοῦτο γὰρ καλὸν καὶ ἀπόδεκτον ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἕκαστον τιμᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀξίαν.

[40] B. 5. ch. 4. s. 1. v. 2. p. 157.

[41] Ch. 4. s. 3. p. 355, preceding.

[42] L. 7. c. 12. (v. 2. p. 357. 13.) ....Ἀπό τε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν οὐδὲν ἐδέξατο, πλὴν κατὰ Κυριακὴν δύο ἄρτους τῶν εὐλογιῶν ἐλάμβανεν.

[43] See ch. 4. s. 7. p. 377, preceding.

[44] C. 6. (t. 5. p. 982 b.) Quæcunque reliquiæ sacrificiorum post peractam missam in sacrario supersederint, quarta vel sexta feria innocentes ab illo, cujus interest, ad ecclesiam adducantur, et indicto eis jejunio, easdem reliquias conspersas vino percipiant.

any remains of the sacrifice, after the service was ended, were laid up in the vestry, he who had the care of them should on Wednesday or Friday bring the innocents to church fasting, and then, sprinkling the remains with wine, make them all partake of them.' And Evagrius[43] says it was the custom of old at Constantinople to do the same: for 'when they had much remains of the body of Christ left, they were used to call in the children that went to school, and distribute among them.' And he tells this remarkable story upon it, 'that the son of a certain Jew happening one day to be among them, and acquainting his father what he had done, his father was so enraged at the thing that he cast him into his burning furnace, where he was used to make glass. But the boy was preserved untouched for some days, till his mother found him: and the matter being related to Justinian, the emperor, he ordered the mother and the child to be baptized; and the father, because he refused to become a Christian, to be crucified as a murderer of his son.' The same thing is related by Gregory of Tours[44] and Nicephorus Callistus[45], who also adds that the custom continued at Constantinople to his own time, that is, the middle of the fourteenth century; for he says, 'when he was a child he was often called to partake of the remains of the sacrament, after this manner, among other children.'

[43] L. 4. c. 36. (v. 3. p. 416. 20.) *Ἔθος παλαιὸν βούλεται ἀνὰ τὴν βασιλεύουσαν, ὅτ' ἂν πολύ τι χρῆμα τῶν ἁγίων μερίδων τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐναπομείνοι, παῖδας ἀφθόρους μεταπέμπτους γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐς χαμαιδιδασκάλου φοιτώντων, καὶ ταῦτα κατεσθίειν· ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν, ἠλίσθη μετὰ τῶν παίδων ὑαλουργοῦ παῖς, Ἑβραίου τὴν δόξαν· ὃς τοῖς γονεῦσι, τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς βραδυτῆτος πυνθανομένοις, ἀνεῖπε τὸ γεγονὸς, καὶ ὅπερ ἀποφαγὼν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις παισὶν εἴη· ὁ δὲ φύσας, θυμωθεὶς, καὶ μηνίσας, ἐν τῷ πνιγεῖ τῶν ἀνθράκων, ἔνθα τὴν ὕαλον ἐμόρφου, τὸν παῖδα καθίησιν ἀνάψας. Ὡς δὲ τὸν παῖδα ἡ μήτηρ ζητοῦσα, εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἴσχυε, πανταχῆ τῆς πόλεως ἦει ποτνιωμένη, καὶ λύγιον κωκύουσα· καὶ τριταία, παρὰ τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τἀνδρὸς ἑστῶσα, ὀνομαστὶ ἀνεκάλει τὸν παῖδα, τοῖς θρήνοις σπαραττομένη· ὁ δὲ, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς μητρὸς συνεὶς, ἐκ τοῦ πνιγέως ἀνταπεκρίνετο· ἡ δὲ, τὰς θύρας διατεμοῦσα, εἴσω τε γενομένη, ὁρᾷ τὸν παῖδα τῶν ἀνθράκων μέσον ἑστῶτα, τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ προσάψαντος. Ὃς ἀνερωτώμενος, ὅπως ἀπαθὴς μεμενήκει, γυναῖκα ἔφη πορφυρᾶν ἀμπεχομένην ἐσθῆτα συχνὰ φοιτῶσαν παρ' αὐτὸν, ὕδωρ ὀρέγειν, καὶ τούτῳ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τῶν ἀνθράκων κατευνάζειν, σιτίζειν τε αὐτὸν ὁσάκις πεινώῃ. Ὅπερ ἐπειδὴ ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν ἠνέχθη, τὸν μὲν παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῷ λουτρῷ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας φωτισθέντας ἐκλήρωσε· τὸν δὲ φύσαντα, οὐκ ἀνασχόμενον Χριστιανοῖς ἐναριθμηθῆναι, ἐν συκαῖς ὡς παιδοφόνον ἀνεσκολόπισε.*

[44] De Glor. Martyr. l. 1. c. 10. (p. 732 b.) De puero Judæo valde memorandum miraculum.

[45] L. 17. c. 25. (t. 2. p. 772 b.)... *Θαῦμά τι γέγονεν*, &c.

5. In some places they observed the rule given by God for disposing of the remainders of the sacrifices of peace-offerings and vows under the Old Law, which was to burn them with fire. (Levit. 7, 17.) This was the custom of the Church of Jerusalem in the fifth century, when Hesychius, a presbyter of that Church, wrote his Comment upon Leviticus, where[46] he speaks of it in these words: 'God commanded the remainder of the flesh to be burned with fire. And we now see with our own eyes the same thing done in the Church: whatever happens to remain of the eucharist unconsumed we immediately burn with fire, and that not after one, two, or many days.' From hence our learned writers[47] generally observe two things: 1. That it was not the custom of the Church of Jerusalem to reserve the eucharist so much as from one day to another, though they did in some other Churches. 2. That they certainly did not believe it to be the natural body and substance of Christ, but only his typical or symbolical body: for what an horrible and sacrilegious thing must the very Jews and Heathens have thought it for Christians to burn the living and glorified body of their God? And how must it have scandalized simple and plain Christians themselves to have seen the God they worshipped burnt in fire? And with what face could they have objected this to the Heathens, that they worshipped such things as might be burnt, which is the common argument used by Arnobius, Lactantius, Athanasius, and most others, if they themselves had done the same thing? If there were no other argument against transubstantiation and host-worship, this one thing were enough to persuade any rational

And sometimes burnt in the fire.

[46] In Lev. l. 2. (f. 49. vers. d. 11.) Sed hoc quod rèliquum est de carnibus et panibus, in igne incendi præcepit. Quod nunc videmus etiam sensibiliter in ecclesia fieri, ignique tradi quæcunque remanere contigerit inconsumpta, non omnino ea, quæ una die, vel duabus aut multis servata sunt.

[47] Du Moulin, Novelty of Popery, Eleventh Controversy of Book 7, ch. 19. (pp. 771, seqq.) *Proofs of the customs represented in the chapter before.*—Albertin. de Eucharist. (p. 853. ad sinistr.) Quantum enim offendiculum Judæis et Ethnicis fuisset, si Christianos rescivissent Christi Dei sui corpus animatum et gloriosum ignibus tradere? .... Sed quid urgeo scandalum Judæorum et Paganorum? Simplices certe Christiani, ut eos tantum nominem, id tanquam horrendum abominati fuissent.—Whitby, Idolatry of Host-Worship, ch. 1. s. 9. (p. 27.) and ch. 2. s. 10. (p. 53.) Hence we may be assured that the portentous doctrine of transubstantiation, &c.

man that such doctrines and practices were never countenanced by the ancient Church.

The other oblations partly disposed of in a feast of charity. Which all the ancients reckon an apostolical rite accompanying the communion.

6. We have seen how they disposed of the consecrated elements; and are next to examine what they did with their other oblations. It has been already observed that some part of these, by what distinction made is not very easy to tell, went toward the maintenance of the clergy. Out of the rest a common entertainment was usually made, which from the nature and circumstances of it was usually called *agape*[48], or *feast of charity*, because it was a liberal collation of the rich to feed the poor. St. Chrysostom gives this account of it, deriving it from apostolical practice. He[49] says; 'The first Christians had all things in common, as we read in the Acts of the Apostles; and when that ceased, as it did in the Apostles' time, this came in its room, as an efflux or imitation of it. For though the rich did not make all their substance common, yet upon certain days appointed they made a common table, and when their service was ended, and they had all communicated in the holy mysteries, they all met at a common feast; the rich bringing provisions; and the poor and those who had

[48] Vid. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. n. 8. (Cotel. v. 2. p. 90.) Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.—The interpolator calls it δοχὴν, [and understands it of the eucharist: Οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν. Compare also Luke 5, 29. and 14, 13., where the term δοχὴ occurs in its strict sense. Videntur, says Pearson, solemnem cœnam significare, qua se excipiebant Christiani. Ed.]—Conf. Constit. Apost. l. 2. c. 28. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 241.) Τοῖς εἰς ἀγάπην, ἤτοι δοχὴν, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ὠνόμασε, προαιρουμένοις καλεῖν πρεσβυτέρας, ἣν ἐπίστανται οἱ διάκονοι θλιβομένην· αὐτῇ πλειστάκις πεμπέτωσαν, κ. τ. λ.—Clemens Alexandr. Pædagag. l. 2. c. 1. (p. 165. 14.) Τὰ γὰρ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ, ἐξ ὧν ὁ σαρκικὸς ὄντως οὑτοσὶ καὶ φθοροποιὸς ἀπήρτηται βίος· ὃν ἀγάπην τινὲς τολμῶσι καλεῖν, ἀθύρῳ γλώττῃ κεχρημένοι, δειπνάριά τινα, κνίσσης καὶ ζωμῶν ἀποπνέοντα· τὸ καλὸν καὶ σωτήριον ἔργον τοῦ Λόγου, τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν ἡγιασμένην, κυθριδίοις καὶ ζωμοῦ ῥύσει καθυβρίζοντες, κ. τ. λ.

[49] Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 559. (t. 10. p. 240 d. 41.).... Καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν τρισχιλίων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πιστευσάντων κοινῇ πάντες εἱστιῶντο, καὶ κοινὰ πάντα ἐκέκτηντο, οὕτω καὶ τότε, ὅτε ταῦτα ἔγραψεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἐγίνετο, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν μετὰ ἀκριβείας· ὥσπερ δέ τις ἀπόρροια τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης ἐναπομείνασα, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα κατέβη· καὶ ἐπειδὴ συνέβαινε, τοὺς μὲν πένητας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ πλουσίους, τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν οὐ κατετίθεντο πάντα εἰς μέσον, κοινὰς δὲ ἐποιοῦντο τὰς τραπέζας ἐν ἡμέραις νενομισμέναις, ὡς εἰκός· καὶ, τῆς συνάξεως ἀπαρτισθείσης μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν, ἐπὶ κοινὴν πάντες ἤεσαν εὐωχίαν, τῶν μὲν πλουτούντων φερόντων τὰ ἐδέσματα, τῶν δὲ πενομένων καὶ οὐδὲν ἐχόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καλουμένων καὶ κοινῇ πάντων ἑστιωμένων.

nothing being invited, they all feasted in common together.' In another place[50] he repeats the same thing, saying; 'From this law and custom of having all things common there arose then another admirable custom in the Churches. For when all the faithful met together, and had heard the sermon and prayers and received the communion, they did not immediately return home upon the breaking up of the assembly, but the rich and wealthy brought meat and food from their own houses, and called the poor, and made a common table, a common dinner, a common banquet in the church. And so from this fellowship in eating, and the reverence of the place, they were all strictly united in charity one with another, and much pleasure and profit arose thence to them all; for the poor were comforted, and the rich reaped the fruits of their benevolence both from those whom they fed and from God.' The same account is given by the author under the name of St. Jerom[51], who says, 'when they met in the church they made their oblations separately, and after the communion whatever remained of those sacrifices they eat and consumed in a common supper together.' The like is said by Theodoret[52], Œcumenius[53], Theophylact[54], and others, upon that place of

[50] Hom. 21. Oportet hæreses esse, &c. t. 5. p. 310. (t. 3. p. 244 c.) *Ἐκ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ ἔθους ἐγένετό τις συνήθεια θαυμαστὴ τότε ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις· συνιόντες γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες μετὰ τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀκρόασιν, μετὰ τὰς εὐχὰς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωνίαν, τῆς συνάξεως λυθείσης οὐκ ἀνεχώρουν εὐθέως οἴκαδε, ἀλλ' οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι, φέροντες οἴκοθεν τροφὰς καὶ ἐδέσματα, τοὺς πένητας ἐκάλουν, καὶ κοινὰς ἐποιοῦντο τραπέζας, κοινὰς ἐστιάσεις, κοινὰ συμπόσια ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ὥστε καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν τράπεζαν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου, καὶ πανταχόθεν τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτοῖς ἐπισφίγγεσθαι, καὶ πολλὴν μὲν τὴν ἡδονὴν, πολλὴν δὲ αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν· οἵ τε γὰρ πένητες παραμυθίας ἀπελαυον οὗ τῆς τυχούσης, καὶ οἱ πλουτοῦντες πολλὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ παρὰ τῶν τρεφομένων, καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, δι' ὃν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, καρπωσάμενοι πολλὴν τὴν χάριν, οὕτως ἀπῄεσαν οἴκαδε.*

[51] In 1 Cor. 11, 20. (t. 11. p. 931 d.) In ecclesia convenientes oblationes suas separatim offerebant, et post communionem quæcunque eis de sacrificiis superfuissent, illic in ecclesia communem cœnam comedentes pariter consumebant.

[52] In 1 Cor. 11, 16. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 235.).... *Εἰώθασιν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν λειτουργίαν, ἑστιᾶσθαι κοινῇ πλούσιοί τε καὶ πένητες· καὶ πολλὴ ἐντεῦθεν παραμυθία τοῖς πενομένοις ἐγίνετο· τῶν μὲν εὐπόρων οἴκοθεν τὰ ὀψώνια κομιζόντων, τῶν δὲ πενίᾳ συζώντων, διὰ τὴν μετουσίαν τῆς πίστεως κοινωνούντων τῆς εὐωχίας.*

[53] In 1 Cor. 11, 17. t. 1. p. 529. (ap. Bon. Rer. Liturg. l. 1. c. 1. n. 4. p. 175.) Præcipuis diebus, sive festis, post sacrorum mysteriorum participationem, agebantur communes cœnæ, præparantibus illas divitibus ac pauperes invitantibus.

[54] In 1 Cor. 11, 17. (t. 2. p. 188 e.

the Apostle. From whence it appears that this was a rite always accompanying the communion. And it is a singular opinion of Albaspinæus[54], when he asserts that these *agapæ* and the communion were never celebrated at the same time, which he maintains without any foundation against the concurrent sense both of ancient and modern writers.

Whether this feast was before or after the communion in the Apostles' days.

7. There is some difference indeed between the ancient and modern interpreters concerning one circumstance of these love-feasts in point of time, as practised in the Apostles' days. The Ancients, as we have heard already out of St. Chrysostom and the rest, generally say, these feasts were not till after the communion, when the whole ceremony of preaching, praying, and participating of the sacred elements was over, and the remainders of the oblations were to be disposed of. But many of the Moderns think otherwise. Dr. Cave says[55], it is probable, that in the Apostles' time, and the age after them, this feast was before the communion, in imitation of our Saviour's institution, who celebrated the sacrament after supper; and St. Paul, taxing the abuses of the Church of Corinth, reproves them, that "when they came together for the Lord's supper, they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his supper, and one was hungry and another was drunken." All this, he says, must needs be done before the celebration of the eucharist, which was never administered till the whole Church met together. In this opinion he has the concurrence of Sui-

8.) *Ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ἀρχῇ πιστεύσαντες, κοινὰ πάντα ἔχοντες, κοινῇ εἱστιῶντο· οὕτω κατά τινα μίμησιν τούτων, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀκριβῆ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατά τινας ῥητὰς ἡμέρας, ἑορτίους ἴσως, κοινῇ ἐνωχοῦντο μετὰ τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν μυστηρίων.*

[54] Observat. l. 1. c. 18. p. 57. (ad calc. Optat. p. 39 d.) .... Lectore dijudicandum relinquam, an, cum agape non nisi vesperi fieret, eucharistia non nisi mane sumeretur, hæc duo unquam concurrere potuerint? &c.

[55] Primitive Christianity, part 1. ch. 11. p. 344. (t. 1. p. 24.) Whether this banquet was before or after the celebration of the eucharist, is not easy to determine: it is probable, that, in the Apostles' time, and the age after them, it was before it, in imitation of our Saviour's institution, who celebrated the sacrament after supper. And St. Paul, taxing the abuses of the Church of Corinth, (1 Cor. 11.) that "when they came together for the Lord's supper, they did not tarry one for another, but every one took his own supper;" *i. e.* that provision which he had brought from home for the common feast, which was devoured with great irregularity and excess; some eating and drinking all they brought; others, the poor especially that came late, having nothing left, "one being hungry, and another drunken," &c.

cerus [56], and Daille [57], and Estius [58], who says that Pelagius, Primasius, Haimo, Hervæus, Aquinas, Lyra, Cajetan, and others of the Latins were of the same opinion. That which seems most probable is, that they observed no certain rule about this matter, but had their feasts sometimes before, some-

[56] Thes. Eccles. voce, Ἀγάπη. (t. 1. p. 24.) Eucharistiam demum post ἀγάπας illas fuisse celebratam, ex 1 ad Cor. c. 11. satis manifestum est. Ibi enim Apostolus Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον eorum vocat, qui conveniebant ad commune convivium in ecclesia agitandum. In quo non aliud reprehendit, quam quod unusquisque propriam prius sumebat cœnam edendo, adeo ut alii quidem esurirent, alii vero ebrii essent. Ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον προλαμβάνει. Ex quibus verbis patet, eos prius cœnasse, deinde eucharistiam in illis conviviis sumpsisse.

[57] De Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 19. (p. 292, sub med.) De eo uno lis aliqua est, an illam priorum communem agapen, sive cœnam, præcesserit, an vero secuta sit, sacramenti ipsius participatio..... Eam (p. 293.) [sententiam, qua præcessisse dicitur *agape*] Estius, qui præfert, multis rationibus confirmat, &c.

[58] In 1 Cor. 11, 20. (p. 327.) Sed tamen longe probabilius est id, quod Augustinus insinuat in Epistola ad Januarium, morem fuisse, ut prius haberetur convivium illud commune; postea fieret oblatio et participatio sacræ eucharistiæ. Quamvis enim opinetur Augustinus, Corinthios per abusum mensis suis sacra miscuisse, tamen ut certo anni tempore post alios cibos eucharistia sumeretur a fidelibus, eum morem ad rationabilia majorum refert instituta. Quod autem hoc ordine res facta fuerit in cœtibus primitivorum fidelium, inprimis ea ratio suadet, quod, uti dictum est, illa cœna, quam Paulus vocat *Dominicam*, repræsentatio fuerit cœnæ Domini cum Apostolis, et inde nomen acceperit; unde consentaneum est, ut insignior esset commemoratio, quomodo loquitur ibidem Augustinus, celebratam fuisse eodem ordine, quo Christus suam cum discipulis cœnam celebravit: quem profecto constat prius cœnasse cum discipulis; ac deinde corporis ac sanguinis sui sacramenta eis tradidisse. Præterea dicit Apostolus, aliquos præsumere cœnam, aliis non exspectatis. Quod utique non fieret, si, quod Græci volunt, omnes jam ante congregati eucharistiam accepissent. Ex quo satis intelligitur, convivium illud haberi solitum in principio, velut primum actum illius conventus fidelium, de quo hic agitur. Idem plane ex iis apparet, quæ mox subjiciuntur de indigna sumptione corporis ac sanguinis Domini: deque probatione ante sumptionem necessaria. Nam hæc locum non haberent, si convivium, et quæ in eo peccata erant, facta fuissent post sumptam eucharistiam. Neque enim judicatur quis indigne sumpsisse, propter peccata postea commissa. Denique hanc sententiam confirmat ea consuetudo, quæ usque ad Augustini tempora in multis ecclesiis observata fuit, ut in anniversario die cœnæ Domini mysteria a non jejunis sumerentur, videlicet ad imitationem et commemorationem ejus, quod in illa cœna factum fuerit. Meminit illius consuetudinis Concilium Carthaginense tertium canone 29. Cui concilio beatum Augustinum interfuisse prodit ipsius Epistola 235. Canon autem sic habet: ***Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur.*** Sentiunt cum Augustino, quoad ordinem memoratum, commentatores hujus loci Pelagius, Primasius, Sedulius, Haimo, Hervæus, Aquinas, Lyranus, Cajetanus, atque alii Latini; tametsi eorum nonnulli, nominatim Petrus Lombardus, etiam alterius ordinis ac sensus meminerunt.

times after the communion, as it appears to have been in some measure in the following ages.

How observed in the following ages. The eucharist commonly received fasting, and before this feast, except upon some particular occasions.

8. For when the Christians in time of persecution were obliged to meet early in the morning before day to celebrate the eucharist in their religious assemblies, then their feasting before communion could not well comport with the circumstances and occasion of their meeting. And therefore in the beginning of the second century we find the eucharist was received before, and the feast postponed. For so Pliny [59] represents it in the account which he had from the Christians in the entrance of this century: for having said, 'that they met on the Lord's-day to sing hymns to Christ, and bind themselves by a sacrament,' it is added, 'when this is done, our custom is to depart, and meet again to partake of an entertainment, but that a very innocent one and common to all.' It is plain here the communion was first, and the *agape* some time after.

And so Tertullian [60], who gives the most particular account of it, speaks of it as a supper a little before night: 'Our supper, which you accuse of luxury, shows its reason in its very name: for it is called ἀγάπη, which signifies *love*, among the Greeks. Whatever charge we are at, it is gain to be at expense upon the account of piety. For we therewith relieve and refresh the poor. There is nothing vile or immodest committed in it. For we do not sit down before we have first offered up prayer to God; we eat only to satisfy hunger; and drink only so much

[59] L. 10. Ep. 97. (p. 278.)..... Quibus peractis morem sibi discedere, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium.

[60] Apol. c. 39. (p. 32 a.) Cœnæ nostra de nomine rationem sui ostendit: id vocatur ἀγάπη, quod *dilectio* penes Græcos [est]. Quantiscunque sumptibus constet, lucrum est pietatis nomine facere sumptum. Siquidem inopes quosque [al. quoque] refrigerio isto juvamus.... Nihil vilitatis, nihil immodestiæ admittit. Non prius discumbitur, quam oratio ad Deum prægustetur. Editur quantum esurientes cupiunt: bibitur, quantum pudicis est utile. Ita saturantur, ut qui meminerint etiam per noctem adorandum Deum sibi esse. Ita fabulantur, ut qui sciant, Dominum audire. Post aquam manualem et lumina, ut quisque de Scripturis sanctis vel de proprio ingenio potest, provocatur in medium Deo canere: hinc probatur, quomodo biberit. Æque oratio convivium dirimit: inde disceditur, non in catervas cæsionum, neque in classes discursationum, nec in eruptiones lasciviarum, sed ad eandem curam modestiæ et pudicitiæ; ut qui non tam cœnam cœnaverint, quam disciplinam.

as becomes modest persons. We fill ourselves in such manner, as that we remember still that we are to worship God by night. We discourse as in the presence of God, knowing that he hears us. Then, after water to wash our hands, and lights brought in, every one is moved to sing some hymn to God, either out of Scripture, or, as he is able, of his own composing: and by this we judge, whether he has observed the rules of temperance in drinking. Prayer again concludes our feast; and thence we depart, not to fight and quarrel, not to run about and abuse all we meet, not to give ourselves up to lascivious pastime; but to pursue the same care of modesty and chastity, as men that have fed at a supper of philosophy and discipline, rather than a corporeal feast.'

As this is a fine description of these holy banquets, where charity is the foundation, and prayer begins and ends the feast, and singing of hymns and religious discourses seasons the entertainment, and modesty and temperance run through the whole: so the particular mention made of *lights*, and *worshipping God by night*, shows that they came after the communion, and not before, in Tertullian's time; when they were used to receive the communion in the morning, and always fasting, even upon those days when they deferred it till three in the afternoon, as upon the stationary days, or till six at night. For it was a rule in the African Church to receive the eucharist fasting at all times, except one day, which was the Thursday before Easter, commonly called *Cœna Domini*, because it was *the day on which our Saviour celebrated his last supper, and instituted the eucharist after supper:* in imitation of which, it was the custom to celebrate the eucharist after supper on this day, in the African Churches, but on no other day whatsoever, as we learn from the third Council of Carthage and St. Austin.

The Council of Carthage had an express canon[61] to this purpose: 'That the sacrament of the altar be never celebrated by any but such as are fasting, except on one anniversary day,

[61] Carth. 3. c. 29. (t. 2. p. 1171 c.) Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a jejunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario, quo cœna Domini celebratur. Nam si aliquorum pomeridiano tempore defunctorum, sive episcoporum, [seu clericorum,] sive cæterorum, commendatio facienda est, solis orationibus fiat, si illi, qui faciunt, jam pransi inveniantur.

when the supper of the Lord is solemnized.' And pursuant to this they order, 'that if any commendation of the dead was to be made in the afternoon, it should only be done with prayers, and not with the celebration of the eucharist, if they that assisted at the funeral-office had dined before.' St. Austin was a member of this Council, and he assures us[62], that this decree was conformable to the practice of the Universal Church in his age, which he thought to be derived from the appointment of the Apostles. For, 'though it be very apparent, that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they did not receive fasting; yet does any one now accuse the Universal Church, because all men receive fasting? For so it pleased the Holy Ghost, that, for the honour of so great a sacrament, the Lord's body should enter into the mouth of a Christian before any other food. And therefore this custom

[62] Ep. 118. [al. 54.] ad Januar. c. 6. (t. 2. p. 126 f. et seqq.) Et liquido apparet, quando primum acceperunt discipuli corpus et sanguinem Domini, non eos accipisse jejunos. Numquid tamen propterea calumniandum est universæ ecclesiæ, quod a jejunis semper accipitur? Ex hoc enim placuit Spiritui Sancto, ut in honorem tanti sacramenti in os Christiani prius Dominicum corpus intraret, quam cæteri [al. exteri] cibi: nam ideo per universum orbem mos iste servatur. Neque enim quia post cibos dedit Dominus, propterea pransi aut cœnati fratres ad illud sacramentum accipiendum convenire debent, aut sicut faciebant, quos Apostolus arguit et emendat, mensis suis ista miscere. Namque Salvator, quo vehementius commendaret mysterii illius altitudinem, ultimum hoc voluit altius infigere cordibus et memoriæ discipulorum; a quibus ad passionem digressurus erat. Et ideo non præcepit, quo deinceps ordine sumeretur, ut Apostolis, per quos ecclesias dispositurus erat, servaret hunc locum. Nam si hoc ille monuisset, ut post cibos alios semper acciperetur, credo quod eum morem nemo variasset. Cum vero ait Apostolus de hoc sacramento loquens, *Propter quod fratres, cum convenitis ad manducandum, invicem exspectate: si quis esurit, domi manducet, ut non ad judicium conveniatis:* statim subtexuit, *Cætera autem, cum venero, ordinabo:* .... Unde intelligi datur, quia multum erat, ut in Epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat ecclesia, ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nulla morum diversitate variatur.—C. 7. (p. 127 c.) Sed nonnullos probabilis quædam ratio delectavit, ut uno certo die per annum, quo ipsam cœnam Dominus dedit, tanquam ad insigniorem commemorationem, post cibos offerri et accipi liceat corpus et sanguinem Domini. Honestius autem arbitror ea hora fieri, ut qui etiam jejunaverit, post refectionem, quæ hora nona fit, ad oblationem possit occurrere. Qua propter neminem cogimus ante Dominicam illam cœnam prandere, sed nulli etiam contradicere audemus. Hoc tamen non arbitror institutum, nisi quia plures et prope omnes in plerisque locis eo die lavare consuerunt. Et quia nonnulli etiam jejunium custodiunt, mane offertur propter prandentes, quia jejunia simul et lavacra tolerare non possunt; ad vesperam vero propter jejunantes.

is observed by the whole world. For neither, because the Lord gave it after meat, ought the brethren to meet after dinner or supper to receive it, or to imitate those whom the Apostle reproves and corrects, who mingled it with their tables. Our Saviour, to commend the greatness of this mystery, was minded indeed to fix it in the hearts and memory of his disciples as the last thing before he went from them to his passion: but he did not therefore order in what manner it should be received, that he might reserve this for his Apostles to do, by whom he intended to order his Church. For if he had appointed that men should receive it after meat, I suppose no one would have altered that custom. But when the Apostle, speaking of this sacrament, says, "The rest will I set in order when I come," (1 Cor. 13, 34.) we are given to understand, that he then appointed this custom of receiving fasting, which now the whole Church, over all the world, observes without any variation or diversity.' He adds, 'that some, upon a probable reason, were delighted to offer and receive the body of the Lord after meat, on one certain day in the year, when the Lord himself gave his supper, to make the commemoration of it more remarkable. And because some on that day choose to fast, and others not; therefore, in many places, it was customary to offer the sacrifice twice, to serve the ends of both.'

St. Chrysostom also frequently speaks of their receiving the communion fasting. 'Thou fastest,' says he[63], 'before thou receivest the eucharist, that thou mayest be worthy.' And, in one or two places[64], he vindicates himself from an objection which his adversaries brought against him, as if he was used to transgress this rule both in administering baptism and the eucharist. 'They say I gave the communion to some after eating. If I have done this, let my name be wiped out of the catalogue of bishops, and not be written in the book of the

[63] Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567. (t. 10. p. 248 c.) *Σὺ δὲ πρὶν ἢ μὲν μεταλαβεῖν νηστεύεις, ἵνα ὅπως δήποτε ἄξιος φανῇς τῆς κοινωνίας.*

[64] Ep. 125. ad Cyriac. t. 4. p. 868. (t. 3. p. 668 d.)... *Λέγουσιν, ὅτι τινὰς ἐκοινώνησα μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν αὐτούς. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τοῦτο ἐποίησα, ἐξαλειφθείη τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκ τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ γραφείη ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως, ὅτι ἰδοὺ ἐὰν τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ ἔπραξα, καὶ ἀποβαλεῖ με Χριστὸς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ ἅπαξ καὶ τοῦτό μοι λέγουσι, καὶ φιλονεικοῦσι, καθελέτωσαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον, ὃς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ὁλόκληρον τὸν οἶκον ἐβάπτισε· καθελέτωσαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον, ὃς μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις τὴν κοινωνίαν ἔδωκε.*

orthodox faith. If I have done any such thing, let Christ cast me out of his kingdom. But if they still go on to object this, let them also degrade St. Paul, who baptized a whole house after supper. Let them also depose the Lord himself, who gave the communion to his Apostles after supper.' So again[65], 'They object against me, thou didst first eat, and then administer baptism. If I did so, let me be *anathema;* let me not be numbered in the roll of bishops; let me not be among the angels; let me never please God. But if I had done so, what absurdity had I committed? Let them depose Paul, who baptized the jailor after supper. Yea, I will say a bolder thing, let them depose Christ himself, for he gave the communion to his disciples after supper.' This shows the custom of the Church was to administer both sacraments before eating, though at the same time it intimates that to do otherwise was not an unpardonable crime.

Gregory Nazianzen hints also at this custom, when[66] he says, 'Every action of Christ is not necessary to be imitated by us: for he celebrated the mystery of the Passover with his disciples in an upper room, and after supper, but we do it in the church, and before supper.' The like is said by St. Basil[67], and many other of the Greek writers. And among the Latins there are several canons of the Councils of Braga[68], Mascon[69],

[65] Sermo antequam iret in Exsil. t. 4. p. 969. (ibid. p. 417 e.) Λέγουσί μοι ὅτι ἔφαγες καὶ ἐβάπτισας. Εἰ ἐποίησα τοῦτο, ἀνάθεμα ἔσομαι· μὴ ἀριθμηθείην εἰς ἐπισκόπων ῥίζαν· μὴ γένωμαι μετ' ἀγγέλων· μὴ ἀρέσω Θεῷ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἐβάπτισα, οὐδὲν ἄκαιρον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐποίησα.... Καθελέτωσαν οὖν Παῦλον, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι ἐχαρίσατο τῷ δεσμοφύλακι τὸ βάπτισμα. Τολμῶ λέγειν, καθελέτωσαν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον τοῖς μαθηταῖς τὴν κοινωνίαν ἐχαρίσατο.

[66] Orat. 40. de Bapt. (t. 1. p. 659 d.) Πάλιν μυσταγωγεῖ τὸ πάσχα τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐν ὑπερῴῳ καὶ μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς τοῦ παθεῖν ἡμέρας, ἡμεῖς ἐν προσευχῇς οἴκοις καὶ πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν.

[67] Hom. 1. de Jejun. (t. 2. part. 1. p. 6 b. n. 6.)... Οὐ δυνατὸν ἄνευ νηστείας ἱερουργίας κατατολμῆσαι.

[68] Bracar. 1. [al. 2.] c. 16. (t. 5. p. 838 e.) Si quis quinta feria paschali, quæ vocatur Cœna Domini, hora legitima, post nonam jejunus in ecclesia missas non tenet, sed, secundum sectam Priscilliani, festivitatem ipsius Dei ab hora tertia per missas defunctorum, soluto jejunio, colit, anathema sit.—Bracar. 2. [al. 3.] c. 10. (ibid. p. 898 e.) Placuit ut, quia per stultitiam præsumpti nuper erroris, aut certe ex veteris Priscillianæ adhuc hæresis fœtore, corruptos cognovimus quosdam presbyteros in hujus præsumptionis audacia detineri, ut in missa mortuorum etiam post acceptum merum oblationem aui sunt consecrare; ideoque hoc præfixe evidentis sententiæ admonitione servetur, ut si quis presbyter post hoc edictum nostrum amplius in hac vesania fuerit deprehensus, id est, ut non jejunus, sed quocunque jam

Auxerre[70], and Toledo[71], to this purpose. Some of which allow the African custom of communicating after eating on the Thursday in Passion-week, but others upon the account of the Priscillianists forbid it. And therefore Socrates[72] notes it as a singular thing in the Churches of Egypt and Thebais, that on Saturdays they were used to administer the eucharist after eating in the evening. Which is prohibited by the Council of Trullo[73], not excepting the Thursday in Passion-week, which though the African fathers for probable reasons might allow, yet they utterly forbid it. By all which it appears that the general custom of the Church was to celebrate the eucharist fasting: and consequently that these love-feasts, we are speaking of, must have been held after the communion, and not before it. Yet it is but a sorry argument in Mabillon[74], to conclude hence, that the Ancients must needs believe transubstantiation, because they received the communion fasting. For he might as reasonably have concluded from Chrysostom, that the water in baptism was transubstantiated, because we have heard him say before that they always administered baptism fasting. And

cibo præcepto, oblationem consecraverit, continuo ab officio suo privatus a proprio deponatur episcopo.

[69] Matiscon. 2. c. 6. (ibid. p. 982 a.) Decernimus, ut nullus presbyter confertus cibo, aut crapulatus vino, sacrificia contrectare, aut missas privatis festisque diebus concelebrare, præsumat. Injustum est enim, ut spiritali alimento corporale præponatur: sed si quis hoc attentare curaverit, dignitatem amittat honoris.

[70] C. 19. (ibid. p. 959 c.) Non licet presbytero, aut diacono, aut subdiacono, post acceptum cibum vel poculum missas tractare.

[71] Tolet. 7. c. 2. (ibid. p. 1839 c.) Ne, quod naturæ languoris causa consulitur, in præsumptionis perniciem convertatur, nullus post cibum potumve quamlibet minimum sumptum missas facere, &c.

[72] L. 5. c. 22. (v. 2. p. 295. 25.) *Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ γείτονες ὄντες Ἀλεξανδρέων, καὶ οἱ τὴν Θηβαΐδα οἰκοῦντες, ἐν Σαββάτῳ μὲν ποιοῦνται συνάξεις· οὐχ ὡς ἔθος δὲ Χριστιανοῖς τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι· μετὰ γὰρ τὸ εὐωχηθῆναι, καὶ παντοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἐμφορηθῆναι, περὶ ἑσπέραν προσφέροντες, τῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαμβάνουσι.*

[73] C. 29. (t. 6. p. 1155 b.) *Ὁ τῶν ἐν Καρθαγένῃ διαγορεύει κανὼν, ὥστε τὰ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ νηστικῶν ἀνθρώπων μὴ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ἐξηρημένης μιᾶς ἑτησίας ἡμέρας, ἐν ᾗ τὸ Κυριακὸν δεῖπνον ἐπιτελεῖται· ἴσως τηνικαῦτα, διά τινας κατὰ τοὺς τόπους προφάσεις τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ λυσιτελεῖς, τῶν θείων ἐκείνων πατέρων τῇ τοιαύτῃ χρησαμένων οἰκονομίᾳ. Μηδενὸς οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐνάγοντος καταλιπεῖν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, ὁρίζομεν ἀποστολικαῖς καὶ πατρικαῖς ἑπόμενοι παραδόσεσι, μὴ δεῖν ἐν τῇ Τεσσαρακοστῇ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἑβδομάδι τὴν πέμπτην λύειν, καὶ ὅλην τὴν Τεσσαρακοστὴν ἀτιμάζειν.*

[74] De Liturg. Gallican. l. 1. c. 6. n. 7. (p. 61.) Qui potuit tanta religio afficere majores nostros in suscipiendo eucharistiæ sacramento, si solam corporis Christi in eo figuram, hoc est, nudum panem ac merum vinum residere credidissent?

some learned men[75] are of opinion that for the three first ages, though they generally received the eucharist fasting in the assemblies before day, yet sometimes they received after supper. For Cyprian, disputing against the Aquarians, who celebrated in the morning *in water only*, and in the evening *in wine and water mixed together*, does not contend with them about celebrating after supper, but only because they did not at both times mix wine with water after Christ's example. He would not so easily have passed over the practice of the Aquarians in celebrating in the evening, had there been no instances of the like practice in the Church: but as it was customary in Egypt to celebrate the eucharist on Saturdays after dinner, and in Afric one day in a year after supper, all he pleads for upon this point is only this[76], that the general custom of the Church to celebrate the eucharist in the morning only was not against the rule of Christ, though he gave it in the evening after supper: because Christ had a particular reason for what he did, which he did not intend should oblige the Church: 'Christ offered in the evening to signify the evening or end of the world; but we offer in the morning to celebrate our Saviour's resurrection.' And he gives another reason why they did not celebrate in the evening generally, as in the morning.

[75] Vid. Dall. de Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 19. (p. 297. ad fin. cap.) Ergo ex his patet, totis tribus primis Christianismi sæculis, tametsi in matutinis fraternitatis conventibus, et seorsum in ædibus quoque privatis, sacramentum mane sumi soleret, apud ecclesiam tamen usitatum fuisse, ut id etiam a cœnatis sumeretur, maxime in sancta agaparum lætitia, &c.—Fell. Not. in Cypr. Ep. 63. p. 156. (p. 277. n. 3.) Constat etiam eucharistiam licet horis antelucanis sumptam, vespere etiam distribui solitam; cujus rei locuples testis Tertullianus Lib. de Corona, c. 3: *Eucharistiæ sacramentum tempore victus de præsidentium manu sumimus.* Et alibi monet, ut finitis stationibus sumatur. Consuetudo post cœnam communicandi diu duravit in ecclesia. Socrates enim ait, l. 5. c. 22., Αἰγύπτιοι, κ.τ.λ. See *n. 72*, preceding.

[76] Ep. 63. ad Cæcilian. p. 156. (p. 277. corrige, 281.) *The Objection of the Aquarians:* An illa sibi aliquis contemplatione blanditur, quod etsi mane aqua sola offerri videtur, tamen, cum ad cœnandum venimus, mixtum calicem offerimus? *Cyprian's Answer:* Sed cum cœnamus, ad convivium nostrum plebem convocare non possumus, ut sacramenti veritatem fraternitate omni præsente celebremus. *The Aquarians object:* At enim non mane, sed post cœnam mixtum calicem obtulit Dominus. *Cyprian answers:* Numquid ergo Dominicum post cœnam celebrare debemus, ut sic mixtum calicem frequentandis Dominicis offeramus? Christum offerre oportebat circa vesperam diei, ut hora ipsa sacrificii ostenderet occasum et vesperam mundi.... Nos autem resurrectionem Domini mane celebramus.

'because the people could not so well all come together in the evening as in the morning.' By which it is plain, in Cyprian's time there was no absolute rule to forbid communicating after supper, though the practice began generally to be disused, and the common custom was, to receive fasting and at morning service.

These love-feasts at first held in the church but afterwards forbidden by orders of Councils.

9. There is one thing more to be observed of their love-feasts, that, as they were designed for the promotion of unity and charity, they were commonly held in the church for the three first centuries, as learned men[77] conclude from that canon of the Council of Gangra[78], which was made against the Eustathians: 'If any one despises the feasts of charity which the faithful make, who for the honour of the Lord call their brethren to them, and comes not to the invitation because he contemns them, let him be *anathema*.' These Eustathians were men who held their meetings in private houses, and despised the church; which is the reason of this canon made against them. However such abuses were sometimes committed in these feasts, that the Council of Laodicea, not long after, made a law[79] against having them in the church, forbidding any to eat or spread tables in the house of God or the church. And a like decree was made in the third Council of Carthage[80], forbidding the clergy to feast in the church, unless it were by chance in a journey for want of other entertainment: and orders are given to restrain the people as much as might be from such feasting in the church. But the custom was too in-

[77] Bevereg. Not. in c. 74. C. Trull. (t. 2. append. p. 161.) Et quidem eas [agapas] olim etiam in ipsis ecclesiis celebratas fuisse ex præsenti et Synod. Laod. c. 28. patet, quibus illud prohibetur. Non opus est autem, ut illud prohiberetur, quod nunquam factum fuit.—Suicer. Thes. Eccles. voce, Ἀγάπη. (t. 1. p. 27.) Et si antea in templis et ecclesiis ex more apostolico celebrari solita essent hujusmodi convivia Christiana, Concilium nihilominus Laodicenum ea removit a templis canone 28., cujus verba sunt: Οὐ δεῖ, κ. τ. λ. See n. 79, following.

[78] C. 11. (t. 2. p. 419 c.) Εἴ τις καταφρονοίη τῶν ἐκ πίστεως ἀγάπας ποιούντων, καὶ διὰ τιμὴν τοῦ Κυρίου συγκαλούντων τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ μὴ ἐθέλοι κοινωνεῖν ταῖς κλήσεσι, διὰ τὸ ἐξευτελίζειν τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

[79] C. 28. (t. 1. p. 1501 c.) Οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς, ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσθίειν καὶ ἀκκούβιτα στρωννύειν.

[80] C. 30. (t. 2. p. 1171 d.) Ut nulli episcopi vel clerici in ecclesia conviventur, nisi forte transeuntes hospitiorum necessitate illic reficiantur: populi etiam ab hujusmodi conviviis, quantum fieri potest, prohibeantur.

veterate to be rooted out at once; and therefore we find, by St. Austin's Answer to Faustus[81] the Manichee, that they were still kept in the church. For whereas Faustus objected two things against them: 1. That they were but the spawn of the Gentile banquets turned into Christian feasts. 2. That the Catholics were used to make themselves drunk at them in the memorial of the martyrs: St. Austin rejects the first charge as a mere calumny, telling him that the end of their *agape* was only to feed the poor with flesh, or the fruits of the earth; but the second charge he owns in part as true, that the people still held these feasts in the church, and that some excess was committed in them: 'but then,' says he[82], 'there is a great deal of difference between tolerating and approving: we do not approve of drunkenness even in a private house, much less in a church: it is one thing which we are commanded to teach, and another what we are forced to tolerate and endure, till we can correct and amend it.' St. Austin[83] says, all kind of feasting in the church was prohibited by St. Ambrose, at Milan, with good success, and it was he himself that gave the advice to Aurelius[84], bishop of Carthage, to make the foresaid canon against it in hopes to extirpate it, after the example of St. Ambrose. In France it was prohibited by the second Council of Orleans[85], anno 541. Yet for all this, there were some remains of it in the seventh century, when the Council of Trullo[86]

[81] L. 20. c. 20. (t. 8. p. 346 c, d.) Nec sacrificia eorum vertimus in agapes.... Agapes enim nostræ pauperes pascunt sive frugibus sive carnibus, &c.

[82] Ibid. c. 21. (ibid. p. 348 a.) Qui autem se in memoriis martyrum inebriant, quomodo a nobis approbari possunt, cum eos, etiam si in domibus suis id faciant, sana doctrina condemnet? Sed aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod sustinemus: aliud quod præcipere jubemur, aliud quod emendare præcipimur, et, donec emendemus, tolerare compellimur.

[83] Confess. l. 6. c. 2. (t. 2. p. 119 e.) *Speaking of his mother Monnica:* Cum ad memorias sanctorum, sicut in Africa solebat, pultes et panem et merum attulisset, atque ab ostiario prohiberetur; ubi hoc episcopum vetuisse cognovit, tam pie atque obedienter amplexa est, ut ipse mirarer, quam facile accusatrix potius consuetudinis suæ quam disceptatrix illius prohibitionis effecta sit... Itaque ubi comperit a præclaro prædicatore atque antistite pietatis præceptum esse ista non fieri, nec ab eis qui sobrie facerent, ne ulla occasio se ingurgitandi daretur ebriosis; et quia illa quasi parentalia superstitioni Gentilium essent simillima, abstinuit se libentissime, &c.

[84] Ep. 64. [al. 22.] (t. 2. pp. 27—30.) Consult the Epistle throughout, especially ch. 1. ss. 4 and 5.

[85] Aurelian. 2. c. 12. (t. 4. p. 1781 e.) Ne quis in ecclesia votum suum cantando, bibendo, vel lasciviendo dissolvat, quia Deus talibus votis irritatur potius quam placetur.

[86] C. 74. (t. 6. p. 1175 b.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλη-

was obliged to reinforce the canon of Laodicea, against feasting in the church, under pain of excommunication. So difficult a matter was it to extirpate the abuses of ancient custom, without destroying the custom itself, which was innocent in its original, and of so great service to the Christian Church, whilst it continued free from abuses, that it was the envy and admiration of the Heathen.

How the Christian were at fi abused a calumnia ed by son of the H then, but admired and envi by others upon ac- count of these feas of charity

10. Some indeed were maliciously disposed to calumniate and traduce the Christians, upon the account of this innocent custom, as guilty of I know not what black designs. Origen[87] says, Celsus charged them with holding clancular and seditious cabals upon the score of these *agapes*, or meetings to show kindness to one another. Which is also noted by Tertullian in that chapter of his Apology[88], where he gives us that fine description of the Christian feasts in answer to this suggestion. Others charged these feasts with the practice of abominable uncleanness: in answer to which Minucius[89] tells them, 'their feasts were not only chaste, but sober; for they did not indulge either gluttony or drunkenness, but tempered their mirth with gravity, with chaste discourse and chaster bodies.' Others added that monstrous fable of their feeding upon human flesh, and feasting upon infants' blood. Which is mentioned and refuted by all the apologists, Athenagoras[90], Theophilus[91], Tertullian[92], Minucius[93], Origen[94], Justin Martyr[95], and

σίαις τὰς λεγομένας ἀγάπας ποιεῖν, καὶ ἔνδον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐσθίειν, καὶ ἀκκούβιτα στρωννύειν· οἱ καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν τολμῶντες ἢ πανσάσθωσαν, ἢ ἀφοριζέσθωσαν.

87 Cont. Cels. l. 1. p. 4. (t. 1. p. 319 b.) *Πρῶτον τῷ Κέλσῳ κεφάλαιόν ἐστι βουλομένῳ διαβαλεῖν Χριστιανισμὸν, ὡς συνθήκας κρύβδην πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιουμένων Χριστιανῶν, παρὰ τὰ νενομισμένα·... καὶ βούλεται διαβαλεῖν τὴν καλουμένην ἀγάπην Χριστιανῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ κινδύνου ὑφισταμένην.*

88 Apol. c. 39. (p. 32 a.).... Cœnulas nostras, præterquam sceleris infames, ut prodigas suggillatis, &c.

89 Octav. p. 92. (c. 31. p. 154.) De incesto convivio fabulam grandem adversum nos dæmonum coitio mentita est—Ibid. (p. 158.) At nos convivia non tantum pudica colimus, sed et sobria,.... casto sermone, corpore castiore.

90 Legat. (ad calc. Just. Mart. p. 34 d.) *Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τροφὰς καὶ μίξεις λογοποιοῦσιν ἀθέους καθ' ἡμῶν, ἵνα τε μισεῖν νομίζοιεν μετὰ λόγου, καὶ οἰόμενοι τῷ δεδίττεσθαι, ἢ τῆς ἐνστάσεως ἀπάξειν ἡμᾶς τοῦ βίου, ἢ πικροὺς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους, τῇ τῶν αἰτίων ὑπερβολῇ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας παρασκευάζειν.*

91 Ad Autolycum, l. 3. (ad calc. ejusd. p. 119 b.) *Φασκόντων ὡς κοινὰς ἁπάντων οὔσας τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμῶν, καὶ διαφόρῳ μίξει ξυνόντας, ἔτι μὴν καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀδελφαῖς συμμίγνυσθαι, καὶ, τὸ ἀθεώτατον καὶ ὠμότατον, πασῶν σαρκῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐφάπτεσθαι ἡμᾶς.*

92 Apol. c. 7. (p. 7 c.) Dicimur sceleratissimi de sacramento infanticidii et pabulo inde, &c.

many others, whom the reader may find at large, collected by the learned Kortholt[96], in his book *De Calumniis Paganorum, &c.*

The reason of this charge is by many of the Ancients[97] ascribed to the vile practices of the Carpocratians and other heretics, at least tacitly or indirectly, whilst they accuse them of this crime, which the Heathens turned upon the Christians in general. And so it is said upon their authority by many modern[98] authors. *Œcumenius*[99] ascribes it to another

[93] Octav. (c. 9. p. 57.) Jam de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detestanda, quam nota est. Infans farre contectus, ut decipiat incautos, apponitur ei, qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo, farris superficie quasi ad innoxios ictus provocato, cæcis occultisque vulneribus occiditur: hujus, proh nefas! sitientes sanguinem lambunt, hujus certatim membra dispertiunt, &c.

[94] Cont. Cels. l. 6. (t. 1. p. 662 a.) Μετὰ ταῦτα παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς διὰ πολλὴν τὴν πρὸς Χριστιανοὺς ἀπέχθειαν διαβεβαιουμένοις πρὸς τοὺς μηδαμῶς εἰδότας τὸ Χριστιανῶν, ὅτι ἄρα τῇ πείρᾳ κατείληφε Χριστιανοὺς ἐσθίοντας σάρκας παιδίων, καὶ μίξεσι ταῖς πρὸς τὰς παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκας ἀναίδην χρωμένους.

[95] Apol. 1. (p. 50 b.) Τίς φιλήδυνος, ἢ ἀκρατὴς, καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν βορὰν ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος, δύναιτο ἂν θάνατον ἀσπάζεσθαι, ὅπως τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθῶν στερηθῇ;—Apol. 2. (p. 70 b.) Εἰ δὲ καὶ τὰ δύσφημα ἐκεῖνα μυθολογούμενα ἔργα πράττουσι, λυχνίας μὲν ἀνατροπὴν, καὶ τὰς ἀνέδην μίξεις, καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων σαρκῶν βορὰς, οὐ γινώσκομεν.—Conf. Dialog. cum Tryph. (p. 227 b.) Μὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς πεπιστεύκατε περὶ ἡμῶν, ὅτι δὴ ἐσθίομεν ἀνθρώπους, καὶ, μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην ἀποσβεννύντες τοὺς λύχνους, ἀθέσμοις μίξεσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα;

[96] De Calumn. Pagan. c. 18, &c. (pp. 157, seqq.) *De Thyesteis Epulis, &c.*

[97] Vid. Epiphan. Hær. 26. Gnostic. n. 5. (t. 1. p. 87 b.) Κατασπάσαντες γὰρ τὸ ἔμβρυον καιρῷ, οἷῳ δ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσωσι, λαμβάνουσιν ἐκτρωθὲν τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος, ἐν ὅλμῳ τινὶ κόπτουσιν ὑπέρῳ, καὶ ἐγκαταμίξαντες μέλι καὶ πέπερι, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀρώματα, καὶ μῦρα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ναυτιᾷν αὐτούς· οὕτως συναχθέντες πάντες, οἱ [τῆς] τῶν χοίρων τούτων καὶ κυνῶν θιασῶται, μεταλαμβάνουσιν ἕκαστος τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακοπέντος παιδίου· καὶ οὕτως τὴν ἀνθρωποβορίαν ἀπεργασάμενοι, εὔχονται λοιπὸν τῷ Θεῷ, κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. l. 4. c. 7. (v. 1. p. 149. 16.) Τοῖς δὲ ἀπίστοις ἔθνεσι, πολλὴν παρέχειν κατὰ τοῦ θείου λόγου δυσφημίας περιουσίαν, κ. τ. λ.—Augustin. de Hæresibus, c. 27. (t. 8. p. 8 b.) Sacramenta perhibentur funesta habere: nam de infantis anniculi sanguine, quem de toto ejus corpore minutis punctionum vulneribus extorquent, quasi eucharistiam suam conficere perhibentur, miscentes eum farinæ, panemque inde facientes. Qui puer si mortuus fuerit, habetur apud eos pro martyre; si autem vixerit, pro magno sacerdote.

[98] Dall. de Object. Cult. Relig. l. 2. c. 28. (p. 333.) Clemens vero Alexandrinus, &c.—Baron. an. 120. n. 26. (t. 2. p. 69 b.).... Quæ hi agebant in occulto palam facta, Gentiles in omnes æque convertebant Christianos.—Ibid. an. 179. n. 44. (ibid. p. 226 b.) Verum quoniam falsorum criminum calumniis, &c.

[99] In 1 Pet. 3, 16. (t. 2. p. 498 b. 4.) Χριστιανῶν κατηχουμένων δούλους Ἕλληνες συλλαβόντες, εἶτα μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τούτων δῆθεν ἀπόρρητον περὶ Χριστιανῶν ἀναγκάζοντες, οἱ δοῦλοι οὗτοι μὴ ἔχοντες πῶς τὸ τοῖς ἀναγκάζουσι καθ' ἡδονὴν ἐρεῖν, παρόσον ἤκουον τῶν δεσποτῶν, τὴν θείαν μετά-

reason: he says, In the persecution of the Christians at Lyons under Antoninus, the Heathens, having apprehended some servants of certain Christian catechumens, put them to the rack to make them confess some secret of the Christians; and they having heard their masters say that the holy communion was the body and blood of Christ, and *supposing it to be truly flesh and blood,* (*αὐτοὶ νομίζοντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι,*) to gratify the inquisitors they told them what they had heard. And the Heathens, understanding this as if the Christians had *really* (*αὐτόχρημα*) eaten flesh and blood, put two of the martyrs, Sanctus and Blandina, to the rack to make them confess it; to whom Blandina smartly replied, 'How should they endure to do this, who for exercise sake abstain from such flesh as they might lawfully eat?' If this were true, it would prove that the Heathens grounded their calumny upon a false apprehension they had of the Christian sacrament: but it would by no means prove what Perron and many of the Romanists would have, 'that the ground of the fable was the real belief of the Christians,' as if they believed the eucharist to be the real proper flesh and blood of Christ: for this is expressly said to be only a false apprehension of the Heathens, and utterly denied by the Christians, according as Œcumenius relates the story. Which yet is something different from the genuine Acts in Eusebius [1], for there is no mention made of the eucharist in the story, but it is only said, 'that when some of the Christian servants, who were Heathens, were apprehended, they, fearing to be tormented, did by the motion of Satan, and the instigation of the soldiers prompting them to it, falsely accuse the Christians, as if they used to feast upon man's flesh,

λῆψιν αἷμα καὶ σῶμα εἶναι Χριστοῦ, αὐτοὶ νομίσαντες τῷ ὄντι αἷμα καὶ σάρκα εἶναι, τοῦτο ἐξεῖπον τοῖς ἐκζητοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λαβόντες ὡς αὐτόχρημα τοῦτο τελεῖσθαι Χριστιανοῖς, καὶ δὴ τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἐξεπόμπευον· καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας Σάγκτον καὶ Βλανδίναν ὁμολογῆσαι διὰ βασάνων ἠνάγκαζον· οἷς εὐστόχως Βλανδίνα ἐπαρρησιάσατο, Πῶς ἄν, εἰποῦσα, τούτων ἀνάσχοιντο οἱ μὴ δὲ τῶν ἐφειμένων κρεῶν δι' ἄσκησιν ἀπολαύοντες.

[1] L. 5. c. 1. p. 156. (v. 1. p. 201. 4.) *Συνελαμβάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐθνικοί τινες οἰκέται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐπεὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀναζητεῖσθαι πάντας ἡμᾶς· οἱ δὲ κατ' ἐνέδραν τοῦ Σατανᾶ, φοβηθέντες τὰς βασάνους, ἃς τοὺς ἁγίους ἔβλεπον πάσχοντας· τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο παρορμώντων αὐτούς, κατεψεύσαντο ἡμῶν Θυέστεια δεῖπνα, καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις, καὶ ὅσα μήτε λαλεῖν μήτε νοεῖν θέμις ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ πιστεύειν, εἴ τι τοιοῦτο πώποτε παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐγένετο.*

and commit incest, and other the like things, which it is not fit either to speak or think, and which we can hardly believe were ever done by any men whatsoever.' So that the Christians' belief about the eucharist could not be the ground of this story, but it either sprung from the practices of the Carpocratians, or else, as the learned Kortholt [1], not without some probable reasons, inclines to believe, it took its rise from the pure malice and fiction of the Heathens themselves, some of whom never stuck at saying any thing that would render the Christians odious.

However, though there were many who thus calumniated these Christian feasts by this variety of charges, yet there were some also who could discern the good effects of them, and the great influence they had not only on their members, but the very Heathen, who sometimes would cry out and say, 'See how these Christians love one another!' as Tertullian [2] notes in speaking of their collations and charity. Nay, Julian himself, though the bitterest enemy the Christians ever had, could not help bearing testimony to the usefulness of this practice, which he looked upon with an envious eye, as that which he imagined chiefly to uphold the Christian religion, and undermine the religion of the Gentiles. For thus in one of his Letters to his Gentile priests [3], he provokes them to

[1] Ubi supr. (p. 163.) Ex his infandis hæreticorum facinoribus natæ creduntur istæ adversus Christianos veteres calumniæ, de quibus supra dicebamus. Sed enim, si dixerimus, quæ ad eum modum memoratis illis hæreticis tribuuntur, non usque adeo certa videri, quia de iis dubitare liceat nihil, forte absurdi designaverimus. Cur ita sentiam, dicam paucis, judicio interim ac decisioni doctiorum rem omnem committens, &c.

[2] Apol. c. 39. (p. 31 b.) Vide, inquiunt, ut invicem se diligant!

[3] Fragment. Ep. (p. 557.) Δεῖγμα δὲ τοῦ φιλοθέου μὲν, εἰ τοὺς οἰκείους ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσέβειαν εἰσαγάγοι· τοῦ φιλανθρώπου δὲ, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγων εὐκόλως κοινωνεῖ τοῖς δεομένοις, καὶ μεταδίδωσι προθύμως, εὖ ποιεῖν ἐπιχειρῶν ὅσους ἂν οἷός τε ἦν. Προσεκτέον γὰρ μάλιστα τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καὶ τὴν ἰατρείαν ὅθεν ποιητέον. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἶμαι συνέβη, τοὺς πένητας ἀμελεῖσθαι παρορωμένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ δυσσεβεῖς Γαλιλαῖοι κατανοήσαντες, ἐπέθεντο ταύτῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳ· καὶ τὸ χείριστον τῶν ἔργων, διὰ τοῦ δοκοῦντος τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐκράτυναν. Ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ παιδία διὰ τοῦ πλακοῦντος ἐξαπατῶντες, τῷ καὶ δὶς καὶ τρὶς προέσθαι, πείθουσιν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτοῖς· εἶθ', ὅταν ἀπυστήσωσι πόρρω τῶν οἰκιῶν, ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς ναῦν ἀπέδοντο· καὶ γέγονεν εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν ἑξῆς βίον πικρὸν τὸ δόξαν πρὸς ὀλίγον γλυκύ· τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ τρόπον ἀρξάμενοι διὰ τῆς λεγομένης παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάπης καὶ ὑποδοχῆς καὶ διακονίας τραπεζῶν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥσπερ τὸ ἔργον, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὄνομα παρ' αὐτοῖς πολύ· πιστοὺς ἐνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἀθεότητα.

the exercise of charity by the example of the Christians, and their feasts of charity. 'There is the more reason to be careful in this matter,' says he, 'because it is manifestly the neglect of this humanity in the priests which has given occasion to the impious Galileans (so he commonly styles the Christians) to strengthen their party by the practice of that humanity, which the others have neglected. For as kidnappers steal away children, whom they first allure with a cake, so these begin first to work upon honest-hearted Gentiles with their love feasts and entertainments and ministering of tables, as they call them, till at last they pervert them to atheism and impiety against the Gods.' This is a full vindication of them from all those aspersions which the former Heathens had cast upon them, and an ample testimony of their usefulness from the mouth of an adversary, who saw and envied the progress which Christianity made in the world by means of these feasts of charity, which he was minded to introduce into his own way of Heathen-worship, with many other such rites, in imitation of the Christian institution. Happy had it been for the Christian religion if Christians had never had occasion to object more against their own feasts of charity, than Julian, their bitterest enemy, could find to object against them! They might then have gone on with innocence and glory, and have continued an useful and laudable rite to this day.

CHAP. VIII.

What preparations the Ancients required as necessary in communicants, to qualify them for a worthy reception.

1. I CANNOT better answer this question in general terms, than by saying, the preparation, which they required as necessary in every Christian, was the performance of the conditions and obligations which every man laid upon himself in baptism; the observation of which put a man in a Christian state and the favour of God, and was a continual preparation for death and judgment; and consequently a continual and habitual preparation for approaches to God in prayer and holy mysteries, (between which, as to what concerns preparation, the Ancients made little or no distinction,) since it was a preparation that qualified a man for a constant daily or weekly communion,

A general answer to this question, by referring to the professions made by every Christian in baptism of repentance, faith and holy obedience.

which was proper for those who were to receive the communion in a manner every day, according to the rules and practice of those primitive ages, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Now the obligation, which every man laid upon himself in baptism, as we have shown in the seventh chapter of the eleventh Book, was the profession and actual performance of these three things: 1. Repentance, or a renunciation of all former sin, together with the author of it, the Devil; 2. Faith, or belief of the several articles of the Christian institution or mystery of godliness; 3. An holy and constant obedience to be paid to the laws of this holy religion. In the performance of which sincerely and without dissimulation, every man was supposed to be truly qualified for baptism: and what qualified him for baptism, also qualified him for the communion; of which there is this certain evidence, that as soon as any man was baptized, he was immediately communicated: which could not regularly have been done, but upon presumption that he, that was duly qualified for baptism, was qualified for the communion also. So that he, that continued in the strict observance of all the particulars of his baptismal covenant, was presumed to be in a constant habitual preparation for the communion every day: and this was that happy state of a Christian life, which qualified those primitive saints for such frequent reception; when frequency of communion kept up a flaming piety and universal holiness in their souls, and such a state of continual holiness made them always fit for and desirous of frequent communion. For these mutually acted in a holy combination, and reciprocally assisted each other: an habitual holiness was a constant preparation for the communion; and frequent communion was one of the best helps to keep them in a continual preparation for it. And to men of this character and behaviour there could be no great labour needful, besides the constant tenor of a pious life; nor any long time necessary to prepare for the Lord's table, when the whole business of their lives was but, as it were, one continued act of preparation for it. They lived as men that always expected death, yet uncertain of the time, and therefore were in a continual preparation for it, which is the best preparation for the communion. Their "loins were girded about, and their lamps burning; and they themselves like unto men that waited for their Lord, that when he came and knocked, they might open

to him immediately." And to them belonged the blessing of Christ, (Luke 12, 37.) "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when he cometh shall find watching." It was true of them, if ever of any, that Christ came and found them watching: and he girded himself, and made them sit down to meat, in the spiritual feast, and came forth and served them.

What failings are consistent with this profession, and a state of grace, and a continual preparation for the communion.

2. But it may be said, there is no such thing possible as constant preparation for the communion: for no man lives without sin to be repented of. "In many things we offend all:" (James 3,2.) and, "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." (1 John 1, 8.) But notwithstanding this supposed difficulty, the Fathers assure us, there were anciently many that were in a continual preparation for the communion, and did actually communicate every day. For those sins, which unqualify men absolutely for the communion, are not those lesser sins of human frailty and infirmity, which are called *sins of daily incursion*, without which no man lives; but habitual and reigning sins, which men indulge, or such single acts of greater sins as are answerable to habits of sin, and require a more severe repentance; such as adultery, murder, and the like, which wound the conscience to an high degree, and are not ordinarily cured in an instant, but by a longer course of discipline, exacting both greater severities in repentance, and a longer time of probation. But those sins of human frailty, which the best of men daily commit in some degree or other, are not of this nature, but are such as are consistent with the profession of a good Christian, and a state of grace, and a continual preparation for the communion; and they do not exclude men from God's favour, so long as men labour and strive against them, and mourn for them, as for infirmities, in a general and daily repentance, upon which God is willing to pardon them. If it were not so, there could be no such thing as preparation for the communion at all: and it would not only destroy frequent and daily communion, but communion in general; since no man lives without such infirmities; and if he were not to communicate till he had perfectly cured them, he must for ever abstain from communicating, and never come at the Lord's table: which were at once to destroy the very ordinance itself, by making the qualification for it impracticable, and rendering it impossible for any

man to be perfectly and truly prepared for it. And it is to be feared, that some in these later ages, by overstraining the point, have done this great disservice to religion, by obliging men to such a preparation for the communion as is impracticable in itself, and frightening tender consciences from the holy ordinance, under pretence of greater reverence to it. By which means it has sometimes happened, that they, who perhaps have been the best prepared to receive it, have by needless scruples or terrors been kept at the greatest distance from it.

But the Ancients were extremely cautious of this delusion, and carefully taught men to distinguish between such sins as lay waste the conscience, and destroy a state of grace, and unqualify men for the communion, and such sins of infirmity and human frailty as are consistent with a state of grace, and do not unqualify men for constant communion; being such as are done away by a general repentance, and daily prayer for pardon and forgiveness. This doctrine and distinction of sins is often inculcated by St. Austin and others. It will be sufficient to hear their sense, in St. Austin's words [1], upon the

[1] De Symbolo, (t. 6. p. 554 g.) Cum baptizati fueritis, tenete vitam bonam in præceptis Dei: ut baptismum custodiatis usque in finem. Non vobis dico, quia sine peccato hic vivetis: sed sunt venialia, sine quibus vita ista non est. Propter omnia peccata baptismus inventus est: propter levia, sine quibus esse non possumus, oratio inventa. Quid habet oratio? *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Semel abluimur baptismate; quotidie abluimur oratione. Sed nolite illa committere, pro quibus necesse est, ut a Christi corpore separemini: quod absit a vobis. Illi enim, quos videtis agere pœnitentiam, scelera commiserunt, aut adulteria, aut aliqua facta immania: inde agunt pœnitentiam. Nam si levia peccata ipsorum essent, ad hæc quotidiana oratio delenda sufficeret. — Enchirid. adv. Laurent. c. 71. (t. 6. p. 223 b.) De quotidianis autem brevibus levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satisfacit.—Serm. 119. de Temp. [al. Serm. 213.] (t. 5. p. 942 d.) Sed quoniam victuri sumus in isto sæculo, ubi quis non vivit sine peccato, ideo remissio peccatorum non est in sola ablutione sacri baptismatis, sed etiam in oratione Dominica et quotidiana, quam post octo dies accepturi estis.—Ep. 108. [al. 265.] ad Seleucian. (t. 2. p. 898 e.) Est etiam pœnitentia bonorum et humilium fidelium pene quotidiana, in qua pectora tundimus, dicentes, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Neque enim ea nobis dimitti volumus, quæ dimissa non dubitamus in baptismo; sed illa utique, quæ humanæ fragilitati, quamvis parva, tamen crebra subrepunt.—Hom. 27. ex 50. [al. Serm. 352. c. 2.] (t. 5. p. 1369 d.) Et ubi illam ostendimus pœnitentiam quotidianam? Non habeo ubi melius ostendam, quam in oratione quotidiana, ubi Dominus orare nos docuit, quid ad Patrem

article of remission of sins in the Creed: where, speaking to the catechumens, he tells them, 'When they had received baptism, they should be careful to preserve a good life in the commands of God, that they might keep their baptism to the end. I do not say that ye should live here without sin: but there are some venial sins without which we cannot live in this life. Baptism is appointed for all sins, great and small: but for lesser sins, without which we cannot live, prayer is appointed. What says the prayer? "Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." We are once cleansed by baptism, we are every day cleansed by prayer. But do not commit those things for which it will be necessary for you to be separated from the body of Christ; which God forbid. For those whom ye see doing penance have committed great crimes, either adultery or some other grievous sins, for which they do penance. For if their transgressions had been light, the daily prayer had been sufficient to blot them out.' By this we may judge that sins of infirmity, to which all men are liable, and which were pardoned by their daily prayers, were reckoned no

dicamus ostendit, et in his verbis posuit, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.* Quæ debita, fratres? Quando quidem debita hic intelligi non possunt, nisi peccata; quæ debita dimisit in baptismo, iterum, ut dimittat, oramus?—In Ioan. Tract. 12. p. 47. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 390 c.) In dilectione ejus et in misericordia ejus [scil. Christi] qui ambulat, etiam liberatus ab illis lethalibus et grandibus peccatis, qualia sunt facinora, homicidia, furta, adulteria, propter illa, quæ minuta videntur esse, peccata linguæ, aut cogitationum, aut immoderationis in rebus concessis, facit veritatem confessionis, et venit ad lucem in operibus bonis: quoniam minuta plura peccata, si negligantur, occidunt.—See Serm. 3. in Ps. 118. (t. 4. p. 1282.) throughout; but especially his Book de Fide et Operibus, ch. 26. (t. 6. p. 191 c, d.) where he distinguishes three sorts of sins. 1. Such great sins for which men did public penance. 2. Such great sins as deserved to be corrected and punished with severe reproof, though they did not bring men under public penance: such as anger and evil speaking. 3. Sins of human frailty and daily incursion, for which the daily prayer was the daily medicine. This triple distinction of sins is the most exact of any other..... Sed nisi essent quædam ita gravia, ut etiam excommunicatione plectenda sint, non diceret Apostolus, *Congregatis vobis et meo spiritu tradere ejusmodi hominem Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit in die Domini Jesu.*..... Item nisi essent quædam non ea humilitate pœnitentiæ sananda, qualis in ecclesia datur eis, qui proprie pœnitentes vocantur, sed quibusdam correptionum medicamentis, non diceret ipse Dominus, *Corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum, et si te audierit, lucratus es fratrem tuum.* Postremo nisi essent quædam, sine quibus hæc vita non agitur, non quotidianam medelam poneret in oratione quam docuit, ut dicamus, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.*

formal breaches of the baptismal covenant, nor consequently any just impediments to debar any man from receiving the communion every day; (since none, except the Pelagians, thought it possible for men to live in such angelical perfection as to be above all manner of failings in this mortal state of human frailty:) and therefore they did not require of men, in order to communicate, such a perfection as human nature was not capable of attaining.

What repentance required for such failings.

3. Yet forasmuch as lesser sins, even of infirmity, are transgressions of the law, and the remainders of corruption in our nature, and in strictness deserve punishment, if God should be extreme to enter into judgment with us for them; nay, and if they be indulged and neglected, may commence greater and deadly sins of wilfulness and contempt; therefore upon this account they advised that men should not only ask pardon daily for them, and confess them with humiliation, and deplore them with sorrow; but also strive and labour against them with care, and diligence, and a perpetual watchfulness, and pray against them, and yield no consent to them, but have their wills continually bent against them, and hunger and thirst after the perfection of righteousness, and desire to be filled therewith when they came to the Lord's table. For, as Gregory the Great[2] expresses it, 'None are filled but those that hunger; who fast perfectly from sin, and receive the holy sacrament with a plenitude of virtue. Therefore, seeing the best of men cannot be wholly without sin, what remains but that they should endeavour daily to evacuate and purge themselves from those sins with which human frailty never ceases to

[2] L. 2. in Reg. c. 1. t. 1. p. 189. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 59 e. 5.) Non saturantur ergo nisi famelici: qui a vitiis perfecte jejunantes divina sacramenta percipiunt in plenitudine virtutis. Et quia sine peccato electi etiam viri esse non possunt, quid restat, nisi ut a peccatis, quibus eos humana fragilitas maculare non desinit, evacuare quotidie conentur? &c.—Cf. Augustin. in 1 Ioan. Tract. 1. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 830 b.) Non tantum præterita [scil. delicta], sed et si qua forte contraximus ex hac vita: quia non potest homo, quamdiu carnem portat, nisi habere vel levia peccata. Sed ista levia, quæ dicimus, noli contemnere. Si contemnis, quando appendis; expavesce, quando numeras. Levia multa faciunt unum grande.... Et quæ spes est? Ante omnia confessio; ne quisquam se justum putet.... Humilitas pertinet ad confessionem, qua confitemur nos peccatores esse. .... Da operam tu ne pecces: si de infirmitate vitæ subrepserit peccatum, continuo vide, continuo displiceat, continuo damna, &c.

defile them? For he that does not daily draw off the dregs of sin, though they be but little sins which he amasses together, they will by degrees fill his soul, and deprive him of the benefit of internal satisfaction.' In like manner Gennadius[3] persuades those who are guilty of no gross sins, but only of these lesser sins of infirmity, to communicate every Lord's-day, or oftener if they please; only with this caution, 'that their mind be free from all affection and love to such sins: for he that still retains a willingness to commit them, will find himself more oppressed than purified by receiving the eucharist. And therefore let such a one, when he is smitten or bitten in mind for his sin, cherish no will or inclination to his sin for the future; and before he communicates, let him satisfy with prayers and tears; and so confiding in the mercy of the Lord, who uses to pardon sins upon a pious confession, let him come to the eucharist in security and without doubting. But this I speak only of him who is not pressed with capital and deadly sins.'

What crimes unqualified men absolutely for the communion, and what sort of repentance was required for them.

4. 'But,' says he[4], 'if any man is pressed with the commission of mortal sins after baptism, I advise such an one to make satisfaction or amends by public repentance, and to be reconciled to communion by the judgment of the bishop or priest, if he would not receive the eucharist to his own judgment and condemnation.' This he speaks of such heinous offences as were direct violations of the baptismal covenant, upon the account of which men were then by the usual discipline of the Church debarred from communion and prayers, till they had for a long time gone through the several stages of public penance, and given such evident testimonies of their abhor-

[3] De Eccles. Dogmat. c. 53. (c. 23. juxt. Ed. Bened. Oper. Augustin. t. 8. append. p. 78 c.) Quotidie eucharistiæ communionem percipere nec laudo, nec vitupero. Omnibus tamen Dominicis diebus communicandum suadeo et hortor, si tamen mens sine [in, MSS.] affectu peccandi sit: nam habentem adhuc voluntatem peccandi gravari magis dico eucharistiæ perceptione, quam purificari. Et ideo, quamvis quis peccato mordeatur, peccandi non habeat de cætero voluntatem; et communicaturus satisfaciat lacrimis et orationibus; et confidens de Domini miseratione, qui peccata piæ confessioni donare consuevit, accedat ad eucharistiam intrepidus et securus. Sed hoc de illo dico, quem capitalia et mortalia peccata non gravant.

[4] [Ibid. (d.) Nam quem mortalia crimina post baptismum commissa premunt, hortor prius publica pœnitentia satisfacere et ita sacerdotis judicio reconciliatum communioni reconciliari, si vult non ad judicium et condemnationem sui eucharistiam percipere. Ed.]

rence of sin and sincere conversion, as were requisite and proper to satisfy the Church that they were real and hearty penitents. In which state of probation they were held a year, or two, or three, or five, or ten, or twenty, according to the nature and quality of their offence; and sometimes all their lives, if their crime was extremely great and scandalous, when they were allowed communion only at the hour of death. And during this course of discipline they were obliged constantly to attend the church, to hear the Scriptures read and the sermon preached for their instruction; and to exercise themselves in prayers, and confession, and tears, and watchings, and fastings, and almsdeeds, and good works, and whatever was proper to demonstrate that they were acting a sincere part, and not playing the hypocrite in the business of repentance. Then, according to their zeal and earnestness in such employments, a judgment was made upon their sincerity; and the time of their penance was lengthened or shortened according to the measures of their activity, and when they were deemed perfectly to have amended their lives and become new men, answerable to the tenour of their first covenant, then they were reconciled and absolved, and admitted again to the privilege of the communion. This was the standing rule of the Church with respect to those who had committed gross and scandalous crimes, for which they were cut off from the body as putrified members, and kept at a distance from the prayers of the Church, and the communion of the faithful at the Lord's table.

Scandalous and notorious sinners not to be admitted to communicate, without giving satisfactory evidences of their repentance.

5. I need not stand here to enumerate all the particular crimes that were deemed breaches of the baptismal covenant, and unqualified men for the communion. Some account has been given already [4] of them in showing what persons might or might not make their oblations at the altar; for they who might not offer might much less communicate; and this matter will come to be considered more exactly in the next volume, when we treat of the Discipline of the Church. Here I shall only observe in general, that the rules of the Church laid an obligation upon all ministers of the altar to refuse the communion to all such notorious offenders as were declared incapable and unworthy of it by the standing laws of communion, then well known to all in the Church: and that an over-hasty ad-

[4] See before, ch. 2. s. 2. p. 234, preceding.

mittance of such criminals, without sufficient time of probation and satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion, was always reckoned a great transgression and failure in the exercise of the ministerial function. It will be sufficient at present to give two or three plain evidences of this out of Chrysostom and some others.

'Let no cruel person,' says Chrysostom [5], 'no unmerciful, no impure soul, come near this table. I speak this as well to you that receive the eucharist, as to you that minister. For it is necessary to say this to you that minister, that ye may distribute the gifts with great care. There is no small punishment hangs over your head, if ye give the eucharist knowingly to any flagitious man. His blood shall be required at your hands. Though it be a general, though it be a consul, though it be him that wears the crown, if he comes unworthily, restrain

[5] Hom. 83. in Matth. p. 705. (t. 7. p. 789 b.) *Μηδεὶς ἀπάνθρωπος προσίτω, μηδεὶς ὠμὸς καὶ ἀνελεὴς, μηδεὶς ἀκάθαρτος· ταῦτα πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας λέγω, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς διακονουμένους· καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς διαλεχθῆναι, ἵστε μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς διανέμειν ταῦτα* [ταυτὶ Sav.] *τὰ δῶρα. Οὐ μικρὰ κόλασις ὑμῖν ἐστιν, εἰ συνειδότες τινὶ πονηρίαν συγχωρήσητε μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης· τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκζητηθήσεται τῶν ὑμετέρων. Κἂν στρατηγὸς τίς ᾖ, κἂν ὕπαρχος, κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸ διάδημα περικείμενος, ἀναξίως δὲ προσείη, κώλυσον· μείζονα ἐκείνου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις.* [*Σὺ δὲ εἰ μὲν πηγὴν ὕδατος ἐνεχειρίσθης φυλάττειν ποιμνίῳ καθαράν· εἶτα εἶδες πρόβατον πολὺν ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος φέρον τὸν βόρβορον, οὐκ ἂν εἴασας ἐπικύψαι κάτω καὶ θολῶσαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον· νυνὶ δὲ οὐχ ὕδατος, ἀλλὰ αἵματος καὶ πνεύματος πηγὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος, καὶ ὁρῶν τοὺς* [al. *γῆς καὶ*] *βορβόρου χαλεπωτέραν ἁμαρτίαν ἔχοντάς* [*τινας*] *καὶ προσιόντας, οὐκ ἀγανακτεῖς οὐδὲ ἀπείργεις. Καὶ τίνα ἂν σχοίης συγγνώμην; Διὰ τοῦτο ὑμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐτίμησε ταύτην τὴν τιμὴν, ἵνα τὰ τοιαῦτα διακρίνητε· τοῦτο ὑμῶν ἡ ἀξία, τοῦτο ἡ ἀσφάλεια, τοῦτο ὁ στέφανος ἅπας· οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περιήτε.*] *Καὶ πόθεν οἶδα, φησὶ, τὸν δεῖνα* [*καὶ τὸν δεῖνα* Ben. and Sav.]; *οὐ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοουμένων, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν γνωρίμων λέγω. Εἶπω τι φρικωδέστερον· οὐχ οὕτω χαλεπὸν τοὺς ἐνεργουμένους ἔνδον εἶναι, ὡς τούτους, οὓς φησὶ ὁ Παῦλος τὸν Χριστὸν καταπατῆσαι, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης κοινὸν ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χάριν ἐνυβρίσαι· δαιμονῶντος γὰρ χείρων, ὁ ἡμαρτηκὼς καὶ προσιών· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ δαιμονῶσιν, οὐ κολάζονται· οὗτοι δέ, ὅταν ἀναξίως προσίωσιν, ἀθανάτῳ παραδίδονται τιμωρίᾳ. Μὴ τοίνυν τούτους ἐλαύνωμεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἁπλῶς, οὓς ἂν ἴδωμεν ἀναξίως προσιόντας.*—In Ps. 49. p. 303. (t. 5. p. 236 e.) *Ἂν τοίνυν ἴδῃς τινὰ τῶν μετὰ σοῦ ἀγελαζομένων πορνεύοντα, καὶ μυστηρίοις προσερχόμενον, εἰπὲ τῷ διακονουμένῳ τῇ τούτων διανομῇ· Ὁ δεῖνα ἀνάξιος τῶν μυστηρίων, κώλυσον τὰς βεβήλους χεῖρας. Εἰ γὰρ μηδὲ διηγεῖσθαι τὰ δικαιώματα ἄξιος, ἐννόησον, οἱ προβήσεται τὰ τῆς κολάσεως αὐτῷ, ὅταν καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅπτηται τραπέζης, οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ συσκιάζοντι.* [Conf. Hom. 24. de Bapt. Christ. t. 1. p. 316. (t. 1. p. 372 d, e, f.) *Εἶδες μὲν οὖν, ὡς καὶ πολλάκις ἔφθην εἰπὼν, κ. τ. λ.* Ed.]

him: thou hast greater power than he.... But you will say, how shall I know what such or such an one is? I speak not of those that are unknown, but of those that are known. I will say a fearful word: it is not so bad to admit energumens, or persons possessed with a devil, to this holy place, as those men who, as St. Paul says, "tread Christ under foot, and count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, and do despite to the Spirit of grace." Let us not therefore cast out demoniacs only, but all such as come unworthily to be partakers of this table.'

It is a remarkable saying of St. Ambrose [6] upon this occasion: 'Some men desire to be admitted to penance only for this reason, that they may presently receive the communion again: these men do not so much desire to be absolved themselves, as to bind the priest: for they do not put off their own evil conscience.' Such a rash act in a priest, in receiving a notorious criminal without any clear evidences and fruits of repentance, puts him in the sinner's condition, and makes him a criminal before God for the abuse of the authority committed to him. Therefore, as the Novatians were generally condemned for being too rigorous in denying the communion for ever to all such as fell into great sins after baptism: so, on the other hand, the Audian heretics are censured for being too hasty [7], in assuming authority to pardon sins by their own power, and granting remission upon a bare confession, without prescribing a time for repentance, as the laws of the Church always required.

Cyprian gives as severe a reproof to such of the clergy as were over-hasty in admitting those that had lapsed into idolatry in time of persecution, before they had gone through a due course of penance, and had taken time to bewail and confess their sin, and give sufficient evidences of their repent-

[6] De Pœnitent. l. 2. c. 9. (t. 2. p. 434 f. n. 87.) Nonnulli ideo poscunt pœnitentiam, ut statim sibi reddi communionem velint. Hi non tam se solvere cupiunt, quam sacerdotem ligare: suam enim conscientiam culpa non exuunt, et sacerdotes induunt, cui præceptum est: *Nolite sanctum dare canibus*, &c.

[7] Vid. Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. l. 4. c. 13. (t. 4. part. 1. p. 365.) Κελεύουσι καὶ τὰ πλημμεληθέντα ὁμολογεῖν· εἶτα τοῖς ὡμολογηκόσιν δωροῦνται τὴν ἄφεσιν· οὐ χρόνον ὁριζόμενοι εἰς μετάνοιαν, καθὰ κελεύουσιν οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ, ἀλλ' ἐξουσίᾳ ποιούμενοι τὴν συγχώρησιν.

ance. 'Whereas sinners,' says he [8], 'for much lesser crimes take a just time to do penance, and according to the order of discipline come to confession, and by imposition of hands given them by the bishop and clergy receive a right to communicate: now they are very hastily and unseasonably admitted to communion, and their name is offered; and before they have done penance, before they have made their confession, before they have received the imposition of hands, the eucharist is given them, although it be said, that whosoever eats the bread and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.' The martyrs, who lay in prison, were a little concerned in this irregularity: for they were used to intercede for such criminals, to gain them admission before their time: and therefore he wrote another Letter to the Martyrs [9], to show them the danger and inconveniences of such precipitated communicating of sinners, and to dissuade them from such unseasonable interposing in their behalf, before they had done their regular penance. And he also wrote a long Discourse to the Lapsers themselves [10], wherein he more largely sets forth the fallacy, that was put upon them by this too indulgent facility in granting them such a preposterous peace, which did not really give them peace, but destroy it; nor grant them true communion, but hinder their salvation. By all which, and abundance more, that might be added upon this head, it is evident, that, to reconcile a sinner to the altar, after the commission of any heinous and public crimes, they required him to go through a long course of penance publicly in the church, in order to give clear satisfaction and demonstration by manifest works and fruits of repentance, that he was a real convert, and worthy of the communion which he desired: and to admit him before, was only to impose upon the

[8] Ep. 10. [al. 16.] ad Cler. p. 37. (p. 195.) Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant: nunc crudo tempore... ad communicationem admittuntur, et offertur nomen eorum, et, nondum pœnitentia acta, nondum exomologesi facta, nondum manu eis ab episcopo et clero imposita, eucharistia illis datur, &c.; cum scriptum sit, *Qui ederit panem aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.*

[9] Ep. 11. [al. 15.] p. 34. (pp. 192. seqq.)

[10] De Lapsis, pp. 128, seqq. (pp. 87, seqq.)

sinner, and incur the displeasure of God by prostituting his ordinance, and suffering the vile to tread under foot the Son of God.

But beside these heinous sins, which put men under the public censures of the Church, there were also many other crimes of an heinous nature, which unqualified men for worthy receiving, though they did not ordinarily bring them to a state of public penance, either because men could not be so directly and formally convicted of them, or because they did not seem to carry so great malignity and contempt of God in them as the former. Among these St. Austin [11] reckons anger and evil speaking; and others add rash swearing, breach of promise, lying, covetousness, drunkenness, and sins of the like nature. Now, though these did not ordinarily subject men to public penance, yet they were confessed on all hands to be grievous and deadly sins, and such as men should not presume to come with, unrepented of, to the Lord's table. And therefore though the Ancients did not forcibly repel such sinners from communicating, yet they never failed to stave them off by admonitions and reproofs, declaiming sharply against all such vices, and showing men the danger of them as well as those of the highest nature.

Whether they required confession of private sins to the priest as a necessary qualification for the communion.

6. This was their constant way of proceeding with great and heinous sinners, when their crimes were public, notorious, and scandalous, in order to qualify them for a worthy participation of the eucharist, after any manifest breach or violation of their baptismal covenant. As to private crimes, they laid no necessity upon the conscience of men, to make either public or private confession of them to any beside God, to qualify them for the communion. They sometimes advised men to public confession for private crimes, and many times men voluntarily confessed their private crimes, and submitted to do public penance for them, as thinking this the securest way to obtain perfect forgiveness of God: and in some places a public

[11] De Fid. et Oper. c. 26. (t. 6. p. 191 d.) [The reference is not distinct; but the Author seems to allude to St. Austin's remarks on a middle class of sins between the *peccata gravia* and those *sine quibus hæc vita non agitur*, viz. Item nisi essent quædam non ea humilitate pœnitentiæ sananda, qualis in ecclesia datur, &c. See before, s. 2, the last part of n. 1, preceding. Ed.]

minister, called *the penitentiary*, was appointed to hear men's confessions, and direct them in their public or private repentance. But, as yet, no indispensable obligation was laid upon men to make confession of their private crimes, as a necessary condition of communion: much less did they enjoin men auricular confession, in order to obtain private absolution of a priest, and do penance afterward, without giving at present any evident demonstrations of repentance. Their private confessions were all voluntary, and these chiefly in order to public penance: but whether for public or private penance, the confession of private sins was a matter of advice and prudence and free choice, and not forced upon men by any laws of necessity or indispensable obligation. I shall have further occasion to handle this matter more fully in the next Book, about the Discipline of the Church: and therefore I will only mention a passage or two here, that relate to men's preparation for the communion.

Chrysostom[12], explaining those words of the Apostle, [1 Cor. 11, 28.] "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup," says, 'He does not bid one man examine another, but every one himself; making the judgment private, and the trial without witnesses.' And again[13], expounding the very same words, 'The Apostle,' says he, 'does not reveal or lay open the sore, he does not bring the accusation upon the open stage, he does not set witnesses of thy crimes against thee: but bids thee, within thy own conscience, none being present but God, who knows all things, to set up a judgment and search after thy sins; and, recounting thy whole life, to bring thy sins to the bar of thy own mind; to reform thy excesses, and so with a pure conscience to come to the sacred table, and partake of the holy sacrifice.' And it

[12] Hom. 28. in 1 Cor. p. 569. (t. 10. p. 250 e.)..... Οὐχ ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ κελεύει δοκιμάσαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν, ἀδημοσίευτον ποιῶν τὸ δικαστήριον, ἀμάρτυρον τὸν ἔλεγχον.

[13] Hom. 8. de Pœnitent. [juxt. Ed. Bened. 6. juxt. Ed. Savil. Hom. de Jejun. 2.] (t. 2. p. 326 b.) Οὐκ ἀπεκάλυψε τὸ ἕλκος· οὐκ εἰς κοινὸν θέατρον ἤγαγε τὴν κατηγορίαν· οὐ περιέστησε μάρτυρας τῶν πλημμελημάτων· ἔνδον ἐν τῷ συνειδότι, μηδενὸς παρόντος πλὴν τοῦ πάντα ὁρῶντος Θεοῦ, ποιοῦ τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων τὴν ἐξέτασιν, καὶ πάντα τὸν βίον ἀναλογιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ νοῦ τὸ κριτήριον ἄγε τὰ ἁμαρτήματα· διόρθου τὰ πλημμελήματα, καὶ οὕτω μετὰ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος τῆς ἱερᾶς ἅπτου τραπέζης, καὶ τῆς ἁγίας μέτεσχε θυσίας.

is remarkable, that under Nectarius, St. Chrysostom's predecessor, a law was made upon occasion of a scandal that was given by the confession of a gentlewoman, defiled by a deacon at Constantinople, 'that the office of the penitentiary priest, which had been for some time in that Church, should be laid aside; and that liberty should be given to every one, upon the private examination of his own conscience, to partake of the holy mysteries.' Which evidently shows, that they did not then believe there was any divine law for the necessity of auricular confession, but that it was a matter of liberty and prudence only. Socrates[14], who relates the whole story, says he had it from the mouth of Eudæmon, the presbyter, who gave Nectarius this advice; and Sozomen[15] adds, that the bishops of most other Churches followed Nectarius's example.

In the Latin Church, it appears also from Gennadius[16], that the general rule for great crimes of a public nature was, to do public penance in the church: but for private crimes no other was necessarily required but private satisfaction by a change of life from secular to religious, by continual mourning to implore God's mercy, by doing things contrary to those whereof the sinner repents, and by receiving the eucharist every Lord's-day to the end of his life. And Laurentius[17], bishop of Novaria, speaking of repentance, says, 'After baptism God hath appointed thee a remedy within thyself: he hath put remission in thy own power, that thou needest not to seek a priest when necessity requires; but thou thyself now, as a skilful master

[14] L. 5. c. 19. (v. 2. p. 287. 12.)... *Εὐδαίμων τὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος ... γνώμην τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ δίδωσι Νεκταρίῳ, περιελεῖν μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας πρεσβύτερον· συγχωρῆσαι δὲ ἕκαστον τῷ ἰδίῳ συνειδότι τῶν μυστηρίων μετέχειν.*—See the whole story afterwards, b. 18. ch. 3. s. 12.

[15] L. 7. c. 16. (ibid. p. 299. 16.) *Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ, τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν μετανοούντων τεταγμένον πρεσβύτερον οὐκέτι συνεχώρησεν εἶναι πρῶτος Νεκτάριος, ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπιτροπεύων· ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ σχεδὸν οἱ πανταχοῦ ἐπίσκοποι.*

[16] De Dogmat. Eccles. c. 53. (c. 23. juxt. Ed. Bened. Oper. Augustin. t. 8. append. p. 78 d.) Sed et secreta satisfactione solvi mortalia crimina non negamus, sed mutato prius sæculari habitu, et confesso religionis studio per vitæ correctionem, et jugi, immo perpetuo luctu miserante Deo, ita duntaxat, ut contraria pro iis, quæ pœnitet, agat, et eucharistiam omnibus Dominicis diebus supplex et submissus usque ad mortem suscipiat.

[17] Hom. 1. de Pœnitent. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Paris. 1624. t. 2. p. 129. b. 6.) Post baptisma remedium tuum in teipso statuit, remissionem in arbitrio tuo posuit, ut non quæras sacerdotem, cum necessitas flagitaverit: sed ipse jam, ac si scitus perspicuusque magister, errorem tuum intra te emendes, et peccatum tuum pœnitudine abluas.

always at hand, mayest correct thy own error within thyself, and wash away thy sin by repentance.'

It were easy to add abundance more testimonies, both out of the Greek and Latin writers, but these are sufficient at present to show that they did not require private confession, as any necessary part of that preparation, which men were obliged to make for the purging of private sins before they came to the Lord's table: but their direction was the Apostle's rule, "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup."

That preparation consists n in coming to commu nion at ce tain holy seasons, b in sanctit and purit at all time

7. Yet they did not hereby discharge men of all obligation to cleanse themselves from sin, but carefully pressed upon the conscience the necessity of universal purity, when they came to feast upon the body and blood of Christ at his table: "Let a man examine himself: for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord, and eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." [1 Cor. 11, 28 and 29.]

There were some so vain as to think, that a formal appearing at the Lord's table at some certain holy and solemn seasons was all the preparation that was needful: as if the circumstance of time added any real qualification to their souls. Against these men's extravagance St. Chrysostom[18] inveighs with the greatest sharpness. 'I observe many,' says he, 'who are par-

[18] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1050. (t. 11. p. 22 a.) Πολλοὺς ὁρῶ τοὺς σώματος Χριστοῦ μετέχοντας ἁπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε, καὶ συνηθείᾳ μᾶλλον καὶ νόμῳ, ἢ λογισμῷ καὶ διανοίᾳ. Ἂν ἐπιστῇ, φησιν, ὁ τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς καιρὸς, οἷος ἐὰν ᾖ τις, μετέχει τῶν μυστηρίων· ἂν ἐπιστῇ τῶν Ἐπιφανίων ἡμέρα· καί τοι καιρὸς οὐ τοῦτο προσόδου· οὐ γὰρ Ἐπιφάνια, οὐδὲ Τεσσαρακοστὴ ποιεῖ ἀξίους τοῦ προσιέναι, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς εἰλικρινεία, καὶ καθαρότης· μετὰ ταύτης ἀεὶ πρόσιθι, χωρὶς ταύτης μηδέποτε· Ὀσάκις γάρ, φησι, τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου καταγγέλλετε· τουτέστιν, ὑπόμνησιν ποιεῖτε τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τῆς εὐεργεσίας τῆς ἐμῆς. Ἐννόησον, ὅσοι τῆς θυσίας μετέχοντες τῆς παλαιᾶς πόσῃ ἐκέχρηντο τῇ φειδοῖ· τί γὰρ οὐκ ἔπραττον; τί οὐκ ἐποίουν; πάντοτε ἐκαθῆροντο· σὺ δὲ θυσίᾳ προσιὼν, ἣν καὶ ἄγγελοι φρίττουσι, καιρῶν περιόδοις τὸ πρᾶγμα ὁρίζεις; Καὶ πῶς παραστήσῃ τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μιαραῖς χερσὶ καὶ χείλεσι κατατολμῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος; καὶ βασιλέα μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιο καταφιλῆσαι, ὀδωδότος σου τοῦ στόματος, τὸν δὲ Βασιλέα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψυχῇ καταφιλεῖς ὀδωδυίᾳ; ὕβρις τὸ πρᾶγμά ἐστιν. Εἰπέ μοι, ἆρα ἂν ἔλοιο χερσὶν ἀνίπτοις τῇ θυσίᾳ προσελθεῖν; οὐκ ἔγωγε οἶμαι. Ἀλλ' ἐθέλοις ἂν μηδὲ ὅλως προσελθεῖν, ἢ ῥυπαραῖς χερσίν; εἶτα, ἐν τῷ μικρῷ οὕτως ὢν εὐλαβὴς, ψυχὴν ἔχων ῥυπαρὰν προσέρχῃ, καὶ ἅπτεσθαι τολμᾷς; καί τοι ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν χειρῶν πρὸς καιρὸν κατέχεται, εἰς δὲ ἐκείνην ὁλόκληρος ἀναλύεται. [Τί δὲ, οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὰ σκεύη οὕτω περικλυζόμενα; οὕτως ἀπολάμποντα; τούτων καθαρωτέρας ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς, τούτων ἁγιωτέρας καὶ λαμπροτέρας. Τί δήποτε; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα διὰ ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα γίνεται· ἐκεῖνα οὐ μετέχει τοῦ ἐνόντος, οὐκ αἰ-

takers of the Lord's body inconsiderately, and at all adventures, more out of custom than by any rule, or reason, and understanding. If the holy time of Lent comes, or the day of Christ's Epiphany, or Nativity, then they partake of the holy mysteries, whatever condition they are in. But Epiphany is not the time of approaching: neither does Lent make men worthy to come, but the sincerity and purity of their souls. With this come at all times; without it never come. Consider those who were partakers of the sacrifices under the Old Law; what abstinence did they use? what did they not do? what did they not perform, to purify themselves in every respect? And dost thou, when thou comest to the sacrifice, at which the angels are even amazed and tremble, measure the business by the revolution and periods of certain times and seasons? How wilt thou stand before the tribunal of Christ, who darest to touch his body with polluted hands and lips? Thou wouldst not presume to kiss the king with a stinking mouth: and dost thou kiss the King of Heaven with a stinking soul? That is the highest affront that can really be offered to him. Tell me, wouldst thou choose to come to the sacrifice with unwashen hands? I suppose not, but wouldst rather not come at all, than with unclean hands. Since therefore thou art so scrupulous and religious in a small matter, how darest thou to come and touch the sacrifice with a polluted soul? When as thy hands only hold it for a time, but thy soul has it wholly dissolved into it. ... At other times ye come not to it, though ye be clean; but at Easter ye come, although ye be defiled with sin. Oh custom! Oh prejudice!' Thus St. Chrysostom reproves those who contented themselves with an outside, formal preparation, to comply with the general custom of receiving at some of the holy festivals; which was a mere corporeal purification, like the Pharisaical righteousness: for "they made clean the outside of the cup and platter, whilst their inward part was full of corruption and all uncleanness."

In another place[19] he thus opposes this fantastical prepara-

σθάνεται· ἡμεῖς δὲ; ναί· νῦν δὲ, ῥυπαρῷ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιο χρήσασθαι σκεύει, ῥυπαρᾷ δὲ ψυχῇ προσέρχῃ; πολλὴν ὁρῶ τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν.] Ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς, οὐδὲ καθαροὶ πολλάκις ὄντες προσέρχεσθε, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πάσχα, κἂν ᾖ τι τετολμημένον ὑμῖν, πρόσιτε· ὦ τῆς συνηθείας, ὦ τῆς προσλήψεως.

[19] Hom. 31. de Philogon. t. 1. p. 402. (t. 1. p. 499 d.) Νῦν δὲ εἰς τοσοῦτο ἀνοίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως πολ-

tion, and describes the true preparation of the soul, by the purity of a man's conscience, and a sanctified life. 'Many

λοὶ τῶν πιστῶν ἐληλάκασιν· ὡς καὶ μυρίων γέμοντες κακῶν, καὶ μηδεμίαν ὅλως ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενοι, ἁπλῶς, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς τῇ τραπέζῃ ταύτῃ προσέρχονται, οὐκ εἰδότες, ὅτι καιρὸς κοινωνίας οὐχ ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις· ἀλλὰ συνειδὸς καθαρὸν καὶ βίος ἐγκλημάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος· καὶ καθάπερ τὸν οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδότα φαῦλον καθ' ἑκάστην δεῖ προσιέναι τὴν ἡμέραν· οὕτω τὸν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι προκατειλημμένον, καὶ μὴ μετανοοῦντα, οὐδὲ ἓν ἑορτῇ προσιέναι ἀσφαλές. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ προσελθεῖν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἡμᾶς, ἂν ἀναξίως προσίωμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο μειζόνως καταδικάζει· ὅτι, ἅπαξ προσιόντες, οὐδὲ τότε καθαρῶς προσίεμεν. Διὰ τοῦτο παρακαλῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς, μὴ ἁπλῶς διὰ τὴν τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀνάγκην τῶν θείων ἅπτεσθαι μυστηρίων· ἀλλ' εἴ ποτε μέλλοντες τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης μεθέξειν προσφορᾶς, πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἑαυτοὺς διακαθαίρειν διὰ μετανοίας, καὶ εὐχῆς, καὶ ἐλεημοσύνης, καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ σχολῆς· καὶ μὴ πάλιν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι κατάπερ κύων ἐπὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἔμετον. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τῶν μὲν σωματικῶν τοσαύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὥστε, ἑορτῆς προαγούσης, πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἱμάτιον ἐκ τῶν κιβωτίων τὸ κάλλιστον ἀνελομένους προευτρεπίζειν καὶ ὑποδήματα ὠνεῖσθαι, καὶ τραπέζῃ δαψιλεστέρᾳ κεχρῆσθαι, καὶ πολλοὺς πάντοθεν προσεπινοεῖν πόρους, παντὶ τρόπῳ φαιδρύνειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ καλλωπίζειν· τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἠμελημένης, ῥυπώσης, αὐχμώσης, λιμῷ διαφθειρομένης, ἀκαθάρτου μενούσης, μηδένα ποιεῖσθαι λόγον· ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν σῶμα καλλωπίζοντα εἰσάγειν ἐνταῦθα· ἐκείνην δὲ γυμνὴν καὶ ἀσχημονοῦσαν; καί τοι τοῦτο μὲν ὁ σύνδουλος ὁρᾷ· καὶ βλάβος οὐδὲν, κἂν ὁπωσοῦν διακείμενον ᾖ· ἐκείνην δὲ ὁ Δεσπότης, καὶ μεγίστην ἐπάγει κόλασιν τῆς ἀμελείας. Οὐκ ἴστε, ὅτι πυρὸς αὕτη γέμει ἡ τράπεζα πνευματικοῦ, καὶ καθάπερ αἱ πηγαὶ φύσιν ὕδατος ἀναβλύζουσιν, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη φλόγα τινὰ ἔχει ἄρρητον. Μὴ τοίνυν προσέλθῃς καλάμην ἔχων, μὴ ξύλα, μὴ χόρτον· ἵνα μὴ πλείονα τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν ἐργάσῃ, καὶ κατακαύσῃς τὴν μεταλαμβάνουσαν ψυχήν· ἀλλ' ἔχων λίθους τιμίους, χρυσὸν, ἄργυρον· ἵνα καθαρωτέραν ποιήσῃς τὴν ὕλην, ἵνα πολλὴν λαβὼν τὴν ἐμπορίαν, ἀπέλθῃς. Εἴ τι πονηρὸν, ἐξόρισον, φυγάδευσον ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου· ἔχει τις ἐχθρὸν, καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἠδίκηται; καταλυέτω τὴν ἔχθραν, καταστελλέτω τὴν διάνοιαν φλεγμαίνουσαν, οἰδοῦσαν· ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔνδον θόρυβος ᾖ μηδὲ ταραχή· βασιλέα γὰρ ὑποδέχεσθαι μέλλεις διὰ τῆς κοινωνίας· βασιλέως δὲ ἐπιβαίνοντος τῇ ψυχῇ, πολλὴν εἶναι δεῖ τὴν γαλήνην, πολλὴν τὴν ἡσυχίαν· βαθείαν τῶν λογισμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην. Ἀλλὰ μεγάλα ἠδίκησαι, καὶ οὐ φέρεις ἀφεῖναι τὴν ὀργήν. Τί τοίνυν σαυτὸν πολλῷ μείζονα ἀδικεῖς καὶ χαλεπώτερα; οὐ γὰρ τοιαῦτά σε διαθήσεται ὁ ἐχθρὸς, ἅπερ ἂν ποιῇ, οἷα σὺ σαυτὸν, μὴ καταλλαττόμενος πρὸς ἐκεῖνον· ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ καταπατῶν νόμους. Ὕβρισέν σε ἐκεῖνος· διὰ τοῦτο οὖν σὺ τὸν Θεὸν ὑβρίζῃ, εἰπέ μοι; τὸ γὰρ μὴ καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ λελυπηκότι, οὐκ ἐκεῖνόν ἐστιν ἀμυνομένου τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τὸν Θεὸν ὑβρίζοντος τὸν ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντα· μὴ τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν σύνδουλον ἴδῃς. Μηδὲ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἐκείνου· ἀλλὰ τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου φόβον εἰς νοῦν βαλλόμενος, ἐκεῖνο σκόπησον· ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν μείζονα πάσχῃς βίαν κατὰ ψυχῆν, μετὰ μύρια κακὰ ἀναγκαζόμενος καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ λελυπηκότι, τοσούτῳ πλείονος ἀπολαύσῃ τιμῆς παρὰ τοῦ ταῦτα κελεύσαντος Θεοῦ· καὶ καθάπερ αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς ὑποδέχῃ τιμῆς ἐνταῦθα, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ πολλῆς ὑποδέξεταί σε τῆς δόξης ἐκεῖ, μυριοπλασίους ἀποδιδούς σοι τῆς ὑπακοῆς ταύτης τὰς ἀμοιβάς. —Hom. 52. In eos, qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. p. 710. [Bened. Hom. cont. Jud. 3.] (ibid. p. 612 b.) 'Ο μὴ νηστεύων, ἀνμετὰ καθαροῦ προσέλθῃ συνειδότος, Πάσχα ἐπιτελεῖ, κἂν σήμερον, κἂν αὔριον, κἂν ὁποτεοῦν μετάσχῃ τῆς κοινωνίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐν παρατηρήσει καιρῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν συνειδότι καθαρῷ ἡ ἀρίστη κρίνεται πρόσοδος. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον ποιοῦμεν· τὴν μὲν διάνοιαν οὐ καθαίρομεν· εἰ δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσέλθοιμεν ἐκείνῃ, νομίζομεν Πάσχα ἐπι-

Christians nowadays,' says he, 'are sunk into so great stupidity and contempt, that though they be laden with sins, and take no manner of care of themselves, yet they come to the holy table, at the solemn festivals, hand over head, and just as mere chance directs them: not considering, that what makes it seasonable to communicate, is not merely a festival, or the time of a more solemn assembly, but a pure conscience, and a life free from sin. For as he, who is conscious to himself of no enormous crime, ought to come every day; so, on the other hand, he who is fettered in sins, and does not repent, cannot safely come upon a festival. For it is not our coming once a year that discharges us of our sins, if we come unworthily: but this very thing rather increases our condemnation, that though we come but once a year, yet we come not even then with a pure conscience. Wherefore I exhort you all, not to come to the holy mysteries barely upon the account of a festival; but whenever ye design to partake of this holy sacrifice, to purge yourselves many days before by repentance, and prayer, and alms, and attendance upon spiritual things; and not to return again like the dog to his vomit. Is it not absurd to spend so much care upon corporeal things, as that when a festival approaches, you will bring forth your best clothes out of your wardrobe, and make them ready many days before, and buy you shoes, and prepare a more splendid table, and think of many ways to deck and adorn yourself; but in the mean time have no regard to your soul, which lies neglected in filth and nastiness, and ready to perish with famine, and overrun with impurity? How absurd is it to present the body here finely adorned, but your soul naked and vilely clothed! When yet none sees your body but your fellow-servants; but your soul is nicely viewed by the Lord, who will also severely punish your neglect of it. Know you not that this table is filled with spiritual fire, and sends forth secret flames, as fountains do their water in abundance? Bring not therefore hither wood, hay, stubble, lest you increase the flame, and burn your soul by

τελεῖν, κἂν μυρίων γέμωμεν ἁμαρτημάτων· Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Σαββάτῳ προσέλθῃς μετὰ πονηροῦ συνειδότος, ἐξέπεσες τῆς κοινωνίας, ἀπῆλθες, οὐκ ἐπιτελέσας τὸ Πάσχα· ὥσπερ οὖν κἂν σήμερον κοινωνῇς, τὰ ἁμαρτήματα ἀπονιψάμενος, τὸ Πάσχα ἐπετέλεσας ἀκριβῶς. Ἐχρῆν τοίνυν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν ταύτην ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν εὐτονίαν, μὴ ἐν τῇ τῶν καιρῶν παρατηρήσει, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προσόδῳ φυλάττειν.

such a participation: but bring hither gold, silver, precious stones, that ye may make those materials still more pure, and go hence with greater gain and advantage. If any evil remains in your soul, chase and drive it thence. Has any one an enemy, from whom he has suffered great injuries and injustice, let him dissolve his enmity, and restrain his flaming, swelling mind, that there be no tumult or perturbation within. For thou art now about to receive a king by communion: and when a king enters into thy soul, there ought to be a perfect calm, tranquillity, and silence, and a profound peace in thy thoughts. But thou hast been exceedingly injured, and canst not bear to moderate thy anger against him. What then? Wilt thou therefore more grievously injure thyself? For thy enemy, whatever he does, cannot do thee so much harm as thou dost to thyself, if thou art not reconciled to him, but tramplest on the laws of God. He has injured and affronted thee, and wilt thou injure and affront God? For not to receive an enemy to pardon and favour, is not so much to take revenge on him, as to affront God, who hath given us this law of reconciliation. Therefore, look not to thy fellow-servant, nor to the greatness of the injuries that he hath done thee: but look unto God; and, putting his fear into thy mind, consider this, that the greater violence thou offerest to thy soul, by compelling it to be reconciled after suffering a thousand indignities, so much the greater honour shalt thou obtain from him, who prohibits thee revenge. And as thou receivest God with great honour here, he will receive thee with great glory hereafter, and recompense thee a thousand-fold for this obedience.' Thus did this holy man explain in general the due manner and method of preparing to receive the eucharist, and with the strongest arguments of piety, and the utmost force of eloquence and reason, endeavour to persuade his hearers to the practice of it.

8. I have not room to transcribe all that this author[20] and

What faith is required

[20] Vid. Chrysost. in Ps. 133. p. 488. (t. 5. p. 382 a.) *Πόσης ἐννόησον ἁγιωσύνης σοι δεῖ τῷ πολλῷ μείζονα σύμβολα δεξαμένῳ, ὧν ἐδέξατο τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων τότε. Οὐ γὰρ Χερουβὶμ ἔχεις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῶν Χερουβὶμ Δεσπότην ἔχεις ἐνοικοῦντα, οὐδὲ στάμνον καὶ μάννα, καὶ πλάκας λιθίνας, καὶ ῥάβδον Ἀαρὼν, ἀλλὰ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Δεσποτικὸν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἀντὶ τοῦ γράμματος, καὶ χάριν ὑπερβαίνουσαν λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ δωρεὰν ἀνεκδιήγητον. Ὅσῳ δὲ μειζόνων ἠξιώθης συμβόλων, καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, τοσούτῳ μείζονος εἶ ὑπεύθυνος τῆς ἁγιωσύνης, καὶ πλείονος κολάσεως, εἰ παραβαίης τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα.*

in communicants.

the rest have said further in their general exhortations to make a due preparation for the communion: much less will it consist with the design of this work to descend to all the particular cases and questions that might be moved about it, the handling of which would easily swell into a volume: and the reader may find it already done, in a great measure, by our learned Bishop Taylor in his Worthy Communicant, where he states all the duties required in order to a worthy participation, together with the cases of conscience occurring in the duty of him that ministers, and in the duty of him that communicates, out of the ancient writers. I shall content myself to suggest a few things relating to these particulars, which are: 1. Faith. 2. Repentance and obedience. 3. Justice. 4. Peace and unity. 5. Charity and beneficence. 6. Pardoning of offences. 7. Lastly, men's behaviour at the time of communicating and afterwards, which I shall briefly represent in the words of St. Chrysostom, who has spoken so largely upon this subject.

1. With respect to faith, they required in every communicant that was of years of discretion, not only an orthodox profession of the several articles of the Christian faith in general, but also a particular faith with relation to the mystical eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood in the holy sacrament. The former is evident from that usual form of words in the deacon's admonition to all that had not a right to communicate, to withdraw; among whom all heterodox or heretical persons were admonished to be gone: Μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων, *Let no heterodox person be present.* And in regard to this, St. Chrysostom[21], or whoever was the author of the Sermon of Binding and Loosing Sin, speaking of men's private examination of themselves, says, 'God hath given thee the power of binding and loosing. Thou hast bound thyself with the chain of covetousness; loose thyself with the injunction of the love of poverty. Thou hast bound thyself with the furious desire of

[21] Hom. In illud, Quodcunque ligaveris, &c. Ed. Savil. t. 7. p. 268. 31. (Ed. Bened. t. 9. int. Spuria, p. 845 c.) Σοὶ ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν. Σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ σειρᾷ τῆς φιλαργυρίας· σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ ἐντολῇ τῆς φιλοπτωχίας. Σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῷ οἴστρῳ τῶν ἡδονῶν· σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ σωφροσύνῃ. Σαυτὸν ἔδησας τῇ Εὐνομίου κακοπιστίᾳ· σαυτὸν λύσον τῇ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας εὐσεβείᾳ.

pleasure; loose thyself by temperance. Thou hast bound thyself with the heterodox belief of Eunomius; loose thyself with the religious embracing of the orthodox faith.' But they did not only require an orthodox faith in general, but a particular faith with respect to the sacrament itself, teaching men, not the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation, but that under the visible elements of bread and wine, sanctified by the Spirit, the worthy communicant, by faith, might receive the spiritual food of Christ's body and blood, and all the blessed effects and benefits of his death and passion. To this purpose they required men to come with the mouth of faith, spiritually to eat Christ's flesh and blood; and to see him sacrificed with the eyes of their mind, whilst his real bloody sacrifice once offered was daily represented and commemorated in the visible images and symbols of bread and wine.

St. Austin is very copious in setting forth this necessary doctrine of spiritual manducation by faith, as that which makes both sense and piety of so many expressions in the Gospel, which otherwise would seem horrible and absurd. Explaining those words of our Saviour, [Joh. 6, 53.] "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," he says[22], 'This seems to command a crime. Therefore it is a figurative speech, commanding us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and with a pleasure and profit to lay it up in our minds, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our transgressions.' So again[23] he brings in our Saviour, telling his disciples, 'Ye are not to eat this body, which ye see, and drink that blood, which my crucifiers shall shed. But I have commended to you a certain sacrament, which, being spiritually understood, will quicken you; and though it be celebrated visibly, it is invisibly or spiritually to be understood:' meaning this faith, with which the body of Christ was to be

[22] De Doctr. Christian. l. 3. c. 16. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 52 c.) Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere. Figura est ergo, præcipiens passioni Domini [esse] communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter in memoria recondendum, quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata est.

[23] In Ps. 98. t. 8. p. 452. (t. 4. p. 1066 a.)...Non hoc corpus quod videtis manducaturi estis; et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; spiritaliter intellectum vivificabit vos. Etsi necesse est illud visibiliter celebrari, oportet tamen invisibiliter intelligi.

received, to make it spiritually and really the true body, and life to the receiver. For the true body of Christ[24] could no other ways be eaten but spiritually by faith, whilst it was really absent in heaven. The hand[25] could not reach that body, nor the teeth consume it; but faith could ascend up to heaven, and there touch the body of Christ; and with the heart it might be eaten, though not with the teeth and oral manducation. This is therefore that special faith, which the Ancients so often require in every pious communicant, to qualify him to eat the flesh of Christ to life and salvation; a faith whereby in heart he ascends to heaven, (according to the usual phrase of the Church in her sacramental prayers, *Sursum Corda! Lift up your hearts! We lift them up unto the Lord!*) and whereby he receives the real body of Christ by spiritual eating, which no wicked man can receive, though he receive the sacrament of his body both in his hand and mouth to his condemnation. Therefore St. Austin[26] bids all communicants prepare their hearts, and not their mouths, to eat the bread of life, which came down from heaven, and St. Chrysostom[27] calls upon them to imitate eagles, and fly up to heaven:

[24] Serm. 2. de Verb. Apost. t. 10. p. 94. [al. Serm. 131.] (t. 5. p. 641 c.) Manduca vitam, bibe vitam... Tunc autem hoc erit, id est, vita unicuique erit corpus et sanguis [Christi], si, quod in sacramento visibiliter sumitur, in ipsa veritate spiritaliter manducetur, spiritaliter bibatur.—In Ioan. Tractat. 26. t. 9. p. 94. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 499 b.) Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.

[25] In 1 Ioan. Tractat. 1. p. 236. (ibid. p. 828 b.).... Ipsum jam in cœlo sedentem manu contrectare non possumus, sed fide contingere, &c.

[26] Serm. 33. de Verb. Dom. p. 40. [al. Serm. 112.] (t. 5. p. 566 b.) Ego sum panis vivus, qui de cœlo descendi. Noli parare fauces, sed cor, &c.

[27] Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 536. (t. 10. p. 216 c.).... *Προνοῶμεν τῶν ἀδελφῶν, καὶ τὴν ἑνότητα τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διατηρῶμεν· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ θυσία ἐκείνη ἐνάγει ἡ φοβερὰ καὶ φρικώδης, κελεύουσα ἡμῖν μεθ' ὁμονοίας αὐτῇ μάλιστα προσιέναι καὶ θερμῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ ἀετοὺς γενομένους ἐντεῦθεν, οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἵπτασθαι τὸν οὐρανόν· Ὅπου γὰρ τὸ πτῶμά, φησιν, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοί. πτῶμα καλῶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸν θάνατον· εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀνέστημεν. Ἀετοὺς δὲ καλεῖ, δεικνὺς, ὅτι καὶ ὑψηλὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν προσιόντα τῷ σώματι τούτῳ, καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μηδὲ κάτω σύρεσθαι καὶ ἕρπειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηνεκῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνορᾶν, καὶ ὀξυδερκὲς τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν· ἀετῶν γὰρ, οὐ κολοιῶν, αὕτη ἡ τράπεζα· οὗτοι καὶ τότε ἀπαντήσονται ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καταβαίνοντι, οἱ νῦν ἀξίως ἀπολαύοντες.*—Hom. 14. in Eph. p. 1127. (t. 11. p. 108 a.) *Ἐννόησον μετὰ τίνων ἕστηκας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν μυστηρίων, κ.τ.λ.*—[This passage the Author had probably in mind; but, although it is

"For where the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together," says our Saviour, calling his body the carcase because of death. For if he had not fallen, we had not risen. But he calls us eagles, showing that he, that comes to this body, ought to soar aloft, and have nothing to do with the earth, nor move downward and creep upon the ground, but always to fly upward, and look to the Sun of righteousness, and have the eyes of his mind quicksighted. For this table is the table of eagles, not of jackdaws. And they, who thus worthily receive him, may expect to meet him when he shall come down again from heaven.'

What purity of soul by repentance and obedience

How far fasting useful or necessary to this purpose.

9. 2. But St. Chrysostom[28] observes, that to come unto Christ by faith, is not barely to receive him in the outward element, but to touch him with a pure heart. And therefore he discourses excellently upon this most necessary part of preparation to some who put great confidence in their observation of the Lent-fast, as if that were a just preparation for the communion. 'Let us give up ourselves,' says he[29],

addressed to communicants, it has no distinct reference to the present point, as illustrated in the above citation. See b. 13. ch. 6. s. 10. v. 4. p. 474. n. 38. ED.]

[28] Hom. 51. [Bened. 50. al. 51.] in Matth. (t. 7. p. 517 a.)..... Τὸ δὲ προσελθεῖν μετὰ πίστεως, οὐ τὸ λαβεῖν ἐστι μόνον τὸ προκείμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μετὰ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἅψασθαι.

[29] Hom. 22. de Ira. t. 1. [juxt. Ed. Bened. ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 20.] (t. 2. p. 199 a.).... Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς πρὸς πλείονα ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιδῶμεν ἀρετήν. Ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῶν πολλῶν διαύλων τοῖς τρέχουσιν, ἂν τῶν βραβείων ἐκπέσωσιν· οὕτως οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἔσται τι κέρδος ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν πόνων καὶ ἱδρώτων τῶν περὶ τὴν νηστείαν, ἐὰν μὴ μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος δυνηθῶμεν τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀπολαῦσαι τραπέζης. Διὰ τοῦτο νηστεία καὶ Τεσσαρακοστὴ, καὶ τοσούτων ἡμερῶν σύναξις, καὶ ἀκρόασις, καὶ εὐχαὶ, καὶ διδασκαλίαι, ἵνα παντὶ τρόπῳ τὰ παρὰ πάντα τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμῖν ἁμαρτήματα προστριβέντα διὰ τῆς σπουδῆς ταύτης τῶν θεϊκῶν ἐνταλμάτων ἀποσμηξάμενοι, μετὰ παρρησίας πνευματικῆς μετάσχωμεν εὐλαβῶς τῆς ἀναιμάκτου ἐκείνης θυσίας, ὡς, ἂν μὴ τοῦτο ᾖ, μάτην καὶ εἰκῇ καὶ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ τὸν τοσοῦτον ὑπέστημεν πόνον. Ἕκαστος τοίνυν ἀναλογιζέσθω παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ποῖον ἐλάττωμα διώρθωσε, ποῖον κατόρθωμα προσεκτήσατο, ποίαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀπενίψατο, κατὰ τί βελτίων ἐγένετο· κἂν μὲν εὕρῃ πλέον τι γενόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς νηστείας ἑαυτῷ πρὸς τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐμπορίαν, καὶ συνίδῃ πολλὴν ἑαυτῷ πεποιημένῳ τῶν τραυμάτων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, προσερχέσθω· εἰ δὲ ἠμελημένος ἔμεινε, νηστείαν μόνον ἔχων ἐπιδείξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδὲν κατωρθωκὼς, ἔξω μενέτω, καὶ τότε εἰσίτω, ὅταν ἅπαντα ἐκκαθάρῃ τὰ ἁμαρτήματα.... Τὸν μὲν γὰρ μὴ νηστεύοντα εἰκὸς καὶ συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, σώματος ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενον· τὸν δὲ μὴ διορθώσαντα ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πλημμελήματα ἀμήχανον ἀπολογίας τυχεῖν. Οὐκ ἐνήστευσας διὰ τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀσθένειαν· τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου τινος ἕνεκεν οὐ κατηλλάγης; εἰπέ μοι· μὴ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀσθένειαν σώματος προβαλέσθαι ἔχεις; πάλιν ἂν βασκανίαν καὶ φθόνον μένης ἔχων, ποίαν

'to the practice of virtue. For at this end aims all our fasting, and Lent, and religious assemblies so many days together, and our hearing, and prayers, and preaching; that by these exercises we may wash away the guilt and stain of whatever sins we have any ways contracted during the whole year, and so come with piety and spiritual assurance to partake of that unbloody sacrifice. But if we do not thus purify ourselves, all that other labour is in vain and to no purpose, we reap not the least advantage from it. Let every one therefore consider with himself, and examine in his account, what defect he has amended, what virtue he has acquired, what vice he has washed away, in what part he is grown better: and if he finds any considerable advantage of this kind arise from his fasting, and that many of his wounds have been cured by it, let him come: but if he has been negligent, and has nothing to show but his fasting, without any other goodness or amendment, let him keep off and abide without, and then come when he has purged himself from all his sins. Let no man place his confidence in fasting only who adheres to his sins without amendment. For it is possible a man that does not fast may obtain pardon, having the excuse of bodily infirmity: but he that does not correct his faults cannot possibly have any excuse. Thou hast omitted to fast by reason of the infirmity of thy flesh: but why hast thou not been reconciled to thy enemies? Canst thou here pretend bodily infirmity also? Thou still retainest hatred and envy: what excuse, I pray, canst thou plead for these? There is no flying for refuge to bodily infirmity in behalf of such sins as these.' Thus Chrysostom shows the necessity of correcting every evil way, in thought, word, and deed, in order to prepare men for a worthy reception at God's table; and that no pretences of other qualifications without holiness, nor any excuses for sin will be accepted, while Christ has made his commandments very practicable, and recommended his yoke as easy, and his burden as light.

How necessary justice and resti-

10. 3. And because there are some great sins to which men have a more than ordinary propensity and affection, and are

ἕξεις ἀπολογίαν; εἰπέ μοι· οὐδαμοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειάν ἐστι καταφυγὰρ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἐλαττώμασιν ἐπὶ γεῖν.

ready to find out a thousand arts to palliate and retain them with a semblance of piety and pretended devotion, the same author is always very careful to particularize about these in men's preparation, pulling off the visor and false colours they were apt to lay upon them. Thus in the case of injustice, many were inclined to impose upon themselves by that old pharisaical pretence of giving something to the *corban* to make a full atonement, as they thought, for their manifold rapines and oppression. Whom he thus reproves[30], and lays open their folly: 'Let no Judas, no Simon Magus come near this table: for they both perished in their avarice and love of money. Wherefore let us fly from this pit, and not imagine it sufficient for our salvation, that when we have spoiled widows and orphans, we offer a golden cup adorned with jewels to this table. Wouldest thou honour this sacrifice? Offer thy soul, for which Christ was offered, and make it a golden soul. But if thy soul remain worse than lead and earth, what will thy golden vessels profit thee? Let us not therefore labour to offer golden vessels only, but offer what we acquire by our just and honest labour. For these are more precious than gold, which are not the fruits of covetousness and injustice. The Church is not the workhouse of silver and gold, but the congregation of angels. Therefore the purity of our souls is required: for God receives these things upon the account of our souls. Doubtless that table was not of silver, nor that cup of gold, wherein Christ gave his blood to his disciples: yet all was precious and full of reverence, because they were filled with the Spirit.' St. Chrysostom speaks this to men's own

tution to worthy communi cant.

[30] Ubi supr. p. 455. (t. 7. p. 517 e.) *Μηδεὶς τοίνυν Ἰούδας ταύτῃ προσίτω τῇ τραπέζῃ, μηδεὶς Σίμων· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφότεροι διὰ φιλαργυρίαν ἀπώλοντο οὗτοι. Φύγωμεν τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ βάραθρον, μηδὲ νομίζωμεν ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, εἰ, χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἀποδύσαντες, ποτήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ λιθοκόλλητον προσενέγκωμεν τῇ τραπέζῃ· εἰ γὰρ βούλει τιμῆσαι τὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ψυχὴν προσένεγκε, δι' ἣν καὶ ἐθύθη· ταύτην χρυσῆν ποίησον· ἂν δὲ αὖτη μένῃ μολίβδου καὶ ὀστράκου χείρων, τὸ δὲ σκεῦος χρυσοῦν, τί τὸ κέρδος; Μὴ τοίνυν τοῦτο σκοπῶμεν, ὅπως χρυσᾶ σκεύη προσφέρωμεν μόνον, ἀλλ' ὅπως καὶ ἐκ δικαίων πόνων· ταῦτα γάρ ἐστι τὰ καὶ χρυσῶν τιμιώτερα, τὰ χωρὶς πλεονεξίας· οὐ γὰρ χρυσοχοεῖον, οὐδὲ ἀργυροκοπεῖόν ἐστιν ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ πανήγυρις ἀγγέλων· διὸ ὁ ψυχῶν ἡμῖν δεῖ· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα διὰ τὰς ψυχὰς προσίεται ὁ Θεός· οὐκ ἦν ἡ τράπεζα ἐξ ἀργύρου τότε ἐκείνη, οὐδὲ τὸ ποτήριον χρυσοῦν, ἐξ οὗ ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τίμια ἦν ἐκεῖνα πάντα καὶ φρικτά, ἐπειδὴ πνεύματος ἔγεμε.* —Conf. Hom. 86. al. 87. in Matth. p. 722. See before, ch. 2. s. 2. p. 235. n. 43.

consciences in private, who knew their own extortions, when perhaps the Church knew nothing of them; and he lays upon them the necessity of justice and restitution in their private accounts with God, before they could hope to gain his favour, or be accepted at his altar. For as to public offences of this kind, we have noted before[31], that when they were such as the Church could take cognizance of, they fell under her public discipline: and it was a standing law, that the oblations of known oppressors should not be received, much less their persons to the communion of the altar.

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11. 4. Another thing they much insisted on was unity and a peaceable spirit: by which they chiefly intended that sort of peaceableness which preserves the unity of the Church, not only in opposition to formed and professed schisms, but all factions and divisions within the bosom of the Church. As to formal and professed schismatics, they were objects of the public discipline, and not to be admitted to communion without public recantation and formal renouncing of their errors. But besides these, there were another sort of turbulent spirits, who without breaking forth into professed separations, were often the occasion of great tumults and disquiet in the Church. Such were those Corinthians, whom the Apostle so often rebukes for their factious zeal and unnecessary disputations and contentions one with another; which proceeded from many evil causes, and were attended with as bad effects. For they sprung from the bitter roots of envy and pride and ambition, and covetousness and self-interest, and self-love, and a blind or else crafty and designing admiration of one teacher above another. "For one said, I am of Paul! and another, I of Apollos! I of Cephas! and I of Christ!" (1 Cor. 1, 12.) and the effects were "debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults." Insomuch that in their sidings and partyings, they came to express a disdain and contempt of one another in that which should have taught them the quite contrary lesson, the celebration of the Lord's supper and their feasts of charity. "For in eating every one took before others his own supper: and one was hungry and another was drunken." (Ibid. 11, 21.) Upon which the Apostle gave them

[31] See ch. 2. s. 2. p. 234, preceding.

that most solemn admonition: "Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body." (Ibid. 28, 29.)

It was not long after St. Paul's death that Clemens, bishop of Rome, had occasion to write a long Epistle to these Corinthians upon the very same subject of their seditious factions and divisions, where[32], among many other arguments to persuade them to unity and peace, he bids them 'beware, that the manifold blessings of God did not turn to their condemnation, if they walked unworthy of him, and neglected to do what was good and pleasing in his sight with unanimity and concord.' Therefore he bids[33] them 'quickly remove this evil, and fall down before the Lord, and weep and pray to him, that he would be merciful and reconciled to them, and reduce and restore them to the pure and comely way of brotherly love. For this is the gate of righteousness which opens unto life. Charity unites us unto God[34]; charity covers a multitude of sins; charity beareth all things: charity has nothing of pride or baseness in it; charity has no schism; charity raises no sedition; charity does all things in concord. By charity all the elect of God are made perfect; without charity nothing is acceptable unto God.' Therefore he advises[35] the ringleaders of the sedition and the heads of

[32] Ep. 1. ad Corinth. n. 21. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 159.) Ὁρᾶτε, ἀγαπητοί, μὴ αἱ εὐεργεσίαι αὐτοῦ αἱ πολλαὶ γένωνται εἰς κρῖμα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν, ἐὰν μὴ ἀξίως αὐτοῦ πολιτευόμενοι τὰ καλὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ποιῶμεν μεθ' ὁμονοίας.

[33] Ibid. n. 48. (p. 174.) Ἐξάρωμεν οὖν τοῦτο ἐν τάχει, καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ Δεσπότῃ, καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν, ὅπως ἵλεως γενόμενος ἐπικαταλλαγῇ ἡμῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν σεμνὴν τῆς φιλαδελφίας ἡμῶν ἀγνὴν ἀγωγὴν ἀποκαταστήσῃ ἡμᾶς· πύλη γὰρ δικαιοσύνης ἀνεῳγυῖα εἰς ζωὴν αὕτη.

[34] Ibid. n. 49. (p. 175.) Ἀγάπη κολλᾷ ἡμᾶς τῷ Θεῷ, ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν, ἀγάπη πάντα ἀνέχεται, πάντα μακροθυμεῖ· οὐδὲν βάναυσον ἐν ἀγάπῃ, οὐδὲν ὑπερήφανον· ἀγάπη σχίσμα οὐκ ἔχει, ἀγάπη οὐ στασιάζει, ἀγάπη πάντα ποιεῖ ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ· ἐν [τῇ] ἀγάπῃ ἐτελειώθησαν πάντες οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ· δίχα ἀγάπης οὐδὲν εὐάρεστόν ἐστιν τῷ Θεῷ.

[35] Ibid. n. 57. (p. 178.) Ὑμεῖς οὖν, οἱ τὴν καταβολὴν τῆς στάσεως ποιήσαντες, ὑποτάγητε τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ παιδεύθητε εἰς μετάνοιαν· κάμψαντες τὰ γόνατα τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν μάθετε ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἀποθέμενοι τὴν ἀλάζονα καὶ ὑπερήφανον τῆς γλώσσης ὑμῶν αὐθάδειαν· ἄμεινον γάρ ἐστιν ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ ποιμνίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μικροὺς καὶ ἐλλογίμους εὑρεθῆναι, ἢ καθ' ὑπεροχὴν δοκοῦντας ἐκριφῆναι ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ.

faction to be 'subject to their rulers and repent, and to lay aside all arrogant and proud boasting of the tongue, since it was better to be found little and approved in the fold of Christ, than to be highminded and rejected from the hope of his kingdom.' He bids them sacrifice their own interest to the peace of the Church. 'Who among[36] you is of a noble and generous temper? who has any bowels of compassion? who is filled with charity? Let him say, If upon my account there be sedition and discord and schism, I will willingly depart, and go away whithersoever you please; I will do what the people command me; only let the fold of Christ be in peace under the elders that are set over them. He that does this shall purchase to himself great honour in the Lord, and every place will receive him. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.' Thus did that holy man exhort the seditious Corinthians to lay aside their factious and turbulent spirit, and betake themselves to the ways of unity and peace, as ever they hoped to find mercy and favour at the hands of the Lord. And the Ancients generally use this argument against uncharitable strife and contention, and schism and division, that they are crimes of that magnitude, that without repentance even the blood of martyrdom will not wash away and blot out the stain and guilt of them. Which is a noted saying of Cyprian's[37], repeated and approved by Chrysostom[38], St. Austin[39], Fulgentius[40], and many others.

[36] Ibid. n. 54. (p. 176.) *Τίς οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν γενναῖος; τίς εὔσπλαγχνος; τίς πεπληροφορημένος ἀγάπης; εἰπάτω, Εἰ δι' ἐμὲ στάσις, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ σχίσματα, ἐκχωρῶ· ἄπειμι οὗ ἐὰν βούλησθε, καὶ ποιῶ τὰ προστασσόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους· μόνον τὸ ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρηνευέτω, μετὰ τῶν καθεσταμένων πρεσβυτέρων. Τοῦτο ὁ ποιήσας ἑαυτῷ μέγα κλέος ἐν Κυρίῳ περιποιήσεται, καὶ πᾶς τόπος δέξεται αὐτόν· Τοῦ γὰρ Κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς.*

[37] De Unit. Eccles. p. 113. (p. 81.) Quam sibi igitur pacem promittunt inimici fratrum? quæ sacrificia celebrare se credunt æmuli sacerdotum? an secum esse Christum, cum collecti fuerint, opinantur, qui extra Christi ecclesiam colliguntur? Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ nec passione purgatur. Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est, &c.

[38] Hom. 11. in Eph. p. 1107. (t. 11. p. 86 c.) .... *Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ἅγιος εἰπέ τι δοκοῦν εἶναι τολμηρὸν, πλὴν ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐφθέγξατο· τί δὲ τοῦτο ἔστιν; Οὐδὲ μαρτυρίου αἷμα ταύτην δύνασθαι ἐξαλείφειν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἔφησεν.*

[39] De Bapt. cont. Donat. l. 4. c. 17. (t. 9. p. 135 g. et p. 136.) Quod si propter hoc, quia caritas deest, passio nihil prodest; nec illis prodest, quos in invidia intus et malevo-

12. 5. Another thing they much recommended as a necessary qualification in a worthy communicant, was the exercise of beneficence and charity to the indigent, especially to the poor members of Christ. For when they themselves were about to receive the greatest blessings in the world, they thought it but reasonable that they should show kindness, according to their ability, to his and their brethren. This was the foundation of their oblations and love-feasts mentioned before; and the neglect or abuse, or partiality used in them, was always reputed a capital misdemeanour. But this was not all: they not only required men to be charitable in the act of communicating, but at all times; and allowed not the most plausible pretences that could be offered to the contrary. Some apologized for their uncharitableness, as they did for their injustice; they wiped their mouths, and cried out, *Corban!* It is a gift to Christ, wherewith thou mightest be profited by me! and so they thought themselves discharged by commutation: they gave to God's use some gift which he required not, and let the poor perish whom he had commanded them to sustain. To these St. Chrysostom [41] thus elegantly dis- Of charity and mercy to the poo

lentia sine caritate vivere Paulus dicit, Cyprianus exponit: &c.

[40] De Fid. ad Petr. c. 39. (int. Oper. Augustin. t. 6. append. p. 32 b, c.) Omni enim homini, qui ecclesiæ Catholicæ non tenet unitatem, neque baptismus, neque eleemosyna quamlibet copiosa, neque mors pro nomine Christi suscepta, proficere poterit ad salutem, quamdiu [al. quando] in eo vel hæretica vel schismatica pravitas perseverat, quæ ducit ad mortem.

[41] Hom. 51. [Bened. 50. al. 51.] in Matth. p. 445. (t. 7. p. 518 b.) Βούλει τιμῆσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ σῶμα; μὴ περιΐδῃς αὐτὸν γυμνόν· μηδὲ ἐνταῦθα μὴν αὐτὸν σηρικοῖς ἱματίοις τιμήσῃς, ἔξω δὲ ὑπὸ κρυμοῦ καὶ γυμνότητος διαφθειρόμενον περιΐδῃς· ὁ γὰρ εἰπὼν, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα βεβαιώσας, οὗτος εἶπε, Πεινῶντά με ἴδετε, καὶ οὐκ ἐθρέψατε· καὶ, Ἐφ' ὅσον οὐκ ἐποιήσατε ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἐλαχίστων, οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε. Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ οὐ δεῖται ἐπιβλημάτων, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς καθαρᾶς· ἐκεῖνο δὲ πολλῆς δεῖται ἐπιμελείας· Μάθωμεν τοίνυν φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τιμᾶν ὡς αὐτὸς βούλεται· τῷ γὰρ τιμουμένῳ τιμὴ ἡδίστη, ἣν αὐτὸς θέλει, οὐχ ἣν ἡμεῖς νομίζομεν. Ἐπεὶ καὶ Πέτρος τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ᾤετο τῷ κωλύσαι νίψαι τοὺς πόδας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τιμὴ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον· οὕτω καὶ σὺ ταύτην αὐτὸν τίμα τὴν τιμὴν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἐνομοθέτησεν, εἰς πάντας ἀναλίσκων τὸν πλοῦτον· οὐδὲ γὰρ σκευῶν χρείαν ἔχει χρυσῶν ὁ Θεὸς, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν χρυσῶν. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐ κωλύων ἀναθήματα κατασκευάζεσθαι τοιαῦτα· ἀξιῶν δὲ μετὰ τούτων, καὶ πρὸ τούτων, τὴν ἐλεημοσύνην ποιεῖν. Δέχεται μὲν γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα· πολλῷ μᾶλλον δὲ ἐκεῖνα· ἐνταῦθα μὲν γὰρ ὁ προσενεγκὼν ὠφελήθη μόνον· ἐκεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ λαβών· ἐνταῦθα δοκεῖ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀφορμὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλεημοσύνη καὶ φιλανθρωπία τὸ πᾶν ἐστι. Τί γὰρ ὄφελος, ὅτ' ἂν ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῷ γέμῃ χρυσῶν ποτηρίων, αὐτὸς δὲ λιμῷ διαφθείρεται; πρότερον αὐτὸν ἔμπλησον πεινῶντα, καὶ τότε ἐκ περιουσίας καὶ

courses. 'Would you honour the body of Christ? do not then despise him when he is naked. Do not honour him here in the church with vestments of silk, and neglect him without doors when ready to perish with cold and nakedness. For he that said, *This is my body!* and confirmed the thing with his word, said also, *Ye saw me an hungred, and ye fed me not:* and *Forasmuch as ye did it not unto one of the least of these, ye did it not unto me!* For this body of Christ, the eucharist, needs no clothing, but a pure mind: but that other body of his needs much of our care. Therefore let us learn to be wise, and honour Christ according to his own will. Give him that honour which he has commanded; distribute your riches among the poor. God has no need of golden vessels, but of golden souls. I say not this to forbid any man to offer such gifts; but because I judge it proper, together with these and before these, to do works of charity. For God indeed receives these, but the other are much more acceptable to him. Vessels only profit him that offers them, but works of charity profit both the giver and the receiver. The one is often an occasion of ostentation, but the other is all humanity and mercy. What profit is it to Christ that his table is filled with golden cups, whilst he himself is famished by want? Therefore first feed him when he is hungry, and then of your superfluity and abundance adorn his table. You make

τὴν τράπεζαν αὐτοῦ κόσμησον· ποτήριον χρυσοῦν ποιεῖς, καὶ ποτήριον ψυχροῦν οὐ δίδως. Καὶ τί τὸ ὄφελος χρυσώματα ἐπιβλήματα κατασκευάζειν τῇ τραπέζῃ· αὐτῷ δὲ μηδὲ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν παρέχειν σκέπην. Καὶ τί τὸ κέρδος ἐκ τούτου; Εἰπέ γάρ μοι· εἴ τινα ἰδὼν τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἀπορούντα τροφῆς, ἀφεὶς αὐτῷ λύσαι τὸν λιμὸν, τὴν τράπεζαν ἀργύρῳ περιέβαλες μόνον· ἆρα ἂν ἔγνως σοι χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτησε; τί δὲ εἰ ῥάκιον περιβεβλημένον ὁρῶν, καὶ ὑπὸ κρυμοῦ πηγνύμενον, ἀφεὶς αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἱμάτιον, κίονας κατασκευάζεις χρυσοῦς, λέγων εἰς ἐκείνου τιμὴν ποιεῖν· οὐκ ἄν σε καὶ εἰρωνεύεσθαι ἔφη, καὶ ὕβριν ἐνόμισε ταύτην ἐσχάτην; Τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λογίζου, ὅτ' ἂν ἀλήτης καὶ ξένος περιέρχηται δεόμενος ὀροφῆς· σὺ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀφεὶς ὑποδέξασθαι ἔδαφος καλλωπίζεις, καὶ τοίχους καὶ κιόνων κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἀργυρᾶς ἀλύσεις διὰ λαμπάδων ἐξάπτεις, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ δεδεμένον μηδὲ ἰδεῖν ἐθέλεις. Καὶ ταῦτα λέγω, οὐχὶ κωλύων καὶ ἐν τούτοις φιλοτιμεῖσθαι· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μετ' ἐκείνων παραινῶν ποιεῖν· ὑπὲρ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ταῦτα μὴ ποιῆσαι, οὐδεὶς ἐνεκλήθη ποτέ· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ γέεννα ἠπείληται, καὶ πῦρ ἄσβεστον, καὶ ἡ μετὰ δαιμόνων τιμωρία. Μὴ τοίνυν τὸν οἶκον κοσμῶν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν θλιβόμενον περιόρα· οὗτος γὰρ ἐκείνου ὁ ναὸς κυριώτερος. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ βασιλεῖς ἄπιστοι, καὶ τύραννοι, καὶ λῃσταὶ δυνήσονται λαβεῖν τὰ κειμήλια· ὅσα δὲ ἂν εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ποιήσῃς πεινῶντα καὶ ξένον ὄντα, καὶ γυμνὸν, οὐδὲ ὁ Διάβολος συλῆσαι δυνήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσύλῳ κείσεται θησαυρῷ.

him a golden cup, but will not give him a cup of cold water. What does this profit him? You prepare coverings for his table embroidered with gold; but he himself is naked, and you cover him not with necessary clothing. What advantage is there in all this? Tell me, I pray: suppose you should see a man want necessary food, and you, instead of relieving his hunger, should only adorn his table with gold: would he take this as any kindness, and not rather look upon it with indignation? Or if you saw a man clothed in rags and frozen with cold, and you, instead of giving him raiment, should erect golden pillars, and say you did it for his honour: would he not rather say you mocked him, and think you put the greatest affront imaginable upon him? You may apprehend the case to be the very same with Christ. When he wanders about as a stranger, having no house to cover his head, then thou neglectest to take him in; thou contemnest his person, but beautifiest his pavement and his walls, and the heads of his pillars: thou makest his lamps to hang on silver chains, but wilt not vouchsafe to visit him when he is chained in prison. I speak not this to prohibit thee from doing these things, but to excite thee to do the other together with them, or rather before them. For no man was ever condemned for not building magnificent temples; but, for neglecting the poor, hell is threatened, and the fire that shall never be quenched, and punishment with devils. Whilst therefore you adorn God's house, do not neglect your afflicted brother. For he is more properly the temple of God than the other. For those may be plundered of all their treasure by infidel kings, and tyrants, and thieves; but what thou dost to a brother that is hungry, or a stranger, or naked, the devil himself cannot rob thee of, but it is laid up in a safe repository, where no violence can make a prey of it.'

It were easy to give the reader many other such affecting passages out of St. Chrysostom [42] and others, but this one is

[42] Hom. 1. in 1 Tim. p. 1631. (t. 11. p. 554 c. et seqq.) Διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτα δείκνυσί σοι, ὅτι οὐδέν εἰσιν, κ. τ. λ. [See Hom. 50. al. 51. in Matth. as cited just before, n. 41, preceding. The Author also refers to Hom. 9. de Pœnitent. t. 1. p. 704. and Hom. 25. t. 5. p. 369. according to the Editio Ducæana, which he used: but the citations are indistinct. Ed.]

sufficient to show what stress they laid upon charity or beneficence to the poor, in order to qualify men for a worthy reception of the holy communion.

charity forgiving mies, pardoning offences.

13. 6. But this was not the only kind of charity they required to be exercised upon this occasion: there was another more difficult to be practised, and yet no less necessary to be performed by all that would lay any just claim to the mercy of God in the sacrifice of Christ's body and blood: and that was the duty of pardoning and forgiving enemies, without which it was absurd and impudent to presume to ask God pardon at the holy table. Therefore St. Chrysostom [43], explaining those words of our Saviour, (Matth. 5, 23.) "If thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift:" says, 'By all this Christ intended to signify, that the holy table would not receive men that were at enmity with one another: no, nor yet could they so much as offer their prayers acceptably to God. Therefore hear this,' says he, 'all ye that are initiated in the holy mysteries, and come not in emnity to the communion of the altar. Let them also hear it, who are not yet initiated. For they have a common concern in these words also. For they offer likewise their gifts and their sacrifice, I mean their prayers and their alms; which the Psalmist often calls sacrifice: *The sacrifice of praise shall honour me:* and, *Offer unto God the sacrifice of praise:* and, *Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.*' Whence he concludes, 'that if a man come to pray with such a mind, he had better leave his prayers, and go first and be reconciled to his brother, and then come and offer his prayers.'

[43] Hom. 16. in Matth. p. 166. (t. 7. p. 217 a.) ..... Διὰ πάντων τούτων δηλῶν, ὅτι οὐ δέχεται τοὺς ἀπεχθῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας αὕτη ἡ τράπεζα. Ἀκουέτωσαν οἱ μεμυημένοι, ὅσοι μετὰ ἔχθρας προσέρχονται· ἀκουέτωσαν καὶ οἱ ἀμύητοι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἔχει τί κοινὸν ὁ λόγος· προσάγουσι γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ δῶρον καὶ θυσίαν, εὐχὴν λέγω καὶ ἐλεημοσύνην. Ὅτι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο θυσία, ἄκουσον τί φησιν ὁ Προφήτης, Θυσία αἰνέσεως δοξάσει με· καὶ πάλιν, Θύσον τῷ Θεῷ θυσίαν αἰνέσεως· καὶ, Ἔπαρσις τῶν χειρῶν μου θυσία ἑσπερινή· ὥστε κἂν εὐχὴν μετὰ τοιαύτης γνώμης προσάγῃς, βέλτιον ἀφεῖναι τὴν εὐχὴν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ τότε εὐχὴν προσφέρειν.

It is usual with Chrysostom[44] upon this account to tell his hearers, that they who are unqualified for the communion are unqualified for their prayers likewise: because they in effect pray to God to curse themselves, whilst they pray for forgiveness of sins only in the same manner as they forgive their enemies. 'If we have designs of revenge in our hearts,' says he[45], 'when we pray we pray against ourselves, saying, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.* These are terrible words, and the same as if one said to God: Lord, I have forgiven my enemy, forgive thou me! I have loosed him, loose thou me! I have pardoned my enemy, pardon me! If I have retained his sins, retain thou mine! If I have not loosed my neighbour, do not thou loose my offences! What measure I have meted to him, measure thou to me again!' It was with this argument that he induced the people to show mercy to their great enemy Eutropius[46], when he was fled for sanctuary to the altar. 'How will you be able to take the holy sacrament into your hands, and use the words of that prayer wherein we are commanded to say, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us!* if you exact punishment of your debtor?' In another place[47] he tells them, 'If they forgave their enemies, they might then come with a pure conscience to the holy and tremendous table, and boldly say the words contained in that prayer, *Forgive us, as we forgive!* But if they retained anger or malice in their

[44] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a.) Οὐκ εἰ τῆς θυσίας ἄξιος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλήψεως; οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς.—Hom. 22. de Ira. t. 1. p. 288. [juxt. Ed. Bened. ut supr.] (t. 2. p. 209 a.) ..... Καθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν εὐχὴν ταύτην ποιούμενος· ὅταν γὰρ εἴπῃς, Ἄφες ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν, εἶτα σὺ μὴ ἀφῇς, οὐδὲν ἕτερον τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ἢ πάσης ἀπολογίας ἀποστερεῖν σε καὶ συγγνώμης.

[45] Hom. 38. [Bened. 9. Savil. 5.] de Pœnitent. et Eucharist. t. 5. p. 570. (t. 2. p. 350 c.) Εἰσερχόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς Θεῷ πρέπει εἰσέλθωμεν, μὴ μνησικακίαν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες, μήπως εὐχόμενοι καθ' ἑαυτῶν εὐχώμεθα, λέγοντες, Ἄφες ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν· φοβερὸν γάρ ἐστι τὸ λεγόμενον, καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν, τοιοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν βοᾷ ὁ τοῦτο λέγων, Ἄφηκα, Δέσποτα, ἄφες· ἔλυσα, λῦσον· συνεχώρησα, συγχώρησον· εἰ ἐκράτησα, κράτησον· εἰ μὴ ἔλυσα τῷ πλησίον, μηδὲ σὺ λύσῃς τὰ ἐμὰ ἁμαρτήματα· ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ ἐμέτρησα, ἀντιμετρηθήτω μοι.

[46] Hom. in Eutrop. t. 4. p. 554. See ch. 5. s. 6. p. 453. n. 78.

[47] Hom. 27. in Gen. p. 358. (t. 4. p. 268 a.) Ἂν τοῦτο κατορθώσωμεν, δυνησόμεθα μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ φρικτῇ τραπέζῃ προσελθεῖν, καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῇ εὐχῇ συνεζευγμένα μετὰ παρρησίας φθέγξασθαι.

hearts[48], they were no fitter to partake of that holy table than fornicators, or adulterers, or blasphemers. For how canst thou desire God to be gracious and merciful to thee, who art so implacable and inexorable to thy fellow-servant? Admit he has injured and affronted thee. Hast thou not often injured and affronted God? and what comparison is there betwixt the Lord and a servant? It may be also thy fellow-servant was injured by thee, and only returned the compliment, and payed thee in thy own kind, and thou art incensed at that: but thou, without any injury or provocation received from God, treatest him contumeliously; nay, not only when he does thee no harm, but when he daily loads thee with blessings, and continually pours forth his benefits upon thee.' He adds[49], that this sin of malice and revenge was the more dangerous and inexcusable, because it had none of the little pleas which were commonly urged in the behalf of other sins, to be offered in its favour. 'If I bid you fast, you plead the excuse of bodily infirmity; if I bid you give to the poor, you plead poverty yourself, and the care of your own children; if I call upon you to attend divine worship, you pretend the avocations of worldly care and secular business; if I bid you hear sermons, and consider the power of the doctrine contained in them, you plead disability and want of learning to understand them; if I

[48] Hom. 22. de Ira. t. 1. p. 277. [Bened. ut supr.] (t. 2. p. 200 a.) Ὡς γὰρ τὸν πορνεύοντα καὶ τὸν βλασφημοῦντα ἀμήχανον μετασχεῖν τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης, οὕτω τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔχοντα καὶ μνησικακοῦντα ἀδύνατον ἀπολαῦσαι κοινωνίας ἁγίας. ... Πῶς δὲ βούλει τὸν Δεσπότην ἥμερόν σοι γενέσθαι καὶ πρᾷον, τῷ συνδούλῳ γενόμενος αὐτὸς χαλεπὸς καὶ ἀσύγγνωστος; ἀλλ' ὕβρισέ σε ὁ σύνδουλος, καὶ σὺ τὸν Θεὸν ὑβρίζεις πολλάκις. Ποῦ δὲ ἴσον σύνδουλος καὶ Δεσπότης; καὶ αὐτὸς μὴ ἕνια μὲν που ἠδικημένος ἴσως ὕβρισε, καὶ παρωξύνθης· σὺ δὲ τὸν Δεσπότην ὑβρίζεις οὐκ ἠδικημένος, οὐδὲ ἐπηρεαζόμενος, ἀλλ' εὐεργετούμενος καθ' ἑκάστην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν.

[49] Ibid. p. 282. (p. 203 e.) Ἂν εἴπω, Νήστευσον, ἀσθένειάν μοι προβάλλῃ σώματος πολλάκις· ἂν εἴπω, Δὸς πένησι, παιδοτροφίαν καὶ πενίαν· ἂν εἴπω, Σχόλαζε εἰς συνάξεις, φροντίδας βιωτικάς· ἂν εἴπω, Πρόσεχε τοῖς λεγομένοις, καὶ νόει τῆς διδασκαλίας τὴν δύναμιν, ἰδιωτείαν· ἂν εἴπω, Κατόρθωσον ἕτερον, λέγεις, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπακούει συμβουλευόμενος, πολλάκις γὰρ εἰπὼν κατεφρονήθην. Ψυχραὶ μὲν οὖν αἱ προφάσεις, ἀλλ' ὅμως κἂν προφάσιν ἔχῃς εἰπεῖν. Ἂν εἴπω, Τὴν ὀργὴν ἄφες· τί τούτων εἰπεῖν δυνήσῃ; οὔτε γὰρ ἀσθένειαν σώματος, οὔτε πενίαν, οὐκ ἰδιωτείαν, οὐκ ἀσχολίαν, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀσύγγνωστος αὕτη μάλιστα πάντων ἐστὶν ἡ ἁμαρτία. Πῶς δυνήσῃ τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνατεῖναι; πῶς τὴν γλῶτταν κινῆσαι; πῶς αἰτῆσαι συγγνώμην; κἂν γὰρ βούλεται ὁ Θεὸς ἀφεῖναι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, οὐκ ἀφίης αὐτὸς τὰ τοῦ συνδούλου κατέχων.

advise you to admonish and correct your brother, you tell me he will not hearken to your counsel; you have admonished him, and he despises you. These are but cold excuses, yet they are excuses in some sort. But if I bid you lay aside your anger, which of these excuses can you make? You cannot plead bodily infirmity, nor poverty, nor want of understanding, nor want of time and leisure from worldly business, nor any other such excuse: therefore this of all others is a most unpardonable sin. How then will you hold up your hands to heaven, or move your tongue, or ask pardon of your sins, when, if God were disposed to pardon them, you will not suffer him to do it, while you refuse to pardon the offence of your fellow-servant?'

Having used these and many other excellent arguments, to show men the necessity of reconciliation and mutual forgiveness when they came to the holy communion, which is the covenant of forgiveness and peace with God and man, he takes notice of two evasions, which some men used in this case to palliate and foster still something of an ill-natured temper, and make it seem consistent with their duty.

Some were indeed afraid to say those words of the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us!* as being sensible it was no better than cursing themselves, while they continued in such an evil disposition: and therefore they only said the first clause, *Forgive us our trespasses!* and dropped the second, which contains the condition of their forgiving others: and they were so vain as to think this was a sufficient salvo to their consciences, and a security against the menaces that were threatened to a revengeful temper. To whom he replies[50], 'that this was but a vain caution, for whether they said the words or not God would deal with them according to their actions; Christ having told them in the very next words, *If ye forgive not men their*

[50] Ibid. 289. (p. 209 a.) Κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ εἴπῃς, ὁ Θεὸς οὕτω ποιεῖ· καθὼς ἀφίης, οὕτως ἀφίησι· καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς ἐπαγωγῆς εὔδηλον ἐποίησεν· Ἐὰν γὰρ μὴ ἀφῆτε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, οὐδὲ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ἀφήσιν ὑμῖν. Μὴ τοίνυν εὐλάβειαν εἶναι νομίσῃς, τὸ μὴ λέγειν ὁλόκληρον τὴν ῥῆσιν, μηδὲ ἐξ ἡμισείας ποιοῦ τὴν εὐχήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔταξεν, οὕτως εὔχου, ἵνα κἂν ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς λέξεως φοβοῦσα καθ' ἡμέραν συνωθήσῃ σε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πλησίον συγχώρησιν.

trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses.' [Matth. 6, 15.]

Others excused themselves by saying, I bear no hatred or malice against my enemy, I am not concerned or troubled at his enmity, I will have nothing to do with him. 'But,' says Chrysostom[51], 'this is not enough, that thou wilt give him no trouble, that thou wilt do him no harm, that thou wilt bear no rancorous mind against him; but thou must endeavour to restore him to a friendly temper. For God has not commanded us to have nothing to do with our enemy, but to have many things to do with him. For this reason he is our brother: and for this reason God said not, Forgive thy brother what thou hast against him! but, Go, and be reconciled to him, if he hath ought against thee; and cease not till thou hast brought that member to its proper harmony and concord!' He has also there these remarkable words[52], 'I tell you before, I protest, I proclaim it aloud, let no man that has an enemy come to the holy table and receive the body of the Lord. Let no man come that has an enemy. Hast thou an enemy? Come not. Wouldest thou come? Be reconciled, and then come and receive the holy body. Thy Lord, to reconcile thee to his Father, refused not to be slain, and shed his blood for thy sake: and wilt not thou speak a word, nor go to make the first offer, to reconcile thy fellow-servant?' This he says to those who thought it below them, and an act of pusillanimity and disgrace, to seem to make the first step toward reconciling an enemy, by being first in the offer and motion of peace.

[51] Ibid. (d.) Οὐ γὰρ ἀρκεῖ, τὸ μὴ λυπεῖν, μηδὲ ἀδικεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν, μηδὲ ἀηδῶς ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν κατὰ διάνοιαν· ἀλλὰ χρὴ κἀκεῖνον παρασκευάζειν, ἡδέως πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχειν. Καὶ γὰρ ἀκούω πολλῶν λεγόντων, Ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐχθραίνω, οὐδὲ λυποῦμαι, οὐδὲ ἔχω τι κοινὸν πρὸς αὐτόν· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Θεὸς, ἵνα μηδὲν κοινὸν ἔχῃς πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἵνα πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινὰ ἔχῃς πολλά· διὰ τοῦτο γάρ σου ἐστὶν ἀδελφός· διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εἶπεν, Ἄφες τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου, ἃ ἔχεις κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ τί; Ὕπαγε, πρῶτον διαλλάγηθι αὐτῷ, κἂν ἐκεῖνος ἔχῃ τι κατά σου· καὶ μὴ πρότερον ἀποστῇς, ἕως ἂν ἑνώσῃς τὸ μέλος εἰς ὁμόνοιαν.

[52] Ibid. p. 285. (p. 206 a.) Ἰδοὺ προλέγω, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι, καὶ λαμπρᾷ βοῶ τῇ φωνῇ, μηδεὶς τῶν ἐχόντων ἐχθρὸν προσίτω [τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ, καὶ δεχέσθω τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου·] μηδεὶς προσιὼν ἐχθρὸν ἐχέτω. Ἐχθρὸν ἔχεις; μὴ προσέλθῃς· βούλει προσελθεῖν; καταλλάγηθι, καὶ τότε προσελθὼν ἅψαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. Μᾶλλον δὲ οὐκ ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὁ δι' ἡμᾶς σταυρωθεὶς Δεσπότης αὐτός. Ἵνα σε καταλλάξῃ τῷ Πατρὶ, οὐδὲ σφαγῆναι παρῃτήσατο, οὐδὲ τὸ αἷμα ἐκχεῖν, καὶ σὺ, ἵνα καταλλαγῇς τῷ συνδούλῳ, οὐδὲ ῥῆμα προέσθαι βούλει, οὐδὲ πρότερος προσδραμεῖν.

But he assures them it was a duty, and an honourable duty, thus to imitate Christ in a charitable condescension: and whatever might be the effect of it here, it would have a double and a triple crown hereafter. Finally [52] he tells them, with a solemn protestation in the close of all, 'that if, after forty days' warning, he found any still persist irreconcileable to one another, he would no longer use admonitions, but proceed to severer methods, and order them to be kept back from the holy mysteries till they should amend their fault, and come to the holy table with a pure conscience, which was the only proper way to partake of the communion.'

Of their behaviour at the communion and afterward

14. These were some of those necessary qualifications they required in men before they came to the holy communion. And at the time of celebration, the very offices of the Church were so framed as to elevate men's souls to the highest pitch of reverence, devotion, and thankfulness to God, for his mercies in the sacrifice of Christ his only Son. To which purpose the reader may recollect what has been said of the great thanksgiving in the consecration of the eucharist; and the *Sursum corda!* or the call to *lift up their hearts* to the Lord! and of the seraphical hymns and angelical glorifications intended to set forth the praises of God in this excellent mystery. To which may be added that advice of Origen [53], that men should approach it with the profoundest humility, imitating the good centurion, and saying, "Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof." [Matth. 8, 8. and Luke 7, 6.] That they should then quit all thoughts of earthly things, and consider that they were then in the midst of Cherubims and Seraphims, angels and archangels, and all the powers above.

'For this mystery,' in Chrysostom's phrase [54], 'turns earth

[52] Ibid. p. 294. (p. 213 b.) Τεσσαράκοντα λοιπὸν ἡμέραι παρῆλθον· ... πᾶσι τοίνυν προλέγω καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι, ὅτι ἂν συγγενόμενος ὑμῖν κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀπόπειραν, λήψομαι δὲ πάντως, καὶ εὕρω τινὰς μὴ διορθώσαντας τὸ ἐλάττωμα, ἀπαιτήσω δίκην, κελεύσας ἔξω μένειν τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν ἱερῶν, οὐχ ἵνα μένωσιν ἔξω, ἀλλὰ διορθώσαντες ἑαυτοὺς οὕτως εἰσέλθωσι, καὶ μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος ἀπολαύσωσι τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης.

[53] Hom. 6. de Diversis. t. 2. p. 441. (Ed. Ascens. t. 3. fol. 124. vers. g.) Quando sanctum cibum illudque incorruptum accipis epulum, quando vitæ pane et poculo frueris, manducas et bibis corpus ac sanguinem Domini, tunc Dominus sub tectum tuum ingreditur. Et tu ergo humilians temetipsum imitare hunc centurionem, et dicito, Domine, non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum.

[54] Hom. 24. in 1 Cor. p. 538.

into heaven. Open the gates of heaven and see; or rather not heaven, but the heaven of heavens, and then you shall see what I say. For that which is the most honourable of all things there I will now show you upon the earth; not angels or archangels, not the heavens or the heaven of heavens, but the Lord of them all, whom you not only see, but touch, and eat, and carry home with you.' Therefore upon this he grounds several excellent exhortations. 'Let us become eagles[55], and fly up to him in heaven; let us have nothing to do with the earth, but look upward to the Sun of righteousness; let us not receive him with polluted hands, but come to him with reverence and all imaginable purity; saying, By this body I am no longer earth and ashes; I am no longer a captive, but free: for this I hope to receive heaven and all the good things

(t. 10. p. 218 e.) Ἐνταῦθα γάρ σοι τὴν γῆν οὐρανὸν ποιεῖ τουτὶ τὸ μυστήριον. Ἀναπέτασον γοῦν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς πύλας, καὶ διάκυψον· μᾶλλον δὲ οὐχὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τότε ὄψει τὸ εἰρημένον· τὸ γὰρ πάντων ἐκεῖ τιμιώτερον, τοῦτό σοι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς δείξω κείμενον. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸ πάντων σεμνότερον, οὐ τοίχοι, οὐκ ὄροφος χρυσοῦς, ἀλλὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα τὸ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου· οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς τὸ τοῦ Βασιλέως σῶμα. Ἀλλὰ τοῦτό σοι νῦν ἔξεστιν ἐπὶ γῆς ἰδεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἀγγέλους, οὐδὲ ἀρχαγγέλους, οὐδὲ οὐρανοὺς καὶ οὐρανοὺς οὐρανῶν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν τούτων σοι δείκνυμι Δεσπότην· ... καὶ οὐχ ὁρᾷς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπτῃ· καὶ οὐχ ἅπτῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσθίεις, καὶ λαβὼν οἴκαδε ἀναχωρεῖς.

[55] Ibid. pp. 536 and 538. (p. 216 c.)... Καὶ ἀετοὺς γενομένους ἐντεῦθεν, οὕτως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἵπτασθαι τὸν οὐρανόν· ... καὶ μηδὲν πρὸς τὴν γῆν κοινὸν ἔχειν, μηδὲ κάτω σύρεσθαι, καὶ ἕρπειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω πέτεσθαι διηνεκῶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἑνορᾶν, καὶ ὀξυδερκὲς τὸ ὄμμα τῆς διανοίας ἔχειν. ... Οὐκ ἄν τις ἕλοιτο ῥυπαραῖς αὐτοῦ κατατολμῆσαι χερσίν· ... ἀλλὰ μετὰ φρίκης καὶ καθαρότητος ἁπάσης αὐτῷ προσίωμεν. ... Λέγε πρὸς σεαυτόν· Διὰ τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα, οὐκέτι γῆ καὶ σποδὸς ἐγὼ, οὐκέτι αἰχμάλωτος, ἀλλ' ἐλεύθερος· διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐλπίζω, καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπολήψεσθαι ἀγαθὰ, τὴν ἀθάνατον ζωὴν, τὴν τῶν ἀγγέλων λῆξιν, τὴν μετὰ Χριστοῦ ὁμιλίαν.— Ibid. (p. 219 a.) Ἀπόσμηχε τοίνυν τὴν ψυχὴν, παρασκεύαζε τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὴν τούτων τῶν μυστηρίων ὑποδοχήν. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ παιδίον βασιλικὸν μετὰ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς ἀλουργίδος καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος ἐνεχειρίσθης φέρειν, πάντα ἂν ἔρριψας τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ. Νυνὶ δὲ οὐ παιδίον ἀνθρώπου βασιλικὸν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Μονογενῆ λαμβάνων τοῦ Θεοῦ Παῖδα, οὐ φρίττεις, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῶν βιωτικῶν ἐκβάλλεις ἔρωτα, καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καλλωπίζῃ μόνον ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ' ἔτι πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὁρᾷς, καὶ χρημάτων ἐρᾷς; καὶ πρὸς χρυσὸν ἐπτόησαι; καὶ τίνα ἂν σχοίης συγγνώμην, ποίαν ἀπολογίαν; Οὐκ οἶσθα πῶς ἅπασαν τὴν βιωτικὴν πολυτέλειαν ἀποστρέφεταί σου ὁ Δεσπότης; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν φάτνῃ ἐτέθη τεχθείς, καὶ μητέρα ἔλαβεν εὐτέλῃ; οὐ διὰ τοῦτο τῷ πρὸς καπηλείαν ἐκείνῳ βλέποντι ἔλεγεν, Ὁ δὲ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει ποῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν κλίνῃ; Τί δὲ οἱ μαθηταί; οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν διετήρουν νόμον, εἰς τὰς τῶν πενήτων οἰκίας καταγόμενοι; ... Τούτους τοίνυν καὶ ἡμεῖς ζηλώσωμεν· τὰ μὲν κάλλη τῶν κιόνων καὶ τῶν μαρμάρων παρατρέχοντες, ζητοῦντες δὲ τὰς ἄνω μονὰς, καὶ πάντα τὸν τῦφον τὸν ἐνταῦθα πατήσωμεν μετὰ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίας, καὶ ὑψηλὸν λάβωμεν φρόνημα.

therein, immortal life, the condition of angels, the society of Christ. Cleanse therefore and wash thy soul, prepare thy mind for the reception of these mysteries. If the son of a king in all his ornamental robes, his purple and his diadem, were put into thy hands to carry, thou wouldest contemn all earthly things. But now thou receivest not the son of a mortal king, but the only-begotten Son of God: and art thou not afraid still to retain the love of worldly things? Why is not this ornament alone sufficient for thee, but thou must yet needs look to the earth, and be in love with riches? Knowest thou not that thy Lord has an aversion to all the pomp and magnificence of this life? Was he not therefore born of a poor mother, and at his birth laid in a manger? And was not his answer this, to the man who thought to make a gain of his service? *The Son of man hath not where to lay his head!* Let us therefore imitate him; and passing by the beauty of pillars and marbles, let us seek for mansions in heaven above; and trampling upon all worldly pride, and the love of riches, let us take to ourselves lofty souls, and mind the things that are on high.'

'When you come to the holy table and the sacred mysteries,' says he in another place[56], 'do it with fear and reverence, with a pure conscience, with fasting and prayer. Consider what a sacrifice you partake of, what a table you approach

[56] Hom. 31. de Nativ. Christ. t. 1. p. 479. (t. 2. p. 364 e.)... Μέλλοντες προσιέναι τῇ φρικτῇ καὶ θείᾳ ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ, καὶ ἱερᾷ μυσταγωγίᾳ, μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος, μετὰ νηστείας καὶ προσευχῆς... Ἐννόησον, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ποίας μέλλεις ἅπτεσθαι θυσίας, ποίᾳ προσέρχεσθαι τραπέζῃ. Ἐνθυμήθητι καὶ ὅτι γῆ ὢν καὶ σποδὸς, αἷμα καὶ σῶμα Χριστοῦ μεταλαμβάνεις· καὶ βασιλέως μὲν εἰς εὐωχίαν καλοῦντος ὑμᾶς, μετὰ φόβου ἀνακλίνεσθε, καὶ τῶν προκειμένων μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ ἡσυχίας μεταλαμβάνετε ἐδεσμάτων· τοῦ Θεοῦ δὲ καλοῦντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τράπεζαν, καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ προτιθέντος υἱὸν, ἀγγελικῶν δυνάμεων περισταμένων μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, καὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ κατακαλυπτόντων τὰ πρόσωπα, τῶν Σεραφὶμ κραζόντων τρόμῳ, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Ἅγιος, Κύριος· σὺ κράζεις, εἰπέ μοι, καὶ θορυβῇ πρὸς τὴν πνευματικὴν ταύτην ἑστίασιν;... Φρίξωμεν τοίνυν προσιόντες, εὐχαριστήσωμεν, προσπέσωμεν ἐξομολογούμενοι τὰ πταίσματα ἡμῶν, δακρύσωμεν τὰ οἰκεῖα πενθοῦντες κακὰ, ἐκτενεῖς εὐχὰς ἀποδῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω διακαθάραντες ἑαυτοὺς ῥήμα, καὶ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης εὐταξίας, ὡς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσιόντες τῶν οὐρανῶν, οὕτω προσέλθωμεν· καὶ δεξάμενοι τὴν ἄμωμον καὶ ἁγίαν θυσίαν καταφιλήσωμεν, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς περιπτυξώμεθα, διαθερμάνωμεν ἑαυτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα συνερχώμεθα, ἀλλ' εἰς σωφροσύνην ψυχῆς, εἰς ἀγάπην, εἰς ἀρετὴν, καὶ καταλλαγὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν, εἰς εἰρήνην βεβαίαν, καὶ μυρίων ἀγαθῶν ὑπόθεσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἀγιάσωμεν, καὶ τοὺς πλησίον οἰκοδομήσωμεν.

unto. Consider that thou, who art but dust and ashes, receivest the body and blood of Christ. God calls thee to his own table, and sets before thee his Son: where the angelical powers stand about with fear and trembling, and the Cherubims cover their faces, and the Seraphims cry with reverence, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord of Hosts! Let us therefore come with the greatest reverence also, and give thanks, and fall down and confess our sins, and with tears bewail our offences, and offer up fervent prayers to God. And so purifying ourselves in quietness and decent order, let us come as to an heavenly King; and receiving the holy and immaculate sacrifice, let us kiss and embrace it with our mouths and eyes, and therewith warm our souls; that we come not together to judgment and condemnation, but to create in us sobriety of mind, and charity, and virtue, and reconcile ourselves to God, and obtain a lasting peace, and whatever other blessings arise from thence; that we may both sanctify ourselves and edify our neighbours.'

And as they thus taught men with what veneration and serious deportment they ought to behave themselves at the Lord's table; so they endeavoured to make lasting impressions of virtue upon men's minds by this argument, showing them what obligations of holiness and purity the reception of the body and blood of Christ laid upon every member of the body and every faculty of the soul. It was an oblation of their bodies and souls to God; it was an oath or bond and covenant to do no evil, but to exercise themselves in all manner of virtue, as Pliny[57] represents it from the mouths of some Christians. Therefore Chrysostom elegantly represents it as an obligation laid upon every member of the body, the hands, the eyes, the lips and tongue, the heart and soul especially[58], to abstain

[57] L. 10. Ep. 97. (p. 278.) Affirmabant, hanc fuisse summam vel culpæ suæ vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire; carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem; seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.

[58] Hom. 27. in 1 Cor. p. 567. (t. 10. p. 248 c.) Σὺ δὲ πρὶν ἢ μὲν μεταλαβεῖν νηστεύεις, ἵνα ὅπως δήποτε ἄξιος φανῇς τῆς κοινωνίας. Ὅταν δὲ μεταλάβῃς, δέον σε ἐπιτεῖναι τὴν σωφροσύνην, πάντα ἀπολλύεις. Καίτοιγε οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσον πρὸ τούτου νήφειν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα· δεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ σωφρονεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τὸν νυμφίον· πρὸ τούτου μὲν, ἵνα ἄξιος γένῃ τοῦ λαβεῖν· μετὰ δὲ

from all pollution and impurity of sin. 'Thou fastest before thou dost communicate that thou mayest appear worthy: and dost thou destroy all after communicating when thou oughtest to be more temperate? I do not enjoin thee to fast, but to abstain from luxury and all the evil effects of it, immoderate laughter, disorderly words, pernicious jesting, foolish and vain discourse, and whatever a Christian ought not to speak, who has been entertained at Christ's table, and touched his flesh with his tongue. Whoever thou art, therefore, purify thy hands, thy lips and thy tongue, which have been the gates at which Christ entered into thee. When thou sittest down to a common table[59], remember that spiritual table, and call to mind that supper of the Lord. Consider what words thy mouth hath spoken, words worthy of such a table, what things thy mouth hath touched and tasted, what meat it has fed upon. Dost thou think it no harm with that mouth to speak evil of and revile thy brother? How canst thou call him brother? If he is not thy brother, how couldst thou say, *Our Father!* for that implies more persons than one? Consider with whom thou stoodest in the time of the holy mysteries; with Cherubims, with Seraphims. But the Cherubims use no reviling. Their mouth is filled with one office, glorifying and praising God. How then canst thou say with them, Holy! Holy! Holy! who usest thy mouth to reviling? Tell me, if there were a royal vessel always filled with royal dainties, and set apart only for this use; and one of the servants should use it to put dung in; would he dare after that to put it thus filled with dung among the other vessels appointed for royal use? No, certainly. Yet this is the very case of railing and reviling. You say at the holy table, *Our Father*, and then immediately

ταῦτα, ἵνα μὴ ἀνάξιος φανῇς ὢν ἔλαβες. Τί οὖν, νηστεύειν δεῖ μετὰ τὸ λαβεῖν; οὐ λέγω τοῦτο, οὐδὲ καταναγκάζω· καλὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο· πλὴν οὐ βιάζομαι τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ παραινῶ μὴ τρυφᾶν εἰς ἀπληστίαν..... Οὐκ οἶσθα ὅσα ἀπὸ τρυφῆς ἐπεισέρχεται κακά; γέλως ἄκαιρος, ῥήματα ἄτακτα, εὐτραπελία ὀλέθρου γέμουσα, φλυαρία ἀνόητος, τὰ ἀλλὰ ἃ μηδὲ εἰπεῖν καλόν. Καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖς τραπέζης ἀπολαύσας Χριστοῦ, κατὰ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ' ἣν ἄψασθαι διὰ γλώττης τῶν σαρκῶν αὐτοῦ κατηξιώθης. Πῶς οὖν, ἵνα ταῦτα μὴ γίνηται, καθάγνιζέ σου τὴν δεξιάν, τὴν γλώτταν, τὰ χείλη, ἅπερ ἐγένετο πρόθυρα τῇ ἐπιβάσει τοῦ Χριστοῦ· καὶ τράπεζαν παραθεὶς αἰσθητὴν, πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν τράπεζαν τὸν νοῦν ἀνάτεινον, πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον τὸ Κυριακόν.

[59] Hom. 14. in Eph. p. 1127. See before, b. 13. ch. 6. s. 10. v. 4. p. 474. nn. 37, 38, 39.

add, *which art in heaven.* This word raises you up, and gives wings to your soul, and shows that you have a Father in heaven. Therefore do nothing, speak nothing of earthly things. He hath placed you in the order of spirits above, and appointed you a station in that choir. Why then do you draw yourself downward? You stand by the royal throne, and do you revile your brother? How are you not afraid, lest the king should take it as an affront offered to himself? If a servant beats or reviles another in our presence who are but his fellow-servants, though he does it justly, we rebuke him for it. And dare you stand before the royal throne and revile your brother? See you not these holy vessels? Are they not always appropriated to one peculiar use? Dares any one put them to any other? But you are more holy than these vessels, yea, much more holy. Why then do you pollute and defile yourself? You stand in heaven, and do you still use railing? You converse with angels, and do you yet revile? You are admitted to the Lord's holy kiss, and do you yet revile? God hath honoured and adorned your mouth so many ways, by angelical hymns, by food not angelical but super-angelical, by his own kisses, and by his own embraces, and do you after all these revile? Do not, I beseech you. Let that which is the cause of so many evils be far from the soul of a Christian!'

With what force and eloquence does this holy writer here show us the obligation which the reception of the eucharist lays upon men to abstain from evil-speaking? But it equally lays a restraint upon all the other members of the body and operations of the soul as well as the tongue. Which Chrysostom excellently deduces after this manner in another place[60]. 'Be grateful to

[60] Hom. 21. ad Pop. Antioch. t. 1. p. 266. [Bened. Catech. ad Illuminand. 2.] (t. 2. p. 236 e.)... Ἄμειψαί σου τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀρίστῃ πολιτείᾳ, καὶ, ἐννοήσας τῆς θυσίας τὸ μέγεθος, καλλώπισόν σου τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος. Ἐννόησον τί δέχῃ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ μηδέποτε ἀνάσχῃ τυπτῆσαί τινα, μηδὲ τὴν τοσούτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν δώρῳ καταισχύνῃς τῇ τῆς πληγῆς ἁμαρτίᾳ. Ἐννόησον τί δέχῃ τῇ χειρὶ, καὶ καθαρὰν αὐτὴν πλεονεξίας καὶ ἁρπαγῆς πάσης διατήρησον. Λόγισαι, ὅτι οὐ τῇ χειρὶ δέχῃ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ στόματι προσάγεις, καὶ καθαρὰν φύλαττε τὴν γλῶτταν αἰσχρῶν καὶ ὑβριστικῶν ῥημάτων, βλασφημίας, ἐπιορκίας, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων. Καὶ γὰρ ὀλέθριον τὴν διακονουμένην μυστηρίοις οὕτω φρικωδεστάτοις, καὶ αἵματι φοινιχθεῖσαν τοιούτῳ καὶ χρυσῆν γενομένην μάχαιραν ἐπὶ λοιδορίας καὶ ὕβρεις, καὶ εὐτραπελίας μετάγειν. Αἰδέσθητι τὴν τιμὴν, ἣν ἐτίμησεν αὐτὴν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ μὴ καταγάγῃς εἰς τὴν τῆς ἁμαρτίας εὐτέλειαν· ἀλλ' ἐνθυμηθεὶς πάλιν, ὅτι μετὰ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἡ καρδία δέχεται τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο μυστήριον, μὴ ῥάψῃς μηδέποτε κατὰ τοῦ

thy benefactor by an excellent conversation; consider the greatness of the sacrifice, and let that engage thee to adorn every member of thy body. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and never after endure to strike any man: do not disgrace that hand by the sin of fighting and quarrelling, which has been honoured with the reception of so great a gift. Consider what thou takest in thy hand, and keep thy hand free from all rapines and injustice. Think again how thou not only receivest it in thy hand but puttest it to thy mouth, and keep thy tongue pure from all filthy and contumelious speech, from blasphemy and perjury, and all words of the like nature. For it is a most pernicious thing that the tongue, which ministers in such tremendous mysteries, and is dyed with the purple of such precious blood, and made a golden sword, should be put to the vile practice of railing and reviling and scurrilous and abusive language. Regard with veneration the honour wherewith God has honoured it; and do not debase it to such mean offices of sin. Consider again that after thy hand and thy tongue thy heart receives that tremendous mystery: then never devise any fraud or deceit against thy neighbour, but keep thy mind pure from all malicious designs. After the same manner guard thy eyes and thy ears. For is it not most absurd, after that mystical hymn that was brought from heaven by the Cherubims, to defile thy ears with the songs of harlots and effeminate music? And what punishment can be too great for thee, if thou sufferest those eyes, which have seen the unspeakable and venerable mysteries, to wander gazing after harlots, and committest adultery in thy mind?'

Tertullian[61], among many other arguments which he uses against a Christian's going to be a spectator at the Roman games, uses this as one, taken from the same topic: 'What an absurdity is it for a man to go from the church of God into the church of the Devil? Out of heaven, as the saying is, into

πλησίον δόλον, ἀλλὰ κακουργίας πάσης καθαρὰν διατήρει σου τὴν διάνοιαν· οὕτω καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς, καὶ ἀκοὴν ἀσφαλίσασθαι δυνήσῃ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, μετὰ τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην φωνὴν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν φερομένην, τὴν ἐκ τῶν Χερουβὶμ λέγω, πορνικοῖς ἄσμασι καὶ κατακεκλασμένοις μέλεσι τὴν ἀκοὴν μολύνειν; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἐσχάτης κολάσεως ἄξιον, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, οἷς ὁρᾷς τὰ ἀπόρρητα καὶ φρικτὰ μυστήρια, τούτοις πόρνας ὁρᾷν, καὶ μοιχείαν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν κατὰ διάνοιαν;

[61] De Spectac. c. 25. See before, b. 13. ch. 5. s. 5. v. 4. p. 387., the last part of n. 85.

the mire? First to lift up his hands in prayer to the Lord, and and then to toss those very hands to weariness in the praise of a stage-player? To make that mouth which was used to say *Amen!* at the holy eucharist, give testimony to a gladiator? To cry out, *World without end!* to others besides Christ his God?'

By such familiar arguments drawn from the nature of the sacrament, and the inconsistency of all vicious actions with the design and circumstances and whole tendency of it, did the Ancients endeavour to possess men's minds with the sense of their duty, and their great obligation to persevere in holiness, and glorify God both in body and spirit all their days. Which, as it was but their reasonable service, so it was the only way to make this holy sacrament effectual to their salvation, and useful in their present state, by keeping up a perpetual and flaming love for Christ, which qualified them for a frequent reception, and almost daily repetition of it; which is the last thing to be considered in this whole inquiry.

CHAP. IX.

Of frequent communion, and the times of celebrating it in the ancient Church.

All persons, except penitents under censure, anciently obliged to receive the communion every Lord's-day by the canons of the Church.

1. It has been shown before[61], in speaking against private and solitary masses, that though it be now the custom in the Church of Rome for the priest to receive the eucharist without any other communicants, either clergy or laity, how many soever be present at the action, yet there was no such custom ever heard of in the ancient Church. And though in most other Churches this corruption be reformed, yet there remains a great defect still uncorrected, which is the want or neglect of frequent communion. I shall make no further inquiry into the causes of this neglect, whether it proceed from a general decay of Christian piety, or from a want of strict discipline in the Church, but only observe that it is a great declension from the zeal and fervour of the primitive ages. For then it is certain it was both the rule and practice for all in general, both clergy and laity, to receive the communion every Lord's-day, except

[61] See ch. 4, s. 4, of this Book. p. 356.

such as were unqualified for it either as catechumens or penitents, who of course, for want of a due preparation, were obliged to abstain from it.

Among the Apostolical Canons there are two[62] to this purpose. The first says, 'If any bishop, presbyter, or deacon, or any other of the clergy does not communicate when the oblation is offered, let him show cause why he does not, that if it be a reasonable cause he may be excused; but if he show no cause let him be excommunicated, as giving scandal to the people, and raising suspicion against him that offers.' And the next canon says, 'If any of the faithful come to church to hear the Scriptures read, and stay not to join in the prayers and receive the communion, let them be excommunicated, as the authors of disorder in the Church.' The Council of Antioch[63], which was held in the middle of the fourth century, repeats this decree: 'Let all those be cast out of the Church, who come to hear the Scriptures read in the church, but do not communicate with the people in prayer, or disorderly turn away from the participation of the eucharist, till by confession and fruits of repentance and intercession they have obtained pardon.' These canons show that as often as they met together for divine service on the Lord's-day, they were obliged to receive the eucharist under pain of excommunication. And all other canons which speak of the order of divine service, plainly show that the celebration of the eucharist was always one inseparable part of it. The Council of Laodicea[64], as has been often noted before, describes the whole in this order: 'First, after the sermon, the prayers of the catechumens, and then the prayers of the penitents, and after their departure the prayers of the faithful, and then the kiss of peace, and last of all the offering of the holy oblation.' And all such canons[65], as for-

[62] Cc. Apost. 9, 10. See before, ch. 4. s. 1. p. 351. n. 36.

[63] C. 2. (t. 2. p. 561 d.) Πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν Γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ κοινωνοῦντας δὲ εὐχῆς ἅμα τῷ λαῷ, ἢ ἀποστρεφομένους τὴν μετάληψιν τῆς εὐχαριστίας κατά τινα ἀταξίαν· τούτους ἀποβλήτους γίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας· ἕως ἂν ἐξομολογησάμενοι καὶ δείξαντες καρποὺς μετανοίας, καὶ παρακαλέσαντες, τυχεῖν δυνηθῶσι συγγνώμης.

[64] C. 19. See before, b. 15. ch. 1. s. 1. p. 210. n. 1.

[65] C. Nicæn. c. 11. (t. 2. p. 33 d.) Ὅσοι οὖν γνησίως μεταμέλονται, τρία ἔτη ἐν ἀκροωμένοις ποιήσουσιν οἱ πιστοὶ, καὶ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ὑποπεσοῦνται· δύο δέ ἔτη χωρὶς προσφορᾶς κοινωνήσουσι τῷ λαῷ τῶν προσευχῶν.—C. 13. (ibid. p. 36 b.).... Μετὰ τῶν κοινω-

bid the penitents to be partakers of the eucharist, do plainly suppose all the rest of the people to be partakers of it. And if any man did not partake of it, it was an intimation either that he was doing penance, or at least was conscious to himself of some great crime, for which he ought to do penance: for no others were allowed to abstain from the constant participation of the eucharist. 'All they that do not communicate,' says St. Chrysostom[66], 'are penitents: if thou art of the number of those who do penance, thou mayest not partake. For whoever does not partake is one of that number.' Which implies that all were obliged constantly to communicate, who were not doing penance publicly or privately for their offences. And this was so much the practice of those days, that the Council of Eliberis[67] orders 'that they who would not communicate should not be allowed to make their oblations.' Which was a sort of excommunication of them; for the oblations and the eucharist commonly went together. The first Council of Toledo[68] orders 'those who come to church, but neglect to communicate, to be admonished: and if they amend not upon admonition, then to be reduced to the state of formal penance for their crime.'

It were no hard matter to show the like prescriptions in many other Councils[69]; but these are sufficient to show what

νούντων τῆς εὐχῆς μόνης ἔστω.—C. Ancyr. c. 5. (t. 1. p. 1457 d.)... *Κοινωνήτωσαν δίχα προσφορᾶς.*—Conf. c. 6. (ibid. p. 1460 a.).... *Κοινωνῆσαι χωρὶς προσφορᾶς.*

[66] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a.) *Ὅσοι μὴ μετέχουσιν, ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἰσιν· εἰ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἶ, μετασχεῖν οὐκ ὀφείλεις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ μετέχων τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἐστί.*

[67] C. 28. (t. 1. p. 973 e.) Placuit ab his, qui non communicant, episcopos munera accipere non debere. —The same words in Labbe, but transposed.

[68] C. 13. (t. 2. p. 1225 d.) De his, qui intrant in ecclesiam, et deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur, quod [al. ut] si non communicant, ad pœnitentiam accedant.

[69] Vid. C. Matiscon. 2. c. 4. (t. 5. p. 981 b.) Residentibus nobis in sancto concilio, cognovimus quosdam Christianos, relicto fratrum cœtu, a mandato Dei aliquibus locis deviasse, ita ut nullus eorum legitimo obsecundationibus parere velit officio deitatis, dum sacris altaribus nullam admovent hostiam. Propterea decernimus, ut omnibus Dominicis diebus altaris oblatio ab omnibus viris et mulieribus offeratur tam panis quam vini: ut, per has immolationes, et peccatorum suorum fascibus careant, et cum Abel, vel cæteris justis offerentibus, promereantur esse consortes. Omnes autem, qui definitiones nostras per inobedientiam evacuare contendunt, anathemate percellantur.—C. Antissiodor. c. 39. (t. 5. p. 960 e.) [The cited canon contains nothing to the purpose. ED.]

was the standing rule of the first ages as to men's obligations to be constant in receiving the communion once a week in their solemn assembly on the Lord's-day.

This sho to be th constant practice the thre first age

2. And if we run over the whole history of the three first ages, we shall find this to have been the Church's constant practice. Ignatius exhorts the Ephesians[70] to be diligent in assembling frequently to celebrate the eucharist and glorify God. 'For when ye often meet together ye demolish the power of Satan; and the harmony of your faith destroys the destruction which he meditates against you.' This frequency of communion may reasonably be supposed to be then, according to the known practice, once a week, on every Lord's-day. For on this day, as Pliny[71], who was contemporary with Ignatius, informs us, from the testimony and confessions of some Christians, whom he as proconsul of Bithynia examined, they were used 'to meet before it was light by reason of the persecutions, and then not only sing hymns to Christ their God, but also to bind themselves by a sacrament against the commission of all manner of wickedness.' Justin Martyr[72] says more expressly in his Apology to the Emperors, 'that on a day called Sunday they were all used to meet together both out of city and country, and hold a religious assembly in this manner: first, a reader read the writings of the Prophets and Apostles: then the president of the assembly made a sermon; after which they all rose up to common prayers; and when those were ended, bread and wine were brought to the president, who consecrated them with prayer and thanksgiving, to which all the people said *Amen!* Then all the present members participated of the eucharist, and it was carried to the absent by the deacons.'

The like account is given by Clemens of Alexandria, when[73]

[70] Ep. ad Ephes. n. 13. (Cotel. v. 2. p. 15.) Σπουδάζετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν Θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν· ὅτ' ἂν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ Σατανᾶ, καὶ λύεται ὁ ὄλεθρος αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως.

[71] L. 10. Ep. 97. (p. 278.) Affirmabant autem, &c. See before, ch. 8. s. 14. n. 57, preceding.

[72] Apol. 2. (p. 98 d.) Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, κ. τ. λ. See before, b. 13. ch. 4. s. 1. v. 4. p. 343. n. 66.

[73] Stromat. 1. (p. 318. 32.) See before, ch. 3. s. 35. p. 348. n. 22.—C. Laodic. c. 49. (t. 1. p. 1505 a.) Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἐν Τεσσαρακοστῇ ἄρτον προσφέρειν, εἰ μὴ ἐν Σαββάτῳ καὶ Κυριακῇ μόνον.—Innocent. Ep. 1. ad Decent. c. 5. (CC. t. 2. p. 1247 b.) De fermento vero, quod die Dominico

he says, 'that as soon as the bread was broken in the celebration of the eucharist, they permitted every one of the people to take his share of it.' And we shall presently see more of this custom of communicating every Lord's-day in the writings of Tertullian, and Cyprian, and Eusebius, and many others, who speak of other days as well as the Lord's-day, appropriated in some Churches to this service: but about these the custom varied: for on other days some Churches celebrated the eucharist, and others did not; but on the Lord's-day it was universally celebrated in all Churches, and never omitted by any assembly of Christians whatsoever. Insomuch that some[74] have observed out of Chrysostom[75], that Sunday was anciently among other names called *Dies Panis, the Day of Bread*, because the breaking of bread was so general a custom in the Church on that day.

The eucharist celebrated on other days besides the Lord's-day, in many Churches.

3. As to other days, we may observe out of Tertullian[76], that in his time they not only received the eucharist on Sundays in their morning assemblies before day, but also at other times on other days; particularly on the anniversary festivals of the martyrs; and the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, which were but one continued festival; and all their stationary days, that is, Wednesdays and Fridays in every week throughout the year. These things are not commonly observed by writers on this subject, but they add considerably to the argument about frequent communion. Tertullian says expressly of these stationary days, that they were always observed with receiving the eucharist. For he tells some[77], who objected against it on these days, 'that their station would be so much the more solemn for their standing at the altar.' And whereas

per titulos mittimus, &c.—Gaudent. Serm. 2. de Pasch. (ap. Bibl. Max. t. 5. p. 947 g. 12.).... Quo et ipsi sacerdotes, et omnes pariter fidelium populi exemplar passionis Christi ante oculos habentes quotidie, et gerentes in manibus, ore etiam sumentes ac pectore, redemptionis nostræ indelebili memoria teneamus.

[74] See Bishop Tayler's Worthy Communicant, ch. 5. s. 4. quest. 3. p. 462. (Works, v. 15. p. 629.) Some did [communicate] every Sunday; and this was so general a custom in the ancient Church, that the Sunday was called *the Day of Bread*, &c.

[75] Hom. 5. de Resurrect. in Edit. Lat. (Basil. 1558. t. 3. fol. 859 a.) Alii diem panis, alii dicunt diem lucis.

[76] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Eucharistiæ sacramentum ... etiam antelucanis cœtibus ... sumimus.

[77] De Orat. c. 14. (p. 136 a.) Nonne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris?

they scrupled to communicate because they were afraid that receiving the eucharist would be a breaking of their fast: for these were *semi-jejunia, half-fasts,* which they observed till three in the afternoon: he takes away this scruple also[78], and tells them, 'that receiving the eucharist would be so far from breaking their fast, that it would the more recommend it to God, and by doing this they would perfectly perform both duties together.' St. Basil[79] agrees with Tertullian in making the stationary days not only fast-days, but days of communion. For reckoning four days in the week on which they received the communion, he counts Wednesdays and Fridays, with Saturdays and Sundays, to complete the number. And Socrates[80] notes it as a peculiar custom in the Church of Alexandria, that though they had religious assemblies on these days, and all other divine service performed on them, yet they had not the communion. Which exception implies, that to receive the communion on those days was the general custom of other Churches. Tertullian[81] as plainly intimates, that they received the communion upon all the festivals of the martyrs. And the same is noted by Cyprian[82], and Chrysostom[83], and Sidonius Apollinaris[84]. The passages have been cited at large in an-

[78] Ibid. (p. 135 b.) Ergo devotum Deo obsequium eucharistia resolvit, an magis Deo obligat?

[79] Ep. 289. [al. 93.] ad Cæsar. Patric. t. 3. p. 278. (t. 3. part. 1. p. 267 d.) Ἡμεῖς μέν τοιγε τέταρτον καθ' ἑκάστην ἑβδομάδα κοινωνοῦμεν, ἐν τῇ Κυριακῇ, ἐν τῇ Τετράδι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Παρασκευῇ, καὶ τῷ Σαββάτῳ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἡμέραις, ἐὰν ᾖ μνήμη ἁγίου τινός. [al. μάρτυρός τινος.]

[80] L. 5. c. 22. (v. 2. p. 295. 31.) Ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, τῇ δὲ Τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ Παρασκευῇ, Γραφαί τε ἀναγινώσκονται, καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι ταῦτα ἑρμηνεύουσι, πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται, δίχα τῆς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετῆς.

[81] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Eucharistiæ sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus.

[82] Ep. 37. [al. 12.] p. 28. (p. 188.) Quanquam Tertullus..... significet mihi dies, quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri ad immortalitatem gloriosæ mortis exitu transeunt; et celebrentur hic a nobis oblationes et sacrificia ob commemorationes eorum, quæ cito vobiscum Domino protegente celebrabimus.—Ep. 39. [al. 34.] (p. 224.) Sacrificia pro eis semper, ut meministis, offerimus, quoties martyrum passiones et dies anniversaria commemoratione celebramus.

[83] Hom. 59. de Martyr. t. 5. p. 779. (t. 2. p. 669 a.) Ἐννόησον, ἡλίκος γέλως, μετὰ τοιαύτην σύνοδον, μετὰ πανηχίδας, μετὰ Γραφῶν ἁγίων ἀκρόασιν, μετὰ μυστηρίων θείων κοινωνίαν, καὶ μετὰ πνευματικὴν χορηγίαν, ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα ἐν καπηλείῳ φαίνεσθαι διημερεύοντας.

[84] L. 5. Ep. 17. (p. 361.) Convenimus ad sancti Justi sepulchrum. ... Processio fuerat antelucana, solemnitas anniversaria ... Cultu per-

other place[85], and therefore I need not here repeat them. Tertullian[86] says further, 'that the fifty days of Pentecost, or all the days between Easter and Pentecost, were one continued festival.' And since all festivals were communion-days, we may conclude that the communion was celebrated every day during this interval.

Saturday also, or the Sabbath in every week, was observed as a religious festival in many Churches. And therefore on this day likewise they generally received the communion. This is expressly said by Socrates[87], and Cassian[88], and St. Basil[89], and Timothy of Alexandria[90], and St. Austin[91], and the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions[92], and the Council of Laodicea[93]. I have already produced the several testimonies of these writers at large upon another occasion[94], and therefore it is sufficient here to make a short reference to them. By all this it appears undeniably that in many Churches they had the communion four times every week, on Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, besides incidental festivals, which were very frequent, for, as Chrysostom[95] tells us, there was scarce a week passed in the year but they had one or two commemorations of martyrs.

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4. But we are assured further, that in some places they received the communion every day. St. Austin[96] says, 'in some

acto vigiliarum .. quisque in diversa secessimus, non procul tamen, utpote ad tertiam præsto futuri, cum sacerdotibus res divina facienda.

[85] B. 13. ch. 9. s. 5. v. 4. pp. 535, seqq. nn. 56—65.

[86] De Cor. Mil. c. 3. (p. 102 a.) Eadem immunitate a die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.—De Idolol. c. 14. (p. 94 b.) Excerpe singulas solemnitates nationum, et in ordinem exsere, [al. texe] Pentecosten implere non poterunt.

[87] L. 5. c. 22. (v. 2. p. 295. 21.) Τῶν γὰρ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Σαββάτων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἑβδομάδος περίοδον ἐπιτελουσῶν τὰ μυστήρια, κ. τ. λ.—L. 6. c. 8. (ibid. p. 321. 38.) Ἡνίκα οὖν ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος ἑορταὶ κατελάμβανον, φημὶ δὴ τό τε Σάββατον καὶ ἡ Κυριακή, ἐν αἷς αἱ συνάξεις κατὰ τὰς ἐκκλησίας εἰώθασι γένεσθαι, κ. τ. λ.

[88] Instit. l. 3. c. 2. (p. 30.) ... Die Sabbati vel Dominica ... in quibus hora tertia sacræ communionis obtentu conveniunt.

[89] Ep. 289. See before, n. 79, preceding.

[90] C. 13. (ap. Bevereg. Pandect. t. 2. part. 1. p. 168 e.) See before, b. 13. ch. 9. s. 3. v. 4. p. 527. n. 21.

[91] Ep. 118. See n. 96, following.

[92] L. 2. c. 59. (Cotel. v. 1. p. 268.) ... Μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Σαββάτου, κ. τ. λ.

[93] C. 49. See n. 73, preceding.

[94] B. 13. ch. 9. s. 3. v. 4. p. 527.

[95] Hom. 40. in Juventin. t. 1. p. 546. See b. 13. ch. 9. s. 5. v. 4. p. 536. n. 57.

[96] Ep. 118. [al. 54.] ad Januar. c. 2. (t. 2. p. 124 c.) Alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini

places only on the Saturday and the Lord's-day; and in other places only on the Lord's-day;' for this was left to the liberty of every Church: but they that communicated the seldomest did it at least every Lord's-day. So again[97], 'The sacrament of his body, the Church and its unity, is in some places prepared and taken every day at the Lord's table; in other places only on certain days, with an interval of time between them.' In the greater Churches probably they had it every day, in the lesser only once or twice a week. Carthage seems to have been one of those Churches which had it every day from the time of Cyprian. For Cyprian[98], and Austin[99] after him, speak of it as the custom of that Church to receive it daily, unless they were under some such grievous sin as separated them from the body of Christ, and kept them as penitents from communicating. Therefore Cyprian[1] gives this as one sense of that petition in the Lord's Prayer, *Give us this day our daily bread*, as if it might be understood in the spiritual sense as well as the natural, as a petition to be daily fed with the flesh of Christ in the eucharist, which was the bread of life. In another place[2], he exhorts the martyrs 'to prepare themselves for the fight of persecution, considering that they therefore drink the cup of Christ's blood every day, that they may be able to shed their blood for Christ.' Therefore, says he, a little after[3], 'Let us arm our hand with that spiritual sword,

Domini, alii certis diebus accipiunt: alibi nullus dies prætermittitur quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum et Dominico, alibi tantum Dominico, &c.

[97] In Ioan. Tract. 26. p. 94. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 500 d.) Hujus rei sacramentum, id est, unitatis corporis et sanguinis Christi alicubi quotidie, alicubi certis intervallis dierum in Dominica mensa præparatur et [de mensa Dominica] sumitur.—Conf. De Serm. Dom. in Mont. l. 2. c. 7. (t. 3. part. 2. p. 209 g.)... Aut pro sacramento corporis Christi, quod quotidie accipimus.—Ibid. (p. 210 b.) ... Qui plurimi in orientalibus partibus non quotidie cœnæ Dominicæ communicant.

[98] De Orat. Dom. p. 147. (p. 104.) Hunc autem panem dari nobis quotidie postulamus, ne, qui in Christo sumus, et eucharistiam quotidie ad cibum salutis accipimus, intercedente aliquo graviore delicto, dum abstenti et non communicantes a cœlesti pane prohibemur, a Christi corpore separemur.

[99] De Dono Perseverantiæ, c. 4. (t. 10. p. 825 d, e.) Quarta petitio est, *Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.* Ubi beatus Cyprianus ostendit, quomodo et hic intelligatur perseverantia postulari. Ait quippe inter cætera, *Hunc autem panem dari nobis, &c.* See the preceding note.

[1] Ubi supra. See n. 98, preceding.

[2] Ep. 56. [al. 58.] ad Pleb. Thibarit. p. 120. (p. 255.) Considerantes idcirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere.

[3] Ibid. p. 125. (p. 258.) Armemus

that it being mindful of the eucharist, the Christian sacrifice, may valiantly refuse those abominable and deadly sacrifices of the Heathen; let that hand, which has received the body of the Lord, embrace the Lord himself, being afterward to receive the reward of an eternal crown from the Lord in heaven.' To which may be added what he says in another place[4], 'that the priests who celebrated the daily sacrifices of God, did also prepare the martyrs to offer themselves as victims and oblations unto God.' Where by *the daily sacrifice* he certainly means the eucharist, which is often called *the daily sacrifice* by the Ancients[5], for the same reason as the Lord's Prayer is called *the daily prayer*, because they were both daily celebrated at the altar.

St. Jerom[6] assures us it was the custom at Rome for the faithful to receive the body of Christ every day. Which he neither absolutely commends, nor disallows, but leaves every man to 'abound in his own sense,' only requiring men to receive it with due preparation. In another place[7] he says, it was not only the custom at Rome, but of the Spanish Church to communicate every day. And to one who proposed the question to him as a case of conscience, whether he ought to communi-

et dexteram gladio spiritali, ut sacrificia funesta fortiter respuat, et eucharistiæ memor, quæ Domini corpus accipit, ipsum complectatur post modum Dominum, sumptura præmium cœlestium coronarum.

[4] Ep. 54. [al. 57.] ad Cornel. p. 118. (p. 253.)... Sacerdotes, qui sacrificia Dei quotidie celebramus, hostias Deo et victimas præparemus.

[5] So Chrysost. Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a, b.) *Θυσία καθημερινὴ, κ. τ. λ. Καθ' ἑκάστην, κ. τ. λ.*

[6] Ep. 5. [al. 48.] ad Pammach. cont. Jovinian. c. 6. [al. 15.] (t. 1. p. 225 c.) Scio Romæ hanc esse consuetudinem, ut fideles semper Christi corpus accipiant: quod nec reprehendo nec probo. *Unusquisque enim in suo sensu abundat.*

[7] Ep. 28. [al. 71.] ad Lucinium Bœticum, (ibid. p. 432 d.) De eucharistia [quod quæris] an accipienda quotidie, quod Romanæ ecclesiæ et Hispaniæ observare perhibentur; scripsit quidem et Hippolytus, vir disertissimus, et carptim diversi scriptores e variis auctoribus edidere. Sed ego illud te breviter admonendum puto, traditiones ecclesiasticas præsertim, quæ fidei non officiant, ita observandas ut a majoribus traditæ sunt: nec aliorum consuetudinem aliorum contrario more subverti. Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare possimus: quod in Actibus Apostolorum diebus Pentecostes et die Dominico, Apostolum Paulum, et cum eo credentes fecisse legimus. Nec tamen Manichææ hæreseos accusandi sunt, cum carnalis cibus præferri non debuerit spirituali. Eucharistiam quoque, absque condemnatione nostri et pungente conscientia, semper accipere, et Psalmistam audire dicentem, *Gustate et videte, quoniam suavis est Dominus.*

cate every day? he gives this answer, 'that the customs and traditions of every Church, which did not prejudice the faith, were to be observed in such manner as they were handed down by their forefathers; and the custom of one Church was not to prescribe to, or overthrow the contrary custom of another. And he wishes that all men might receive the eucharist every day, provided they might do it without condemnation and pricks of conscience for unworthy receiving.' Which is the same resolution as St. Austin gave in the question: for having stated the arguments on both sides, for and against daily receiving; the one pleading that men ought to abstain for a few days, that they might prepare to receive more worthily when they came to it: and the other arguing, that unless their sins were such as deserved excommunication, and the cure of a more solemn repentance, they ought not to separate themselves from the daily medicine of Christ's body; he divides the matter between them, determining that each party might act according as their own judgment and faith in this case piously directed them. For [8], 'neither of them intended to dishonour the body and blood of the Lord, whilst they strove earnestly

[8] Ep. 118. [al. 54.] ad Januar. c. 3. (t. 2. p. 125 a.) Dixerit aliquis non quotidie accipiendam eucharistiam. Quæsieris quare? Quoniam, inquit, eligendi sunt dies, quibus purius homo continentiusque vivit, quo ad tantum sacramentum dignus accedat. *Qui enim manducaverit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit.* Alius contra, Immo, inquit, si tanta est plaga peccati atque impetus morbi, ut medicamenta talia differenda sint, auctoritate antistitis debet quisque ab altario removeri ad agendam pœnitentiam, et eadem auctoritate reconciliari. Hoc est enim indigne accipere, si eo tempore accipiat, quo debet agere pœnitentiam; non ut arbitrio suo, cum libet, vel auferat se communioni, vel reddat. Cæterum peccata si tanta non sunt, ut excommunicandus quisquam homo judicetur, non se debet a quotidiana medicina Dominici corporis separare. Rectius inter eos fortasse quispiam dirimit litem, qui monet, ut præcipue in Christi pace permaneant: faciat autem unusquisque, quod secundum fidem suam pie credit esse faciendum. Neuter enim eorum exhonorat corpus et sanguinem Domini, sed saluberrimum sacramentum certatim honorare contendunt. Neque enim litigaverunt inter se, aut quisquam eorum se alteri præposuit, Zacchæus et ille centurio, cum alter eorum gaudens in domum suam susceperit Dominum, alter dixerit, *Non sum dignus, ut intres sub tectum meum:* ambo Salvatorem honorificantes diverso et quasi contrario modo; ambo peccatis miseri, ambo misericordiam consecuti. Valet etiam ad hanc similitudinem, quod in primo populo unicuique manna secundum propriam voluntatem in ore sapiebat; sic uniuscujusque in corde [al. in ore] Christiani sacramentum illud, quo subjugatus est mundus. [al. quomodo sumatur æstimandum.] Nam et ille honorando non audet quotidie sumere, et ille honorando non audet ullo die prætermittere.

who should do the greatest honour to the holy sacrament of their salvation. In like manner as Zacchæus and the centurion were at no variance between themselves, neither did the one prefer himself before the other, when the one *received the Lord into his house rejoicing*, and the other said, *Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof*: for they both really honoured their Saviour, though in a different, and as it were, in a contrary way, being both miserable in their sins, and both alike obtaining mercy: so it is with pious Christians in this case; the one out of honour dares not receive the sacrament every day, and the other out of honour dares not let any day pass without receiving it. This was an holy strife indeed, and we see the dispute was not, whether they should receive it only once or twice a year, but whether they should receive it once or twice a week, or rather every day.'

We have heard Gennadius say before [9] that he neither praises nor dispraises receiving the eucharist every day, but he persuades and exhorts all to receive it every Lord's-day, if their minds be pure from affections to sin. St. Ambrose was more peremptory in his advice to receive it every day. 'If it be our daily bread,' says he [10], 'why dost thou receive it once a year only, as the Greeks are used to do in the East? Receive that daily which is for thy daily advantage: and so live that thou mayest deserve daily to receive it. He that does not deserve to receive it every day, does not deserve to receive it after a year.' Again [11], 'I ought always to receive that which is shed for the remission of sins, that my sins may always be forgiven me: I, that am always sinning, ought always to have my medicine at hand, as he that has a wound seeks without delay for a cure.' St. Ambrose here is very plain, that the communion was administered daily in the

[9] De Dogmat. Eccles. c. 53. See the last chapter, s. 3. n. 3, preceding.

[10] De Sacrament. l. 5. c. 4. (t. 2. p. 378 d. n. 25.) Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Græci in Oriente facere consueverunt? Accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit. Sic vive, ut quotidie merearis accipere. Qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non meretur post annum accipere.

[11] L. 4. c. 6. (ibid. p. 372 e. n. 28.) Si quotiescunque effunditur sanguis, in remissionem peccatorum funditur, debeo illum semper accipere, ut semper mihi peccata dimittantur. Qui semper pecco, semper debeo habere medicinam.

Western Church, but he seems to reflect upon the Greek Church, as if they had left off that custom. But he is to be interpreted by St. Austin [12], who speaks the same thing, but does not charge the whole Greek Church, nor any part of it with this innovation, but only some particular men in some parts, who did not think themselves under any obligation to receive it daily. And indeed it appears from St. Chrysostom and others, that about this time many began scandalously to neglect frequent communion, and contented themselves to receive once or twice a year upon some solemn festival. But the Church was far from encouraging this contempt: for she kept still to the custom of daily communion in many places, and in all places to the celebration of it on Saturday and the Lord's-day, and in many places on Wednesdays and Fridays also; and they that were piously disposed were constant communicants at these times; and they that were negligent and profane were earnestly invited to be more frequent in communicating, and there are many severe invectives against their remissness.

Eusebius [13] says expressly, that they celebrated the memorial of Christ's body and blood ὁσημέραι, *every day.* And it appears from the Council of Laodicea [14], that they had it twice in the week, on Saturdays and Sundays, in Lent, and at all other times of the year more frequently. St. Basil [15] speaks of four days in the week, on which it was usual to receive the communion, besides incidental festivals of martyrs. And he commends it as 'good and useful to communicate and participate of the holy body and blood of Christ *every day,* καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, Palladius [16] tells us, how Macarius advised a woman that had been under the power of enchantment, never to omit

[12] De Serm. Dom. in Mont. l. 2. c. 7. t. 4. See the latter part of n. 97, preceding.

[13] Demonstr. Evangel. l. 1. c. 10. p. 37. (p. 37 b.)...Τὴν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ὁσημέραι ἐπιτελοῦντες, κ. τ. λ.

[14] C. 49. See before, s. 2. the second number of n. 73, preceding.

[15] Ep. 289. ad Cæsar. Patric. See before, s. 3. n. 79, preceding.

[16] Hist. Lausiac. c. 19. (ap. Bibl. Patr. Gr. Lat. t. 2. p. 923 a. 2.)... Ὑπέθετο δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἄνθρωπος, εἰπὼν αὐτῇ, Μηδέποτε ἀπολειφθῇς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, μηδέποτε ἀποσχῇς τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν μυστηρίων τοῦ Χριστοῦ· ταῦτα γάρ σοι συνέβη, διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πέντε ἑβδομάδας μὴ προσελθυθέναι σε τοῖς ἀχράντοις μυστηρίοις τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.—See also Cassian. Collat. 7. c. 30. (p. 330.), where he speaks of daily communion. See before, ch. 4. s. 16. p. 397. n. 99.

receiving the communion; telling her 'that that judgment had befallen her because that for five weeks she had neglected to partake of the holy mysteries.'

But no one is more express in this matter, nor more vehement against the neglect of frequent communion than St. Chrysostom. He tells us sometimes that they had communions every day for those that were more devoutly disposed; sometimes on the three more solemn days in the week, Fridays, Saturdays, and Sundays, on which days the whole Church was expected; though for all this many came not above once a year. 'In vain,' says he[17], 'is *the daily sacrifice*, *καθημερινὴ θυσία*, in vain do we stand at the altar: there is none to participate.' He speaks this against those who came but once a year out of mere custom at some solemn festival, whilst in the meantime the sacrifice was daily offered, though they refused to partake of it. In another place[18] discoursing of the difference between the Jewish and Christian Passover, he says, 'The Jewish Passover comes but once a year, but the Christian Passover is celebrated in every *synaxis* or *assembly*.' And a little after[19], 'Lent comes but once a year, but the Passover is celebrated three times a week, and sometimes four, or as often as we please.' Again[20], 'This is what destroys all religion,

[17] Hom. 3. in Eph. p. 1051. (t. 11. p. 23 a.).... Εἰκῇ θυσία καθημερινὴ, εἰκῇ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ· οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων.

[18] Hom. 52. In eos, qui Pascha jejunant. t. 5. pp. 705, 709. [Ben. Hom. cont. Jud. 3.] (t. 1. p. 608 d.) Οὐς ἠδέως ἔγωγε ἂν ἐροίμην, τί ποτέ ἐστι Πάσχα· τί ποτέ ἐστι Τεσσαρακοστὴ, καὶ τί μὲν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν, τί δὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκεν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ παντὸς ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην τελεῖται σύναξιν;

[19] Ibid. (p. 611 a.) Οὐ γὰρ ταὐτὸν Πάσχα καὶ Τεσσαρακοστὴ, ἀλλ' ἕτερον Πάσχα, καὶ ἕτερον Τεσσαρακοστή. Τεσσαρακοστὴ, μὲν γὰρ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ γίνεται, Πάσχα δὲ τρίτον τῆς ἑβδομάδος· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ τέταρτον, μᾶλλον δὲ ὁσάκις ἂν βουλώμεθα,

[20] Hom. 5. in 1 Tim. p. 1548. (t. 11. p. 577 c.) Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν, ὅτι οὐ καθαρότητι διανοίας, ἀλλὰ διαστήματι χρόνου τὴν ἀξίαν διορίζεις τῆς προσόδου· καὶ τοῦτο εὐλάβειαν εἶναι νομίζεις, τὸ μὴ πολλάκις προσελθεῖν, οὐκ εἰδὼς, ὅτι τὸ ἀναξίως προσελθεῖν, κἂν ἅπαξ γένηται, ἐκπλίδωσε· τὸ δὲ ἀξίως, κἂν πολλάκις, ἔσωσεν. Οὐκ ἔστι τόλμα τὸ πολλάκις προσιέναι· ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀναξίως, κἂν ἅπαξ τις τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου προσέλθῃ. Ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἀνοήτως διακείμεθα καὶ ἀθλίως, ὅτι μυρία διαπαντὸς ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ κακὰ, τοῦ μὲν ἀποδύσασθαι ἐκεῖνα οὐδεμίαν ποιούμεθα φροντίδα, νομίζομεν δὲ ἀρκεῖν, τὸ μὴ συνεχῶς κατατολμᾷν καὶ ἐπιπηδᾷν ὑβριστικῶς τῷ σώματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ· οὐκ ἐννοοῦντες ὅτι καὶ οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν σταυρώσαντες ἅπαξ ἐσταύρωσαν· ἆρ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ, ἔλαττον τὸ ἁμάρτημα; καὶ ὁ Ἰούδας δὲ ἅπαξ προέδωκε· τί οὖν; τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐξείλετο. Διὰ τί γὰρ χρόνῳ τὸ πρᾶγμα μετερχόμεθα; χρόνος προσόδου ἔστω ἡμῖν, τὸ

that men measure their worthiness not by the purity of their souls, but by the length of time, and take this for piety and reverence, that they come not frequently to the Lord's table; not considering that if they come unworthily, though it be but once a year, they are worthy of punishment. It is not boldness to come frequently, but to come unworthily, though a man do it but once in all his life. But we are so stupid and insensible as to think, that when we have wallowed in sin all the year, without any care to repent, it is sufficient that we have not daily presumed in a contumelious manner to touch the body of Christ: not considering that the Jews, who crucified Christ, did it but once. But was their sin ever the less for that? And Judas betrayed him but once. But did that excuse him? Why therefore do we measure this matter by time only? Let the seasonable time of our coming be a pure conscience. The communion is the same now as it is at Easter, there is the same grace of the Spirit, it is the Passover every day. The same sacrifice is offered on Fridays, and Saturdays, and Sundays, and the festivals of the martyrs.' It is plain by all this, that the communion was celebrated ordinarily three or four times a week, if not every day; though some were so vain as to think they were the more respectful to it, in not coming above once a year, out of a pretended reverence for it; who yet when they did come, came only to eat it to their condemnation, for want of a mind duly prepared to receive it. Whom he thus reflects upon in another place [21]: 'Many partake of this sacrifice only once a year, others twice, and others frequently. Which of these are the most acceptable? They only who do it with a pure conscience, with a pure heart, with a life unblameable. With this qualification come always; without it come not so much as once. For they that do so

καθαρὸν συνειδός· οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχει τὸ ἐν τῷ Πάσχα μυστήριον τοῦ νῦν τελουμένου· ἓν ἐστι καὶ τὸ αὐτό· ἡ αὐτὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος χάρις· ἀεὶ Πάσχα ἐστίν. Ἴστε οἱ μύσται τὸ εἰρημένον· καὶ ἐν Παρασκευῇ, καὶ ἐν Σαββάτῳ, καὶ ἐν Κυριακῇ, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μαρτύρων ἡ αὐτὴ θυσία ἐπιτελεῖται.

[21] Hom. 17. in Hebr. p. 1872. (t. 12. p. 169 b.) Πολλοὶ τῆς θυσίας ταύτης ἅπαξ μεταλαμβάνουσι τοῦ παντὸς ἐναυτοῦ, ἄλλοι δὲ δὶς, ἄλλοι δὲ πολλάκις ... Τί οὖν; τίνας ἀποδεξόμεθα; τοὺς ἅπαξ; τοὺς πολλάκις; τοὺς ὀλιγάκις.; οὔτε τοὺς ἅπαξ, οὔτε τοὺς πολλάκις, οὔτε τοὺς ὀλιγάκις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος, τοὺς μετὰ καθαρᾶς καρδίας, τοὺς μετὰ βίου ἀλήπτου· οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀεὶ προσίτωσαν· οἱ δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτοι, μηδὲ ἅπαξ. Τί δήποτε; ὅτι κρῖμα ἑαυτοῖς λαμβάνουσι, καὶ κατάκριμα, καὶ κόλασιν, καὶ τιμωρίαν.

take only judgment, condemnation, and punishment to themselves.' This he repeats over and over again in his Homilies. 'He[22] that is conscious to himself of no crime ought to come to the Lord's table: but if men are laden with sin, and do not repent, it is not safe for them to come even once upon a festival.' 'The Jews[23] have their annual memorials of God's benefits on their festivals, but thou, who art a Christian, hast a daily memorial, as I may say, in these holy mysteries.' 'The best preserver[24] of kindnesses is the remembrance of them, and perpetual thanksgiving for them. Therefore those venerable and salutary mysteries, which we celebrate every day in our assemblies, are called the eucharist or thanksgiving: because they are the memorial of God's kindness to us.'

It were easy to collect abundance more such passages out of this ancient writer, but I will only add one place more, where he thus sharply taxes the people's negligence of frequent communion. 'I often observe,' says he[25], 'a great multitude flock together to hear the sermon, but when the time of the holy mysteries comes, I can see few or none of them: which makes

[22] Hom. 31. de Philogon. t. 1. p. 403. (t. 1. p. 499 e.).... Καιρὸς κοινωνίας οὐχ ἑορτὴ καὶ πανήγυρις, ἀλλὰ συνειδὸς καθαρὸν καὶ βίος ἐγκλημάτων ἀπηλλαγμένος· καὶ καθάπερ τὸν οὐδὲν ἑαυτῷ συνειδότα φαῦλον καθ' ἑκάστην δεῖ προσιέναι τὴν ἡμέραν· οὕτω τὸν ἐν ἁμαρτήμασι προκατειλημμένον, καὶ μὴ μετανοοῦντα, οὐδὲ ἐν ἑορτῇ προσιέναι ἀσφαλές.

[23] Hom. 51. [Bened. 50. al. 51.] in Matth. p. 455. (t. 7. p. 517 d.) Τοῖς μὲν Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπόμνημα τῶν οἰκείων εὐεργεσιῶν τὰς ἑορτὰς ἐνέδησεν ὁ Θεός· σοὶ δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τὴν ἡμέραν διὰ τούτων [τῶν] μυστηρίων.

[24] Hom. 26. [Bened. 25. al. 26.] in Matth. p. 259, (ibid. p. 310 d.) Φυλακὴ γὰρ εὐεργεσίας ἀρίστη ἡ τῆς εὐεργεσίας μνήμη, καὶ διηνεκὴς εὐχαριστία· διὰ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ φρικώδη μυστήρια, καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα σωτηρίας, τὰ καθ' ἑκάστην τελούμενα, λέγω, σύναξιν εὐχαριστία καλεῖται, ὅτι πολλῶν ἐστιν εὐεργετημάτων ἀνάμνησις, καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προνοίας ἐνδείκνυται, καὶ [ὅτι] διὰ πάντων παρασκευάζει [ἡμᾶς Savil. in marg.] εὐχαριστεῖν.

[25] Hom. 3. de Incomprehensibili Dei Natur. t. 1. p. 362. (t. 1. p. 469 a.) Τὸ πλῆθος τοῦτο τὸ ἄφατον, τὸ συγκεκροτημένον νῦν, καὶ μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀκριβείας προσέχον τοῖς λεγομένοις, κατὰ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ὥραν ἐκείνην, πολλάκις ἐπιζητήσας ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθην, καὶ σφόδρα ἐστέναξα, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν συνδούλου διαλεγομένου πολλῇ σπουδῇ, ἐπιτεταγμένη ἡ προθυμία τῶν συνωθούντων ἀλλήλους, καὶ μέχρι τέλους παραμενόντων, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ φαίνεσθαι μέλλοντος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν [ἐκείνων] μυστηρίων, κενὴ καὶ ἔρημος ἡ ἐκκλησία γίνεται. Καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα συγγνώμης ἄξια; ἀπὸ τῆς ῥᾳθυμίας ταύτης, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόασιν σπουδῇ πάντας ἀπώλλυτε· .... εἰ γὰρ ἐναπέκειτο τὰ λεγόμενα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, πάντως ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔνδον κατέσχε, καὶ πρὸς τὰ φρικωδέστατα μετὰ πλείονος εὐσεβείας παρεπεμψεν· νῦν δὲ, ὥσπερ κιθαρῳδοῦ τινος ἀκούσαντες, οὕτως ἔρημοι πάσης ὠφελείας, παυσαμένου τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀναχωρεῖτε.

me sigh from the bottom of my heart, that when I, your fellow-servant, am discoursing to you, you are ready to tread upon one another for earnestness to hear, and continue very attentive to the end; but when Christ our common Lord and Master is ready to appear in the holy mysteries, the church is in a manner empty and deserted. What pardon or excuse can be allowed for this? By this neglect you lose all the praise that is due to your diligence in hearing. If you had laid up in your hearts what I preach to you, it would retain you in the church, and prompt you to receive the holy mysteries with piety and veneration: but now, as if you were hearing one play upon an instrument, the preacher has no sooner done, but ye are all gone out of the church.' This, I confess, proves that in Chrysostom's days there was a great abatement of the primitive zeal, and a great declension from the original practice: but still it is evident that frequent and daily communions were in some measure kept up by the clergy and devouter sort of laity, who constantly frequented them, though many careless Christians had no other regard to them, but only to come formally once or twice a year, and that with superstition enough instead of religion, at some of the solemn festivals.

When first it came to be settled to three times in the year.

5. When matters were come to this degeneracy, some Councils, instead of reviving the ancient discipline and quickening men by just censures to frequent communion, contented themselves to oblige the laity to receive three times a year, at the three great festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, under the penalty of not being reputed Catholic Christians, if they neglected to communicate at those three noted seasons. Thus it was first determined in the Council of Agde[25], about the year 506. And so things continued to the time of Charles the Great, when the third Council of Tours[26], anno 813, made a decree to the like purpose: 'That all laymen, who were not under the impediment of greater sins, should receive three times a year at least, if not more frequently.' And yet the clergy continued to communicate frequently with some of the

[25] C. 18. (t. 4. p. 1386 c.) Sæculares, qui in Natali Domini, Pascha, et Pentecoste, non communicaverint, Catholici non credantur, nec inter Catholicos habeantur.

[26] C. 50. (t. 7. p. 1269 d.) Ut si non frequentius, vel ter laici homines in anno communicent, nisi forte quis majoribus criminibus impediatur.

devouter laity every Lord's-day, as appears from the writers of that age, particularly Rabanus Maurus[27] and Bertram[28], who says the sacrament was administered not only at the Paschal solemnity every year, but on every day throughout the year, when as yet the corruption of private and solitary mass did not prevail, which came not in till some ages after. And it is remarkable, that even in this age the Council of Aix la Chapelle[29] made some attempt to restore the ancient practice to its primitive lustre, by reviving the decree of the Council of Antioch, which orders 'all such as come to church to hear the Scriptures, but refuse to receive the holy communion, to be cast out of the Church, till they should amend their fault by confession and repentance.'

And afterward to once a year by the Council of Lateran.

6. But the disease was grown too epidemical and inveterate to be easily corrected; and therefore in a degenerate age the corruption went on and increased, and the Council of Lateran under Innocent III. added strength and confirmation to it, reducing the obligation to communicate still within narrower bounds. For whereas before, all men were obliged to communicate at least three times a year, this Council[30] made it necessary to do it no more than once at Easter, when 'every man and woman, that was come to years of discretion, was bound to make auricular confession of all his sins to his own priest, and receive the communion, unless the priest advised that for some reasonable cause he should abstain from it.' This rule was afterward taken into the body of their Canon Law[31]. And

[27] De Instit. Cleric. &c. l. 1. c. 31. sub fin. (Coloniæ 1532. p. 55.) Dicunt aliqui, nisi aliquo intercedente peccato eucharistiam quotidie sumendam, &c.

[28] De Corp. et Sang. Dom. in Præfat. (ap. Flac. Catalog. Veritat. l. 10. Genev. 1608. p. 1064 b.) ... Sacramenta ... non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates celebrantur singulis annis, verum singulis in anno diebus.

[29] C. 70. ex C. Antioch. c. 2. (t. 7. p. 1359 e.) Omnes, qui ingrediuntur ecclesiam Dei, et Scripturas sacras audiunt, nec communicant in oratione cum populo, sed pro quadam intemperantia se a perceptione sanctæ communionis avertunt, hi de ecclesia removeantur, quamdiu per confessionem pœnitentiæ fructus ostendant, et precibus indulgentiam consequantur.

[30] C. Lateran. 4. c. 21. (t. 11. p. 172 e.) Πᾶς ἑκατέρου γένους πιστὸς μετὰ τὸ εἰς χρόνον διακρίσεως προελθεῖν, πάντα τὰ ἴδια ἁμαρτήματα ἐξομολογησάσθω πιστῶς, κἂν ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῷ ἰδίῳ ἱερεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἐπιτεθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐντολὴν σπουδασάτω, ὅση δύναμις, ἐκπληροῦν· μεταλαμβάνων εἰς ἔλαττον αἰδεσίμως εἰς τὸ Πάσχα τὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας μυστήριον· εἰ μὴ ἴσως τῇ βουλῇ τοῦ ἰδίου ἱερέως διὰ τινὰ εὔλογον αἰτίαν, εἰς καιρὸν, τῆς μεταλήψεως ἀπέχοιτο.

[31] Greg. Decretal. l. 5. tit. 38. de Pœnitent. et Remission. c. 12. (ap. Corp.

here we may date the utter ruin of the ancient and apostolical practice of frequent and general communions. For from this time people began to think themselves discharged of the duty of frequent communicating, and contented themselves with receiving once a year at Easter, leaving their priests to communicate alone; which quickly was attended with another corruption of private and solitary masses, which usurped the room of the ancient general communions of the whole Church one with another, and made the ancient prayers a perfect heap and mass of absurdities, whilst they prayed and gave thanks to God for the whole congregation as communicants, when there was not so much as one communicant properly speaking among them, but all mere spectators of the priest pretending to act in the name of the whole Church, and communicate in pageantry without any real communion.

This was the general state of the Romish service at the time of the Reformation, except in some few collegiate churches, where, if Bona[32] say true, the clergy continued to communicate with the officiating priest according to ancient custom, without which, he confesses, it is hard to make intelligible sense of many of their prayers, that are daily used in their service.

What attempt was made to restore frequent and full communions at the Reformation.

7. Some attempt was made by the first reformers to rectify these abuses, and restore frequent and general communions in many places: and they happily carried their point so far, as to abolish private masses in all places. But the restoring the ancient way of the whole Church's communicating every Lord's-day was a matter not so easy to be effected; partly by reason of the prejudices which men had imbibed by the prevalency and long duration of contrary custom; and partly by reason of that affection which men retain for their vices, which will not suffer them to comply with an institution that requires a constant purity of soul, and a conscience always void of offence,

Jur. Canon. t. 2. p. 1871. 45.) Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit omnia sua solus peccata saltem semel in anno fideliter confiteatur proprio sacerdoti: .... suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiæ sacramentum.

[32] Rer. Liturg. l. 2. c. 17. n. 2. (p. 320.) ... Sine quo vix possunt intelligi, quæ in liturgicis orationibus quotidie recitantur.

to qualify them for a worthy reception of a weekly or daily communion. Calvin laboured hard at his first coming to Geneva to establish a monthly or a weekly communion, as most agreeable to the practice of the Apostles and the primitive Church: he pleads earnestly for it in his Institutions[33], where he censures the Popish custom of communicating only once a year, as most certainly the invention of the Devil: yet after all he could not prevail to have so much as a monthly communion settled among the people, but was over-borne in his endeavours, and forced to yield to a rule which requires the people to communicate only four times a year. However, he says[34], 'he took care to have it entered upon record that this was an evil custom, to the intent that posterity might with more ease and liberty correct it.' But whether it ever was corrected to this day is what I am ignorant of: most probably it never was, since I have had occasion to show in another work[35], communicating only four times a year continued to be the general standing custom in the French Church. Their discipline required no more, though they encouraged more frequent reception.

The Church of England was a little happier in her attempts of this kind. For though her rules require the people in general to receive but three times a year, as of necessary

[33] L. 4. c. 17. n. 46. (ap. Oper. 1667. t. 9. p. 381.) Et sane hæc consuetudo, quæ semel quotannis communicare jubet, certissimum est Diaboli inventum: cujuscunque tandem ministerio invecta fuerit.

[34] Respons. de Quibusdam Eccles. Ritibus. (ap. Oper. 1667. t. 9. Epistolar. p. 206.) Jam vero singulis mensibus cœnam celebrari maxime nobis placeret: modo ne usus frequentior negligentiam pariat. Nam dum major pars a communione abstinet, quodammodo dissipatur ecclesia. Malimus tamen singulis mensibus invitari ecclesiam, quam quater duntaxat in singulos annos: ut apud nos fieri solet. Quum huc primum venirem non distribuebatur nisi ter quotannis; et quidem ut inter cœnam Pentecostes et Natalis Christi, septem toti menses intercederent. Mihi placebant singuli menses: sed quum minime persuaderem, satius visum est populi infirmitati ignoscere, quam pertinacius contendere. Curavi tamen referri in Acta Publica, vitiosum esse morem nostrum, ut posteris facilior esset ac liberior correctio.

[35] French Church's Apology for the Church of England, b. 3. ch. 14. [First published, London, 1706, 8vo., thirteen years before this fifteenth Book of the Origines Ecclesiasticæ appeared in 1719. This Treatise is reprinted in the tenth volume of this new edition.—The practice alluded to remains unaltered to the present day, as I am informed by an experienced member of the French Protestant Church. Ed.]

ecclesiastical obligation, yet in our cathedral churches the eucharist is ordinarily celebrated every Lord's-day, as it is also in some of the London parish-churches; and others both in city and country have monthly communions. Yet there remains a great deal still to be done, to bring this matter to the primitive standard. For even in our cathedrals the communions are very thin, and there is still room for those complaints of St. Chrysostom[36], 'In vain do we stand at the altar, in vain is the daily sacrifice offered, there are none in a manner that communicate.' The churches are crowded to hear the sermon, but when the time of the holy mysteries comes they are empty and deserted. Men are earnest to hear their fellow servant preach an eloquent discourse, but when Christ the common Lord and Master of all is ready to appear and entertain them they fly, though never so kindly invited from his table. This must needs grieve the hearts of all pious servants of Christ, who stand there to minister in his name, whilst few hearken to their admonitions, and the generality excuse themselves from communicating as if it were no Christian duty. And in country-parishes the matter is still more deplorable, where the despair of success deters the minister from attempting it. For here men are generally so averse to a weekly communion, that they will not be prevailed upon with all the serious exhortations that can be used, to comply with the standing rules of the Church, which oblige them to communicate three times a year, though the minister himself be under an obligation to present every such non-communicant as a notorious delinquent. "But if the foundations be cast down, what can the righteous do?" Experience tells us it is as much labour in vain to present a negligent people[37] for not communicating three times a year, as it is gravely to exhort them to a weekly communion. This discouragement, which ministers commonly meet with, in trying to bring men to comply with the stated rules of communicating three times a year by Church censures, which are wholly neglected, makes them despair of going any higher towards the perfection of the

[36] See s. 4. n. 17, preceding.

[37] [Compare the 21st and the 112th canons of the Church of England, anno 1603. Ed.]

bligation, yet in our [illegible]
inarily celebrated [illegible]
London parish-[illegible]
ry have monthly [illegible]
leal still to be [illegible]
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thin, and there [illegible]
om[36], 'In [illegible]
rifice offered [illegible]

The [illegible]
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h an eloquent [illegible]

and Master of all [illegible]
y fly, though [illegible]
must needs grieve [illegible]
stand there [illegible]
sir admonition [illegible]
communication [illegible]
try-parishes [illegible]
pair of [illegible]
have [illegible]
that [illegible]

primitive practice: since they, who cannot be prevailed upon by the present discipline to communicate three times a year, are too obstinate and stubborn to hearken to any the most serious admonitions that can be used to incline them to a weekly communion.

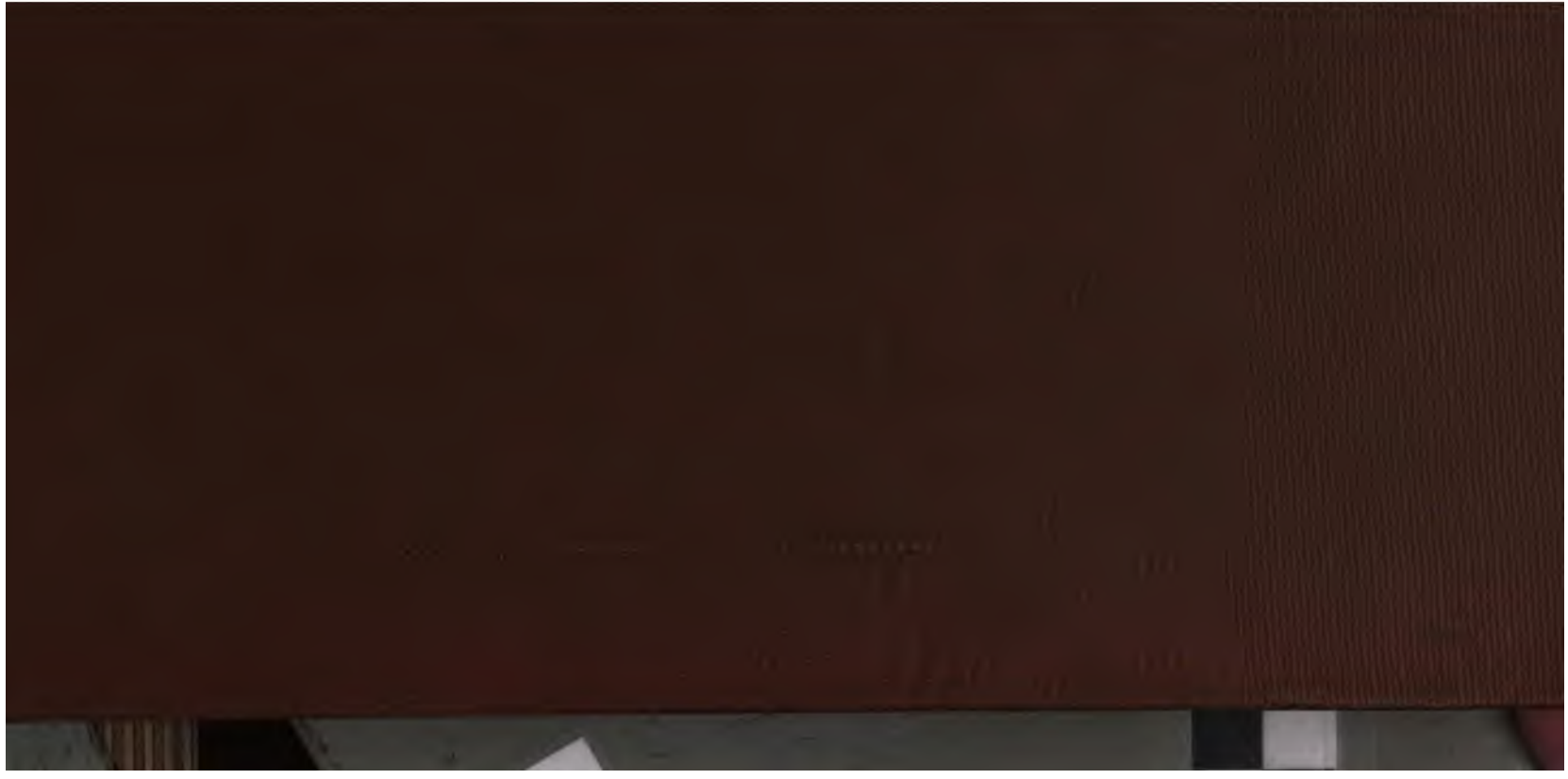
Wherein this is still deficient, and what seems yet necessary to be done in order to reduce communion to the primitive standard.

8. What effectual remedy can be applied to this inveterate disease is not very easy to determine. Yet certainly the regaining of that which was so much the glory of the primitive Church, and the great support of Christian innocence and piety, as frequent weekly communion certainly was, must be a thing worthy the most serious thoughts and consideration of all those into whose hands God has put power and authority by a superior influence to redress abuses, when they can safely do it to edification and not to destruction. If I were worthy to give any advice in the case it should be this, first to restore the practice of the true ancient discipline, and after that the way would lie open to revive the practice of the true primitive way of communicating weekly every Lord's-day. But, it will be said, there lies an insuperable difficulty against the restoration of the ancient discipline in the present posture of affairs: the state of the present times, and the general corruption of men's morals will not admit of it: the Church of England has for two hundred years wished for the restoration of this discipline, and yet it is but an ineffective wish; for nothing is done towards introducing it, but rather things are gone backward, and there is less discipline for this last sixty years, since the times of the unhappy confusions, than there was before. To which it may be answered, that the difficulty is certainly great, but not insuperable; for discipline is one of God's ordinances in his Church, and he appoints nothing but what is practicable in itself, if men be not wanting on their part to contribute toward the exercise of it. But to give rules in this case is a nice and tender point, and I had rather it should be done by the wisdom of others than myself. Something has already been suggested by a late learned writer on this subject[38], very

[38] Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church, [By a Presbyter of the Church of England, viz. Nathaniel Marshall, D.D.] London, 1714. ch. 4. (pp. 222, seqq.) Whether a revival of the Primitive Discipline may be practicable, &c.

useful for obtaining the end now proposed: and therefore I shall content myself at present to refer to his suggestions, and put an end to this discourse.

END OF VOL. V.

The end also of the sixth volume of the Original Edition, which volume came out in 1719.

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